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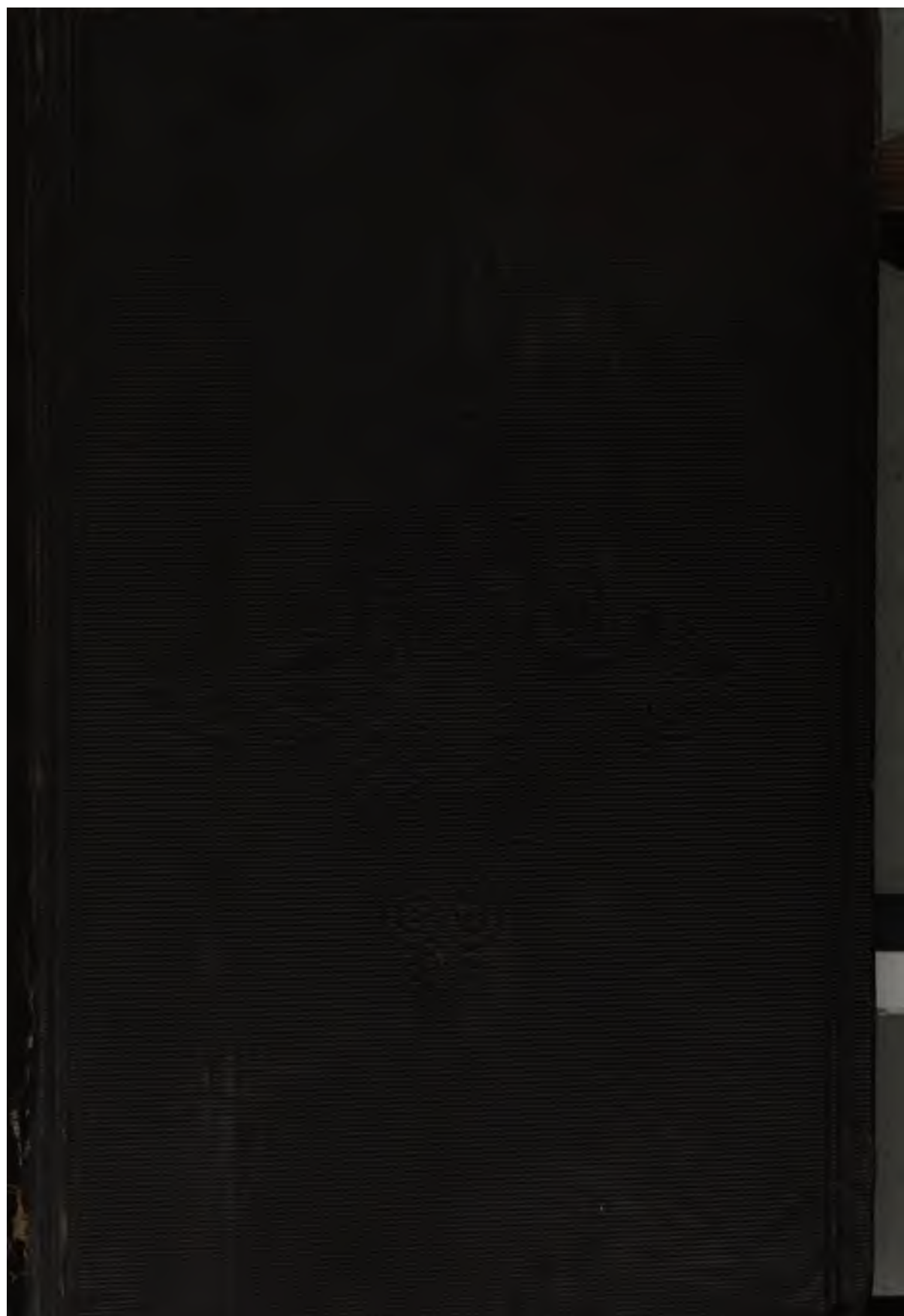
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HISTORICAL MEMORIALS

RELATING TO THE

INDEPENDENTS,

OR

CONGREGATIONALISTS :

FROM THEIR RISE

TO THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY,

A. D. MDC LX.

BY BENJAMIN HANBURY.

VOLUME I.

" WHERE EACH ORDINARY CONGREGATION GIVETH THEIR FREE CONSENT IN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, THERE CERTAINLY EACH CONGREGATION IS AN ENTIRE AND INDEPENDENT BODY-POLITIC, AND INDUED WITH POWER IMMEDIATELY UNDER AND FROM CHRIST, AS EVERY PROPER CHURCH IS, AND OUGHT TO BE."

HENRY JACOB, 1612.

LONDON;

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BY THE

COMMITTEE OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

THE Committee of the CONGREGATIONAL UNION of England and Wales have zealously promoted the publication of these Historical Memorials of the Independent Churches, in which the writings of the Early Witnesses for the distinctive polity of our denomination, are rescued from present neglect and future oblivion. In affording encouragement and aid to this interesting but laborious Work, the Committee have been influenced solely by ardent zeal for those great principles, which the fathers of our denomination deduced with so much care from the Holy Scriptures ; and which cannot be more effectually recommended than by the erudition, the ability, and the piety conspicuous in the works of these primitive confessors of the doctrine and the discipline still cherished by the Congregational body.

The undivided responsibility of authorship has rested upon Mr. Hanbury ; and whatever honour is due to the fidelity, patience, and skill with which the materials have been collected and arranged, is exclusively his

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own. The Committee feel assured that no one can be better qualified than their honoured coadjutor, for such an undertaking, by extent of research, interest in the subject, and scrupulous accuracy in even the minutest details. They hope his labours in this work, greater than can be appreciated by those who are unacquainted with such pursuits, will meet with extensive approval and encouragement among the pastors and churches of the denomination. Nor can the Committee omit to bespeak the same favour on behalf of their own solicitude in this, as in many other instances, to promote whatever may advance the enlightened attachment of our entire community to principles derived from the New Testament; handed down by our fathers with the seals of martyrdom and suffering; and dear to us, as conservative of the still higher interests of saving truth, godly discipline, christian liberty, and spiritual worship.

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ALGERNON WELLS,

SECRETARY.

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P R E F A C E.

WITH no inconsiderable emotion, the author sends forth this volume. Sensible of the responsibility inseparable from such a production, and finding how much more difficult it is than he had contemplated, to achieve the design which he had in fervency projected, he expects commendation only for accomplishing what no one else has performed, and is prepared to receive censure even where he may deem it to be least deserved. The project and its execution are entirely his own. Trained to prize Civil Liberty, of all earthly acquisitions the next to Religious Freedom, he renders his homage to the "FATHER of lights," and rejoices in having drawn from their long night of repose, treasures inestimable, retaining the charms of pristine freshness; relics of mind and conduct in by-gone ages, and testimonies of superior wisdom, though not always of perfect sobriety.

PREFACE.

A historical collection—Corpus Historicum—adequate in all respects to the present and still increasing importance of the Christian Denomination to which the author is confirmed in his attachment, after a systematic scrutiny more persevering than perhaps any other layman ever engaged in—is even yet a deficiency in ecclesiastical literature. So successful has been the accumulation of contumely heaped by interested parties upon our sires, that they who should have inherited their spirit have been deterred from searching into their merits, and from duly displaying their virtues. Their very names seemed about to be lost. Now, however, enough is recovered to evince that our predecessors—our Fathers and Confessors—were mighty in word and deed; and that, to the dismay of their calumniators, their renown is spreading far and wide, with the dominion to which they and their immediate descendants gave existence, and which promises to be as enduring as the world!

The plan whereon the work is executed thus far, and on which it will be proceeded with, is that which admits of compliance with the dramatic unities;—*distingue tempora, et conciliabis scripturas*. Words and deeds disposed in the closest connexion with what occasioned them; the exact or nearest succession of events; being the most natural and regular, must ordinarily present the best means of arriving at a correct judgment in relation to them. Accordingly, so much of what is original and documentary, whether amicable or hostile, is here placed, when practicable, in immediate vicinity. Hence, they who are dead, yet speak for themselves; and if all they spake to purpose be not adduced,

PREFACE.

the deficiency is one which could not be supplied. To prevent precipitancy of judgment, it is necessary to remark that the perplexed subject of Elders will unavoidably pervade the work to its close.

So far, the author—for he has endured all the labours of authorship—is secure in his self-approbation; but that he has never erred when selecting and arranging his materials, nor ever misconceived his authorities, he cannot affirm: even his desire to be minute has led, in more than one instance, to irrelevancies, which were perceived when they could not be expunged. Thus also, it may be, with respect to the orthography of common names, which he has not hesitated to change when he had discovered what is most authentic. He takes no more credit to himself, for having practised impartiality in contrasting opponents, and adjudicating their merits, than comports with those prejudices, or infirmities, infecting every human breast. Some advantages he apprehends, will have resulted from his not being swayed by any professional interest to seek to elevate unduly the pastoral office and character.

In submitting, therefore, a volume of this description to public scrutiny, the author casts it, as it were, on the waters, knowing full well that he will find a contrariety of requital. Endeavouring, nevertheless, to estimate justly what shall be rendered to him, he will complete the remaining volume, and the index, with so much effort as in the course of Divine Providence he may be enabled. That afflictive event which has befallen him since he applied with vigour to this enterprise, has deprived him of the incitement to prosecute it

PREFACE.

which sprung from a parent's heart most anxious and delighted to advance the intellectual discernment of his only son, when just rising into manhood.

It remains to express thankful acknowledgments to those several individuals to whom the religious public are indebted for the loan of books ; and also to the Trustees of Dr. Daniel Williams, whose kindness is enhanced by the urbanity of their librarian.

MARCH 1st, 1839.

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ERRATA.

- P. 16, l. ult. note c, for "255" read 177.
90, l. 4, bot. after "country" read "to settle."
149, l. 9, for "probably Francis Bright," read "[Francis Blackwell]," and
dele note a.
288, l. 7, Ephraim Pagit, was not the E. P. alluded to, nor did he ever
reside at Amsterdam. *Dele a t*, in note b, p. 15.
303, l. 9, put ' after 'commanded

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS.

CHAPTER I.

DISSERTATION ON TERMS AND PRINCIPLES.

IN commencing the denominational history of our Churches, the terms Congregational and Independent claim priority of attention. To show, then, how those terms became appropriated exclusively, though it be sufficiently obvious to many, we premise—That worshipping assemblies of all orders, are Congregations; and, that in various cases, such assemblies are each, by their constitution, but a part, portion, or section of an aggregation which, by a convenient fiction, is likewise termed a Congregation. Thus, "The Roman Catholic Church," "The United Church of England and Ireland," and "The Presbyterian Church of Scotland," respectively deem themselves, though assembled in different localities, but as one general assembly. When light and liberty had, however, begun to dawn, after ages of darkness and oppression, and men had dared to think and act apart from sacerdotal domination; then coincidence of sentiment and principles induced to mutual associations, which acquired, eventually, distinctive terms of recognition. In this way, those of their ancestors whose mode of polity or church order the Independents mainly follow—derived to themselves the title of Congregationalists; and this other, also, of Independents.*

* Among the Lansdowne State Papers in the British Museum, No. 377, art. 3, is intitled, "William Ramsey, minister of the Gospel at Charde, 1562, his Epistle and Exhortations to the faithful *Congregation* at South Molton." And a tract appeared in 1568, with the title of "Propositions, or Articles, drawn out of Holy Scripture; showing the cause of continual variance in the Dutch Church in London, and thought meet to be published for staying of other *Congregations* which, in these days, do spring up. Subscribed unto by Theod. Beza, and divers other preachers beyond sea." Printed in English and Latin, 8vo. But before 1593, John Penry put forth a tract, "To the distressed and faithful *Congregation* of Christ in London, and all the Members thereof, whether in bonds or at liberty." The term, Congregation, being thus used, dis-

The rise of this denomination of Christians is commonly limited to the sixteenth century; but clear indications exist proving that in the dispensations of Providence there were always some disciples of our Lord who professed the truth, even when "the way of truth" was every where "evil spoken of."^a These would, after the first shaking of the skilfully-compacted anti-scriptural political hierarchy, employ, for a while, only the "still small voice" of prayer and prophecy;^b they would, with the progress of events, increase in courage, and mix with those whom the free study of the unadulterated Scriptures had enlightened by continual discoveries of truth, and who had resolved to promulgate it, that genuine Christianity might, by the exposure of prevalent corruptions in belief and practice, be restored. That perfection should have been attained in their time, was beyond reasonable expectation, although it was actually claimed by some in whom fervency of mind prevented the maturity of deliberation which concerns so momentous required. Theirs was not the age when assertions would generally pass for proofs: a spirit of investigation had been excited,^c and consequently, where passion did not intervene, greater accordance of perception and judgment brought the several parties into those combinations which we find called in the Scriptures, "fellowship in the Gospel."^d

The majority of the clergy, in "the greenness"^e of that age, chose, indeed, to prostrate their understandings to the dictation, and to succumb to the authority of a "governess" over the state-church;^f but a large number of divines contended earnestly for what they called a purer

tinctively, James I. directed the translators of the Bible to keep the old ecclesiastical words; as "church" not to be translated *congregation*, &c.; hence making the common version sectarian, and the symbol of a party, against the rules of equity and fidelity. Tindal, in his translation, 1526, had put the word "senior" for priest, "*congregation*" for church, "love" for charity, "repentance" for penance, &c." Macknight on the Epistles, General Preface.—But Bancroft, the supervisor of James's translation, altered fourteen places to make it speak the language of prelacy. Dr. Miles Smith, who wrote the preface, &c., and for which he was made bishop of Gloucester, complained of the archbishop's alterations; "but he is so potent," said Smith, "there is no contradicting him." See Wilson's Hist. of Dissenting Churches, vol. i. p. 44.—The distinction of "Independents," had its origin in 1612; but it is thought that it was not publicly adopted before the "Apologetical Narration of the *Independents*. Lond. 1644." 4to.

^a 2 Pet. ii. 2.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 1.

^c In 1565, was printed in Latin, at Louvain, a list of sixteen sects, which "though in some respects Lutherans, yet vary much from his tenets." Lansdowne MSS. No. 96, art. 51, and 52.

^d Phil. i. 5.

^e Milton, *Of Reform. in England*, ed. 1833, p. 4.

^f Fifty years had discovered four entire changes of the Established Religion, as it is called. Popery prevailed until 1533, when it was superseded by Protestantism; twenty years after, Popery was restored; and, in the short space of five years more, Protestantism became predominant. So in days of yore, "The times under Dioclesian were Pagan; under Constantine, Christian; under Constantius, Arian; under Julian, apostate; under Jovian, Christian again; and all within the age of man—the term of seventy years! Would it not," asks Thomas Fuller, "have wrenched and sprained his soul with short turning, who, in all these, should have been of the religion for the time being?" Holy State, 1663, fol. p. 200.

Discipline, and which they named also, Presbyterian. Bitter was the opposition those Puritans received. And that our readers may have their minds charged with the progress of these affairs, we set before them the most temperate and the most concise yet perspicuous account which has presented itself to our survey, published in 1602, as the title-page says, "for the common good of the church and common-wealth of this realm of England."^a

"In the beginning of her Majesty's most happy reign, the Gospel being published, and preachers ordained to teach the people, many people, within a while, feeling some taste of the heavenly comfort began to delight in hearing of sermons, singing of psalms, in reading, and godly talk of Holy Scriptures which they were taught; and therewithal did somewhat refrain profane and unprofitable customs; and sometimes they admonished their neighbours if they did swear, and pray them to go with them to the sermon: the greater sort of the people being old barrels which could hold no new wine, addicted partly to popery, and partly to licentiousness, having, many of them, no other God but their bellies, would deride and scoff at them, and called them 'holy brethren,' and 'holy sisters,' saying, 'he is one of the pure and unspotted brethren!'

"Divers ministers, also, entering upon that weighty charge, when they, being learned, came to the practice of the Communion-book, found themselves troubled in some things; and some certain ceremonies were a scruple unto them. And, as it is said in the preface of the said book, it was not thought fit, at the first, to take away all those things which seemed to be superstitious, but to take the middle way, to abandon some, and to retain some; so, by this occasion, the papists, and other people not well affected to religion and godliness, after awhile began to find holes in the ministers' coats, and devised divers ways of molestation, and troubled them not a little. They opened their cause to the reverend bishops of those times, and found great kindness at their hands, at the first, and they were a good and comfortable shadow unto them for a season. But, about the tenth year of her majesty's reign, the Papists, as men which began to shake off the fear wherewith the mighty God—protecting and blessing her majesty's most godly and christian proceedings—had struck them; the Papists, I say, began to come forth of their dens, and, as it is well known to the state, practised divers treacherous attempts; but, among other, they preferred such grievous accusations against the godly and faithful ministers, that then and from thenceforth, they were left naked, and a great storm fell upon them; and so it continued, now and then sharper; and sometime there was a calm, and men breathed, and returned to the Lord's work.

"About *an.* 1571, as I take it, Subscription was first enforced upon the ministry; for which cause, at that time, certain men wrote an 'Admonition to the Parliament,' opening divers things worthy of reformation. Whereupon arose great volumes of proving and defending; which are famously known to all men that understand of these

^a The Plea for the Innocent, &c. by Josias Nichols, "an humble servant of the English Church." Dated at Eastwell in Kent. 16mo.

causes.^a But how flesh and blood did, in these writings, oversway the christian moderation and mildness which brethren should have been very careful of, in contending for truth, by the hot pursuit of either side, I rejoice not to rehearse; and I am sorry as oft as I think upon the lamentable effects and hurt of the church in those times. Howbeit, our merciful God, whose unchangeable love doth swallow up many of our infirmities and follies, granted unto us, in the midst of these fiery contentions, a goodly space of quietness about the time that the Rev. Father, Master Grindal, was archbishop of Canterbury. In which time, in all the south parts of England, there was great concord among the ministers, and they joined in great love and joy one with another, in the Lord's work. So that in the space of four or five years, as I remember, there were infinite souls brought to the knowledge of Christ; and the people rejoiced for the consolation, seeing and beholding how greatly they were bound to praise God for her majesty's most christian government, under whose most godly proceedings, they had sucked and tasted the sweet and undeceivable milk of God's truth, even the holy faith of God's elect, the doctrine of salvation. It was a golden time, full of godly fruit, great honour to the Gospel; great love and kind fellowship among all the ministers, preaching the faith; and the people united in the true fear of God, and cheerful reverence to her Majesty.

"But this life not affording constant prosperity to heavenly love and growth of godliness; after the said archbishop's decease, there came forth a new and fresh assault of 'Subscription,' universally imposed, and again enforced upon all the Ministers, in three Articles: *anno* 1584. First, Of the Queen's Majesty's sovereign authority over all persons, &c.; Second, That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordaining Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, contains in it nothing contrary to the Word of God, &c.; Third, To allow and approve all the Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops, &c. 1562; and, to believe all therein contained to be agreeable to God.—When, in the visitations and public meetings, the ministers were called to subscribe, they offered very freely and willingly to subscribe to the first article, Of her Majesty's most lawful authority; and for the other two, they refused to do any further than by law they were bound; and, namely, according to the Statute made for that purpose, *an.* 13 [of Eliz.]. Hereupon, many in divers shires were suspended from the execution of their ministry, and some deprived. And, great division arose in the Church; the one, suing for Reformation, and to be eased of such burdens; and the other, urging very straitly the former things, and punishing such as would not be conformable. Then came there forth a new cloud of writing, and men's affections waxing hot and drawing to the worse, it was a very common name to all these ministers to be called 'Puritans;' as men which made conscience of many things, which the Reverend Fathers, and many learned men, affirmed to be *lawful*!

^a See large particulars in Hanbury's edition of R. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, 1830.

"In all this time, there was much preaching in the Universities about Non-residents, and unpreaching Ministers; and there, should you see a plain division, one sort called 'Youths,' and the other sort which took not such liberty, were called 'Precisians.' And this is grown, both in the university and in the country, town and city, that whoso feareth an oath, or is an ordinary resorter to sermons, earnest against excess, riot, popery, or any disorder, they are called, in the university, 'Precisians,' and in other places, 'Puritans.'^a

"But while we, partly fearing, and partly hoping, as though the Rev. Fathers themselves, to whom we used, beside our 'Supplications,' divers means, would, at the length, have joined with us, to the ending of these unwholesome strifes; and that we trusted that our merciful God, pitying his Church, would have raised up some means to further his own cause; while the time slipped away, and men's minds wavered this way and that way, three most grievous accidents did greatly astonish us, and very much darken the righteousness of our cause. The first was a foolish jester, who termed himself 'Martin Mar-Prelate,' and his sons, which, under counterfeit and apish scoffing, did play the sycophant, and slanderously abused many persons of reverend place and note. And such was the wisdom of the time! that many filthy and lewd pamphlets came forth against him; casting forth much stinking dung and beastly filth into the faces of honest men; to the great contempt of Christ's holy Gospel, and the very apparent disparagement of the faithful labours of all godly ministers, on both sides. This kindled a marvellous great fire, . . . howsoever it was, the blame lighted upon us, and we by it obtained a new name, in many pulpits,—how justly, God knoweth,—we were called 'Martinists.' Then did our troubles increase.^b

"In this time also, happened the second and third evil. The 'Brownists' took offence against both sides; and made a temerarious and wicked separation; and some two or three men being bewitched with some proud honour, by a certain mad and frantic spirit,^c lifted up themselves with high words of blasphemy: . . . howbeit, these also were drawn upon us, and made a notable matter to aggravate our cause. . . . By this means, we, finding the mighty winds and strong stream against us, were fain to humble ourselves under God's mercy; and, commending ourselves and our cause to Him who judgeth righteously, we reserved ourselves for a better time, when it should please his gracious wisdom to make his own truth to appear, and to move the minds of our superiors to be more favourable.

"Then took the idle and unpreaching ministers comfort at the heart; supposing their standing to be good; and the non-residents had their mouths enlarged: it became dangerous, both in the university and country, to reprove either of these, and the people were become 'Conventiclers' if they met together to sing a psalm, or to talk of God's word; and there was not a better way to maintain an evil cause, or to bring an honest man out of favour, than to show thyself an

^a Chap. i. p. 5—12.

^b Chap. ii. p. 31—33.

^c "Hacket, of an evil spirit." Margin.

enemy to the 'Puritans,' and to entitle him whom thou wouldst disgrace with the name of 'Puritan.'"^a

It is our more especial object to pursue the course on which we are thus far entered, by noticing, that among the controversies of the age thus passed under review, that which the Puritans instituted concerning the office of Lay-eldership, induced some who had watched the progress of its rigid investigation, or who had themselves engaged in it, not to stop short in their scriptural deductions; not to halt where the larger number had agreed to rest. For the Prelatical body^b disdained then, as now, to permit any co-operation on the part of the People, in disseminating religion by teaching; or to admit them to exercise any ecclesiastical authority. And the Presbyterians intercepted, on their part, the rights of the People, by admitting only certain of them to a kind of co-ordinate jurisdiction. Engrossment of power is the essence of either system. Yet Episcopalians evidently nullify their profession, that the Scriptures have left the ecclesiastical polity to be shaped after the model of civil governments; since they refuse to admit a counterpart of the popular representation which eminently distinguishes our own. Thus one of them asks, "What help could there ever have been *invented* more *divine*, than the sorting of the Clergy into such degrees, that the chiefest of the Prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of Nobility, the reverend Authority of the one might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are exorbitant, and to correct such excesses in them as whereunto their courage, state, and dignity, make them over-prone?"^c

In proof of the exclusive spirit of the Presbyterians, we find, in their "Booke of Policie" of 1581, that "None are subject to repair to this [the national, general] Assembly *to vote*, but *ecclesiastical* persons, to such a number as shall be thought good by the same Assembly, not excluding other persons that will repair to the said Assembly to propone, hear, and reason."^d And it has been asserted, recently, that "the province of the People" is "not to judge of the fitness of the licentiate for the ministerial office, but of the suitableness of his gifts for their edification."^e An earlier advocate of that Discipline, claims it as an instance of "wonderful self-denial," that "the Clergy" of Scotland should have admitted, even to their provincial or synodical courts, "a very large proportion of the laity to an equal judgment with themselves."^f

^a P. 33—35.

^b "The name of 'Prelate,' is, by law, attributed to every Parson and Vicar having cure of souls: Quia quilibet qui preest curæ animarum, dicitur esse Prelatus—Every one that is preferred to the cure of souls, is named by this name, 'Prelate.'" An Abstract of Certain Acts of Parliament, &c. 1584, 4to. p. 4.

^c Hooker's Eccles. Polity, Book VII. sect. 18.

^d Calderwood's Hist. of the Church of Scotland. 1678. p. 109.

^e Rev. — Gorrie, of Kettle, in the "Report" of the Perthshire Voluntary Church Association, June 12th, 1833. 12mo. p. 43.

^f J. Bonar, M.A. 1760: see "The Scotch Preacher," 1776, vol. i. p. 24.

The raising of the discussions concerning the rights of the People in church-membership, could not but lead to the advocacy of reinstating them in their primitive position, and, consequently, of extending the boundary of church authority to its extreme limit, "the whole church."^a And yet, on such a subject, some minds, naturally acute and discriminative, are reluctant to admit what makes against a theory in the maintenance of which its advocates are concerned. Such a reluctance is manifested in the unqualified language of the warm controvertist, Bishop Hall, who affirms, "That the People should make their Ministers, was unheard of in all ages and churches, till Bolton,^b Browne, and Barrowe; and hath neither colour nor example."^c The same kind of reluctance is also apparent in the very cautious language used, where fidelity itself would seem to have been more than ordinarily the object, and the rule of action, as these words evince, "In no one instance does the *Independent* plan appear to have a solid foundation, either in Scripture or antiquity; yet the interference of the People, and the share of authority exercised by them, though *never* on the plan of Independent Congregations, gives some plausible colour to Independency."^d

We oppose to the latter quotation, the sentiments of one whose predilections might be expected to bias his judgment on such a subject, but for the investigation of which, he could supply no less learning than did the reverend historian. Gibbon remarks, however, alluding to the apostles, that "the scheme of polity, which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century, may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman Empire, were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. . . The public functions of religion were solely intrusted to the established ministers of the church, the bishops and the presbyters; two appellations which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office, and the same order of persons."^e What our own convictions are on this subject, will be sufficiently evidenced. We cannot, in passing, but regret that writers professing to relate Scripture truth in the love of it, should subject themselves to be contrasted in the words of one who wrote under an opposite character, and whose object it was to make Scripture truth occasionally subserve his own particular designs.

Another writer, of kindred talents and views with the last quoted, has adduced his authorities, so pertinently for our purpose, from the

^a Acts xv. 4, 22.

^b "One of the Elders of that separated church, whereof Mr. Fits. was pastor, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign:—he was but a ruling-elder, and not the 'first broacher of this way.'" Ainsworth's Counterpoison, 1608, p. 39, 160.

^c Works, vol. vii. p. 268, ed. 1808, 8vo.

^d Milner's Hist. of the Church of Christ: Cent. iii. ch. xx.—The fidelity of this Reverend Historian has been gravely impugned by a member of his own community. See Christian Observer, Oct. and Nov. 1834.

^e Decline and Fall, Chap. xv.

New Testament, that, disregarding his own purpose here, we avail ourselves of his statement in these words—"Whosoever, without prejudice, looks into the New Testament must perceive, especially by the General Epistles, that as each Church was without any subordination or dependence on any other; so all things relating to decency, order, peace, edification, the suppression of scripture-schisms, or any other point of Discipline, belonged to the People; or, in other words, the 'brethren,' the 'faithful,' the 'beloved of God,' the 'elect,' the 'saints,' to whom these epistles were addressed. As God is to judge those 'without,' so *they* are to judge those 'within,' or their own members. It is *they*, as the apostle tells the *people* of Corinth, who are to purge the old leaven, and to 'put away' the 'wicked person;' and, therefore, he blames them for not censuring, when they were 'gathered together,' the incestuous Corinthian;^a which censure of *theirs*, he afterwards calls the 'punishment inflicted of the *many*.'^b And, as the 'brethren;' the 'spiritual brethren,' are to restore one taken in a fault;^c so *they* are to warn the 'unruly;' to 'see that none render evil for evil';^d to 'mark' those who cause offences, and avoid them;^e and, 'not to keep company' with 'a brother' that is a fornicator, or covetous, &c.^f And Clemens Romanus, whom I mention with the apostles, calls the censures of the church, 'Things commanded by the *people*.'^g And, in the apostolic age, we hear only of Diotrephes, who so far affected pre-eminence, as to presume, by his single authority, to throw men out of the church: it would be transcribing a great part of the Epistles, to show how all things relating to edification, peace, order, decency, are referred to the *people*. And though the epistle to the Philippians is directed to 'the bishops and deacons,' I mean, in due order, after the *people*, namely, to 'the saints' *with* their bishops and deacons, yet there is nothing in particular addressed to them, but there, as well as everywhere else, *all* is to the body of the *people*.

"As it is plain, by the general epistles, that *all* church power was in the *people*, so we find them, before these were written, exercising this power. For *they* voted not only in the election of deacons,^h but, even in the making an apostle, *they* first appointed out of their number two, as candidates for the apostleship; and then, according to the Jewish custom, determined the person by giving forth their lots.ⁱ So, it was *they* who sent forth Barnabas;^k *they* appointed companions and assistants for the apostle Paul in his travels, whom he terms, 'the apostles of the churches, and the glory of Christ.'^l If *they* were thus concerned in choosing extraordinary ministers, it cannot be thought but that they exercised the same power in choosing the ordinary; and therefore the apostles, as chief directors, are said to ordain; yet it was, as their cotemporary, Clemens Romanus, assures us, 'with the consent

^a 1 Cor. v. verses 12, 13; 7; 13; 4, 5.

^b 2 Cor. ii. 6. "And thus it ought to be *now*," says Chrysostom; in Acta, Hom. xiv. 3.—*τῶντο καὶ νῦν γινέσθαι ἔδει*.

^c Gal. vi. 1.

^d Rom. xvi. 17. '1 Cor. v. 11.

^e Acts vi. 5.

^f Acts xi. 22.

^g 1 Thess. v. 14, 15.

^h Ad Corinth.

ⁱ Acts i. 22, 26.

^j 2 Cor. viii. 19, 23.

of the *whole* church;^a or, as the old translation justly renders the text, by holding up the hands of the *people*, the usual way of expressing their consent.^b At the famous council^c of Jerusalem, the '*brethren*' were concerned, as well as the apostles and elders; and the letters were written in the name of these three orders:^d and it is in '*the church*,' which, in Scripture, always signifies the *people*, that our Saviour places the *dernier resort*;^e so we find the apostles themselves think it their duty to give an account of their actions to *them*; as Peter did,^f in the case of Cornelius."^g

In accordance with this lucid statement, the erudite and philosophic Mosheim affirms, unhesitatingly, that "the people were, undoubtedly, the first in authority; for the apostles showed, by their own example, that nothing of moment was to be carried on or determined without the consent of the assembly; and such a method of proceeding was both prudent and necessary in those critical times. It was, therefore, the assembly of the *people*, which chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same *people* rejected or confirmed by their suffrages the laws that were proposed by their rulers to the assembly; excommunicated profligate and unworthy members of the church; restored the penitent to their forfeited privileges; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension that arose in their community; examined and decided the disputes which happened between the elders and deacons; and, in a word, exercised all that authority which belongs to such as are invested with the sovereign power."^h

Such is the exposition of honesty and liberality triumphing over blind prejudice, or bigoted if not interested attachment to a church, so called, modified by alleged expediency till it presents what any one who studies the Divine oracles, the New Testament, must perceive bears neither in its officers, nor in its ritual, fidelity of accordance with what is there represented or delivered!

We proceed with another extract from the latter author, who, writing farther of the "primitive and golden period of the church,"ⁱ

^a Ad Corinth.

^b Ignatius, *ad Phil.* also says, "It is meet that you, as those who are the church of God, should choose your bishops by voice."

^c "Any church assembled for divine worship is sometimes called a 'council' or 'synod' by ancient writers."—Bingham, *Antiquity of the Christian Church*, book viii. chap. i. sec. 7.—*ἐκκλησία γὰρ συστήματος καὶ συνόδον ἔστιν ὄνομα*. Chrysost. *Expos.* in *Psal.* cxlix.

^d Acts xv. 23.

^e Matt. xviii. 17.

^f Acts xi. 4.

^g Tindal's *Rights of the Christian Church Asserted*, chap. iv. sect. 46, ed. 4. 1709. ^h *Eccles. Hist.* Maclaine's ed. Cent. I. part ii. chap. ii. sect. 5, 6.

ⁱ We take occasion here to introduce a striking passage by a celebrated Roman Catholic. Having, in connexion with Constantine's "donation," recited the remark of Godfrey of Viterbo, "That several thought the church was *happier* for the first three ages, but *happier* afterwards," the Abbé Fleury animadverts thus, "Whoever was the author of this fine expression, had very mean sentiments, which are not only beneath the Gospel, but human philosophy; for he that has any thought above what is vulgar, easily sees that the true happiness of this life consists in virtue, and not in riches; and whoever believes the Gospel cannot doubt of it."—*Discourses on Eccles. Hist.* Disc. iv. p. 239. ed. 1721. 8vo.

cautions against confounding the Scripture bishops with some in our times, who differ "extremely."

"A bishop, during the first and second century, was a person who had the care of one christian assembly, which at that time was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly, he acted, not so much with the authority of a master, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful servant. He instructed the people, performed the several parts of Divine worship, attended the sick, and inspected into the circumstances and supplies of the poor. He charged, indeed, the presbyters with the performance of those duties and services which the multiplicity of his engagements rendered it impossible for him to fulfil; but had not the power to decide or enact any thing without the consent of the presbyters and people. And, though the episcopal office was both laborious and singularly dangerous, yet its revenues were extremely small, since the church had no certain income, but depended on the gifts or oblations of the multitude."^a

If these quotations be not considered sufficient to disarm the advocates of Anglican prelatical episcopacy, we present them with the judgment of one of themselves, being that of no less a divine, and learned and distinguished a churchman, than Dr. Isaac Barrow, who candidly admits, that "At first each church was settled apart, . . . so as independently and separately to manage its own concerns; each was governed by its own head, and had its own laws."^b But if "authority" such as churchmen may not disregard be still needed, we produce that of their doughty archiepiscopal champion, Whitgift, who wrote thus,— "When I said that 'the state of the church was popular' in the apostles' time, I spake of the outward form, show, and government of it, which therefore I call 'popular,' because the church itself, that is, the whole multitude, had interest almost in every thing, especially whilst the church remained at Jerusalem."^c

All this, we assert, gives *more* than a "plausible colour to INDEPENDENCY!" But, to remove every doubt, and to make our position impregnable, we proceed farther by remarking, that it is notorious, that in conflicts with the Church of Rome, the Anglican Church has

^a *Ut sup.* 'sec. 12.—GIBBON becomes perplexed altogether, where, relating the circumstances which, he says, gave rise to "the lofty title of Bishop over the humble appellation of Presbyter," he tells us, in Note 110, to "see the introduction to the Apocalypse," and adds, "Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in seven cities of Asia. And yet," as it were discrediting what he had just penned, he continues thus, "the epistle of Clemens, which is probably of as ancient a date, does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy, either at *Corinth* or *Rome*." Chap. xv. And he remarks afterward, in Note 154, that Epiphanius allows the fact, that the city of *Thyatira* was not yet founded.

With the immortal MILTON, we unite in saying, that, "Were it not that the tyranny of Prelates, under the name of *Bishops*, had made our ears tender and startling, we might call every good minister a bishop, as every bishop, yea, the apostles themselves, are called 'ministers,' and the angels 'ministering spirits,' and the ministers again 'angels.'"—*Ubi supra*, p. 19.

^b *Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy*, 1680. p. 240.

^c *Defence*. 1574. p. 182.

been compelled to resort to first principles, retreating upon the New Testament, the only common ground of Protestants. There *we* make our stand, for there we find Congregational churches "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."^a To confirm this, we rejoice at being able to draw our materials from the writings of that pre-eminent son of the Establishment already cited, Dr. Isaac Barrow, whose subsequent words and argumentation show clearly the very constitution of Independent churches, and whence we challenge the affinity of their discipline to be far more accordant to Scriptural institution, and therefore far more apostolical, than that of any ecclesiastical system which has ever been incorporated into, or allied, in any way, to secular governments. Yes, we cannot but rejoice that the pen of a divine of such a "large and comprehensive mind,"^b should have been providentially made subservient to a faithful exhibition of truly primitive Christianity; and still more, as it is entirely free from suspicion of collusion or designed accommodation.

Having brought his argument to the point before us, this profound scholar continues by saying, "The question is, Whether the Church is necessarily, by the design and appointment of God, to be, in way of external policy, under one singular government or jurisdiction of any kind; so as a kingdom or commonwealth are united under the command of one monarch or one senate?" He then contends for the negative side of this proposition, premising, "That the Church is capable of such a union, is not the controversy; . . . that when, in a manner all Christendom did consist of subjects to the Roman empire, the Church then did arrive near such a unity, I do not at present contest; but that such a union of all Christians is necessary, or that it was ever instituted by Christ, I cannot grant, and for my refusal of that opinion, I shall assign divers reasons.

1. "This being a point of great consideration, and, trenching upon practice, which every one were concerned to know; and there being frequent occasions to declare it; yet the Holy Scripture doth nowhere express or intimate such a kind of unity; which is a sufficient proof that it hath no firm ground. We may say of it as St. Austin saith of the Church itself, 'I will not that the holy church be demonstrated from human reasonings [*documentis*], but [from] the Divine Oracles.'^c St. Paul particularly, in divers epistles,^d designedly treating about the unity of the Church, together with other points of doctrine neighbouring thereon, and amply describing it, doth not yet imply any such unity then extant, or designed to be. He doth maintain and urge the unity of spirit, of faith, of charity, of peace, of relation to our Lord, of communion in devotions and offices of piety; but concerning any union under one singular visible government or polity he is silent. He saith, 'One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all;'^e not one monarch, or one senate,

^a Eph. ii. 20.

^b Introduction by Dr. Tillotson, to Barrow's "Supremacy," *sup.*

^c De Unit. chap. iii.

^d Eph. iv. 1 Cor. xii. Rom xii. Gal. iii. 28.

^e Eph. iv. 5, 6.

or one sanhedrin; which is a pregnant sign that none such was then instituted, otherwise he could not have slipped over a point so very material and pertinent to his discourse.

2. "By the apostolical history it may appear, that the apostles in the propagation of Christianity, and founding of christian societies, had no meaning, did take no care, to establish any such polity. They did resort to several places, whither Divine instinct, or reasonable occasion, did carry them; where, by their preaching, having convinced and converted a competent number of persons,^a to the embracing christian doctrine, they did appoint pastors to instruct and edify them,^b. this is all we can see done by them.

3. "The Fathers, in their set treatises, and in their incidental discourses, about the unity of the church, . . do make it to consist only in those unions of faith, charity, peace, which we have described, not in this political union. . .

4. "The constitution of such a unity [as the question imports] doth involve the vesting some person, or some number of persons, with a sovereign authority (subordinate to our Lord), . . but of these things, in the apostolic writings, or in any near those times, there doth not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation. . .

5. "The primitive state of the Church did not well comport with such a unity. For, Christian Churches were founded in distant places, as the apostles did find opportunity, or received direction to found them; which therefore could not, without extreme inconvenience, have resort or reference to one authority any where fixed. Each Church, therefore, separately did order its own affairs, without recourse to others, except for charitable advice or relief, in cases of extraordinary difficulty or urgent need. Each Church was endowed with a perfect liberty and a full authority, without dependence or subordination to others, to govern its own members, to manage its own affairs, to decide controversies and causes incident among themselves, without allowing appeals or rendering accounts to others. This appeareth by the apostolical writings of St. Paul and St. John, to single Churches;^c wherein they are supposed able to exercise spiritual power for establishing decency, removing disorders, correcting offences, deciding causes, &c.

6. "This *αὐτονομία* and liberty of Churches, doth appear to have long continued in practice inviolate; although tempered and modelled in accommodation to the circumstances of place and time. . .

7. "This political unity doth not well accord with the nature and genius of the evangelical dispensation. Our Saviour affirmed that his 'kingdom is not of this world';^d and St. Paul telleth us,^e that it consisteth in Spiritual influence upon the souls of men, producing in them virtue, Spiritual joy, and peace. It disavoweth and discountenanceth 'the elements of the world,'^f by which worldly designs are

^a "Ὅχλον ἱκανόν" Acts xi. 26.

^b Χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν" Acts xiv. 23.

^c Apoc. ii. and iii. 1 Cor. xiv. 40. 1 Thess. v. 14. 1 Cor. v. 12; vi. 1.

^d John xviii. 36.

^e Rom. xiv. 17.

^f Gal. iv. 3. 9. Col. ii. 20.

carried on, and worldly frames sustained. It requireth not to be managed by politic artifices or 'fleshly wisdom,'^a but by simplicity, sincerity, plain dealing; as every subject of it must lay aside all 'guile' and dissimulation,^b so especially the officers of it must do so, in conformity to the apostles, who had their 'conversation in the world,' and prosecuted their design 'in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God;^c 'not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully,' &c.^d It needeth not to be supported or enlarged by wealth and pomp, or by compulsive force and violence, for 'God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; base, despicable things, &c. that no flesh should glory in his presence:'^e and 'the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God,' &c.^f It discountenanceth the imposition of new laws and precepts, beside those which God hath enjoined, or which are necessary for order and edification; derogating from the liberty of Christians, and from the simplicity of our religion.^g The government of the christian state is represented purely spiritual; administered by meek persuasion, not by imperious awe; as an humble ministry, not as stately domination; for the apostles themselves did not lord it over men's 'faith,' but did co-operate to their 'joy';^h they did not 'preach' themselves, but 'Christ Jesus' to be 'the Lord'; and themselves their 'servants for Jesus.'ⁱ It is expressly forbidden to them to domineer over God's people.^k They are to be qualified with gentleness and patience;^l they are forbidden to 'strive,' and enjoined to 'be gentle towards all, apt to teach, patient, in meekness instructing those that oppose themselves.'^m They are to convince, to 'rebuke,' to 'exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine.'ⁿ They are furnished with no arms beside the Divine panoply;^o they bear no 'sword' but that 'of the Spirit,' which is 'the word of God';^p they may teach, reprove, they cannot compel. They are not to be entangled in the cares of 'this life.'^q

"But supposing the Church was designed to be one, in this manner of political regiment, it must be quite another thing; nearly resembling a worldly state, yea, in effect, soon resolving itself into such a one. . . The Christian Church is averse from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth, or force, to maintain it; but did at first, and may subsist without such means."

At this place, our author feels it expedient to protect himself from the charge of betraying the Church of England; yet he nevertheless concedes to truth all that fidelity and conscience seemed to him to require, by adding in these words, "I do not say that an ecclesiastical

^a 2 Cor. i. 12.^b 1 Pet. ii. 1.^c 2 Cor. i. 12.^d *Ib.* iv. 2; ii. 17, κατ᾽ ἡλ'—1 Thess. ii. 3—5.^e 1 Cor. i. 27—29. Jam. ii. 5.^f 2 Cor. x. 4.^g Matt. xv. 9. Col. ii. 8—21 Gal. iv. 10.^h 2 Cor. i. 24.ⁱ *Ib.* iv. 5.^k 1 Pet. v. 3. Matt. xx. 25, 26.^l 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Tim. iii. 3.^m 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25.ⁿ *Ib.* iv. 2.^o Eph. vi. 13.^p *Ib.* 17.^q 2 Tim. ii. 4.

society may not lawfully, for its support, use power, policy, wealth, in some measure, to uphold or defend itself; but, that a constitution needing such things is not divine; or that so far as it doth use them, it is no more than human."^a

Here, then, before the whole Christian world, and especially in the face of the Church of England, we make our hallowed boast, that INDEPENDENT, or CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES acting out their own principles fully, are the "best"^b constituted Churches in Christendom: for who shall successfully controvert what has been advanced in our cause by such a relator and advocate as Isaac Barrow?

Seeing, hence, that Independency is grounded on Scripture alone, and may not, therefore, be abrogated or abandoned, we shall pursue the project of giving some account of its advancement in our own country.

CHAP. II.

THE IMPLANTATION AND GROWTH OF INDEPENDENCY IN ENGLAND — OF ROBERT BROWNE, AND BROWNIISM.

THE Reformation had spread itself, in 1560, over Flanders and the Netherlands; when a sharp persecution commenced, on which, numbers flocked to the coast-towns of England. But, so short-sighted are mere politicians, that her Majesty, queen Elizabeth, was advised to issue a proclamation, commanding "the Anabaptists, and such like heretics," to depart the realm within twenty days.^c Five years after, the great confederacy against the Protestants abroad was instituted; when the nobility of the United Provinces formed themselves into an association the following year; but though thus prepared, the notorious Duke of Alva arrived from Italy with a body of Spanish veterans, and commenced, in 1568, a methodized plan of confiscation, imprisonment, torture, exile, and death; a complication of cruelty, oppression, insolence, usurpation, and persecution! Numbers had, happily, found shelter, secretly or otherwise, in our own country. These disseminated here the knowledge of their arts and manufactures together with the principles of their Religion; and when the bishops resolved, but vainly, to make the attempt to extirpate those principles,

^a A Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church. By Isaac Barrow, D.D. late Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1680. 4to. p. 21—33.

^b "As to matter and manner of Divine worship, the great thing controverted in the world, among the many ways professed and practised, is, Who can lay the best claim to Divine authority? And hence it is that *we*, pretending also to the like claim, do here, not only declare what we hold in this weighty point, but make our plea for the *best* right to Divine authority for the worship of God in Congregational Churches." The Divine Institution of Cong. Churches, &c. By Isaac Chauncy, M.A., 1697. 12mo. p. iv.

^c Camden's ELIZ. p. 48. *ed.* 1648.

they found that the counties of Norfolk and of Suffolk, and others adjacent, had imbibed them with avidity, and would maintain them with resolution. Fifty thousand Protestants, at least, were put to death in the United Provinces alone, which induced those provinces to revolt in 1572; and the next year they established, triumphantly, the Reformed Religion, with a universal toleration, though on secular grounds, of all sects; except the admission of Papists to offices of the State. And early in 1578, these wise statesmen strengthened themselves by an alliance with England.^a

That Independency, without the name, was growing up, both at home and abroad, simultaneously, is indubitable. Penry tells queen Elizabeth, in a paper dated Edinburgh, April 30th, 1593, "That, in all likelihood, if the days of your sister, queen Mary, and her persecution, had continued unto this day, the Church of God in England had been far more flourishing than at this day it is."^b And Strype quotes him, where he says, "It is well known that there was then in London, under the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more flourishing churches than any now tolerated by your authority."^c

The Council of Trent had despatched, for reasons loosely assigned by Strype, two emissaries from Rotterdam, in the year 1549, "who were to pretend themselves Anabaptists," and to "preach up re-baptizing, and a Fifth-Monarchy upon earth." In May the council forwarded a communication from Delft to two bishops, "whereof Winchester [Gardiner] was one," signifying that they should "cherish" the emissaries, "and take their parts, if they should chance to receive any checks;" telling those bishops "that it was left to them to assist in this course, and to some others, whom they knew to be well affected to the Mother-Church. Let it be remembered," Strype adds, "that about this time Winchester was appointed with Ridley bishop of Rochester, to examine certain Anabaptists in Kent."^d

We learn, too, from Fox, that "upon New-year's day, *anno* 1555-6, at night following, certain men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them, named Master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow-Church-Yard, at the communion; and, the same night, they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the third day of January, Mr. Rose was brought before the Bishop of Winchester, being Lord Chancellor; and from thence, the same day, he was committed to the Tower."^e And, in another place, that Mr. John Rough, having left Scotland, his native country, in search of the Gospel, arrived November 10th, 1557, in London. "Where, hearing of the secret society and holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself unto them; afterward, being elected their minister and preacher. . . The twelfth day of December, he, with Cuthbert Sympson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false, hypocritical, and dissembling brother

^a Mosheim, and Hume, *passim*; with Heylyn's Hist. Presb. lib. iii. sect. 50.

^b Ephraim Pagitt's Heresiography, p. 272. *ed.* 1662. 12mo.

^c Life of Whitgift, p. 411.

^d Mem. of Cranmer, bk. ii. ch. xv. p. 207.

^e Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 114. *ed.* 1641. fo.

called Roger Serjeant, a tailor, were apprehended by the Vice Chamberlain of the Queen's household, at the Saracen's Head, in Islington, where the congregation had then proposed to assemble themselves to their godly and accustomable exercises of prayer and hearing the Word of God : which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet at their examinations covered and excused by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place." He was burned, Dec. 22d, as was "the deacon of that said godly company and congregation," Cuthbert Sympson also, March 28th following, after having been cruelly racked.^a It seems that this was a congregation of "Gospellers," who approved of King Edward's Service-book, and had adopted it. The "play," being on a Sunday, might have been one of those popish devices called "holy mysteries." For, "the acting of plays, in churches, seemeth to have been frequent in this and other nations, during the times of popery ; as appears from the decretal epistle against them. At the Reformation, and for some time after, those plays and interludes were very common ; and, being representations of the corruptions of the monks and the popish clergy, were very acceptable to the people."^b

What must not have been the extremity, however, to which Mr. Rough and his church were driven, when they could not assemble but under such a cover ? Bonner, and his myrmidon pursuivants, or spies, pursued them with fiendish vigilance, and brought numbers of both sexes to wretchedness, misery, and death. Whoever is at all acquainted with the unparalleled rigour and watchfulness of that age, will be so far qualified to judge of the following disheartening representation :—

"That which they add^c of 'sundry secret congregations in queen Mary's days, in many parts of the land,' is but a boast. There were very few of them in any. But where they say, that these 'did, upon queen Elizabeth's entrance, openly profess the Gospel,' it is untrue ; there was not one congregation separated in queen Mary's days, that so remained in queen Elizabeth's. The congregations were dissolved, and the persons in them bestowed themselves in their several parishes, where their livings and estates lay. The circumcised were mingled with the uncircumcised ; whence came that monstrous confusion against which we witness. And show me one of your ministers continuing his charge in queen Elizabeth's days, over the flock to which he ministered, in queen Mary's days, the persecuted Gospel ? It is certain the congregations, whether many or few, were all dispersed ; and that the members of them joined themselves to the profane apostate papists, where their outward occasions lay. As, then, a handful or bundle of corn shuffled into a field of weeds, though in itself it retain the same nature, yet cannot make the field a corn-field ; so neither could this small handful of separated people in queen Mary's days sanctify the whole

^a Acts and Monuments, vol. iii. p. 860—864.

^b See Bishop Gibson's Codex ; who tells us, under Canon lxxviii. *ed.* 1713, p. 215, that this profane usage continued so late as 1603.

^c The Ministers ; in their "Certain Positions," &c. See a subsequent chapter, p. 255.

field of the idolatrous and profane multitude in the land, by their scattering themselves amongst them."^a

Still, these scattered elements of the dissolved congregations would soon revert and coalesce, on the arrival of the Dutch who fled from the approach of Alva;^b and the latent sparks of true religion would consequently spread with increasing glow, being confined no longer "in a secret place."^c Accordingly we find that in 1567 their influence had extended to London, where a meeting of about a hundred persons, in Plumber's Hall, was interrupted by officers, who apprehended "fourteen or fifteen of them."^d "Thus began in England, the persecution of Protestants, by their fellow-dissenters from the Church of Rome!"^e And following this iniquitous precedent, it proceeded in the like spirit and temper; which is admirably exhibited by one who wrote from knowledge and experience, though he did not rank under the same class with those sufferers in whom we are more immediately interested, but he might equally have applied to himself the warning:—

"Thou must prepare thine ears to hear the noise
Of causeless threat'nings, or the foolish voice
Of ignorant Reprovers. . .
Thou must provide thyself to hear great Lords
Talk, without reason, big imperious words.
Thou must contented be to make repair,
If need require, before the Scorners' chair;
To hear them jeer, and flout, and take in hand
To scoff at what they do not understand!
Or say, perhaps, That of thyself thou makest
Some goodly thing; or, That thou undertakest
Above thy calling—or, unwarranted!
Not heeding from whose mouth it hath been said—
'God's wisdom oft elects what men despise,
And foolish things, to foil the worldly-wise!' " f

This having been premised, we proceed by basing our superstructure upon "The disposition awakened by the Reformation, to receive nothing on merely human authority, and to bring every true Christian into that state of constant intercourse with the Supreme Mind which allows no authority and little peculiar sacredness in priests, and is displeased with the outward badges of their high pretensions;" to support which, the "machinery of persecution" already "put together and set up," was now "brought into activity," and produced, in the words of the statesman we are citing, "a pernicious example, little excused by the limited extent of its immediate mischief."^g This eminent jurist remarks also, that "the worship of God is a want of the people; they will have it at any cost; and to subject their indulgence of it to the peril of life or fortune, was to breed fanaticism and vengeance." And

^a Robinson's *Justification of Separation*. 1610. p. 460.

^b See back, p. 14.

^c Luke xi. 33.

^d *Strype's Life of Abp. Parker*, bk. iii. ch. xvi. p. 242.

^e Sir James Mackintosh's *Hist. of Eng.* vol. iii. ch. iii. p. 133. 1831.

^f Geo. Wither, "Britain's Remembrancer." 1628. 24mo. cant. v. p. 156.

^g Mackintosh, *ut sup.*

he subjoins, that "Persecution was never yet employed by a Government, without recoiling upon its authors, in the very evil which it was intended to prevent."^a Alas! our track runs through scenes of blood and terror! We commence it, at this point, by remarking, that the *first* public protestation made in favour of our cause had the disadvantage of emanating from an individual who retarded its free course by his personal defection.

Consorting with others diligently employed in Biblical investigation, ROBERT BROWNE, of Corpus Christi, that is, Bene't College, Cambridge, Master of the Free School, St. Olave's, Southwark,^b and Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, professed to be influenced by similarity of purpose. Although related to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, he was cited in June 1571, to appear, with several Puritans, before archbishop Whitgift; but his high connexions protected him "for the present."^c Resentment of oppression might explain some of the motives which actuated him in part of his subsequent conduct; for, from what is now known of the real sentiments of several of queen Elizabeth's "most favoured ministers,"^d Browne might be the *unworthy* promoter of liberal views in mere contradiction to the arbitrary measures of the hierarchy. His intrepidity appears from his making it his boast, that for preaching against bishops and their courts, the ordaining of priests, and the ceremonies, he had been committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon.^e Extraordinary as this seems, his was no uncommon fate; and the result was, that the conduct of the Queen and her ecclesiastics, in resisting the restraints which the Parliament was proceeding to enact, awakened "a brave spirit of liberty." "A message," said the fearless Peter Wentworth, "was brought the last sessions [1572] into the House, That we should not deal in any matters of religion, but first to receive [permission] from the Bishops! Surely this," he continued, "was a doleful message! . . . I have heard of old parliament-men, that the banishment of the Pope and Popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from *this House*, not from the bishops."^f

^a Ib. ch. v. p. 283. Experience of this truth has tardily brought the day in which a Bishop of London has denounced the measures of his "order," on this subject. July 27th, 1832, this question having been put, by a Committee of the House of Commons, "Is your Lordship aware of any instance in which an enactment of penalties has ever been efficient in enforcing moral or religious duties?" His Lordship gave this memorable reply, "I think that the positive enforcement of religious duties by penalties is a mistake; it is a mistake in the principles of legislation!"

^b Pagit's Heresiography, (1645.) ed. 1662. 12mo. p. 66.

^c Neal's Hist. of the Purit. vol. 1. p. 227. ed. 1822.—He was son of Anthony Browne of Toilethorpe, Rutlandshire, Esquire; of "ancient and right worshipful extraction." Fuller's Church Hist. bk. ix. p. 167, and his Worthies, p. 353.

^d Consult Hume, Hist. Eng. ch. xl. an. 1568 and 1579.

^e Fuller, *sup.* p. 168.

^f Wentworth was "a Puritan;" that is, according to a saying of Mr. Butler of Cambridge, given by Dr. Barlow, one of archbishop Whitgift's chaplains, in his account of the Hampton-court Conference, "a Protestant frayed out of his wits!"—and he signalized himself by opening the session, Feb. 8th, 1575-6. His whole speech is recorded in D'Ewes' Journal, p. 238. Hume remarks under *an.* 1579, that it "seems to contain a rude sketch of those principles of liberty

The rigid rule of the Prelates obstructing the free exercise of religious worship, Browne, who had resided for about a year among some Dutch emigrants in the diocese of Norfolk,^a retired with several friends to Zealand, better known since as the fatal island of Walcheren. In that then "cradle of liberty," they constituted themselves into a church; and the press being unrestrained, the pastor published his doctrines in "A Book which sheweth the Life and Manners of all true Christians; and, how unlike they are unto Turks and Papists, and Heathen folk. Also, The Points and Parts of all Divinity, that is, of the revealed

which happily gained, afterwards, the ascendant in England." Thus religious and civil liberty dawned, suffered, and have prevailed together. In another place, Hume says, "Wentworth was, indeed, by his Puritanism, as well as his love of liberty—for these two characters of such unequal merit arose and advanced together—the true forerunner of the Hampdens, the Pym, and the Hollises, who in the next age, with less courage, because with less danger, rendered their principles so triumphant." App. to Eliz. Note AA. It should be kept in mind, throughout the progress of our Memorials, that in no one respect are we indebted to Churchmen in power for placing liberty on a just basis. "The doctrine of Passive Obedience is strenuously inculcated by the Bishop's Book, 1537, in the exposition of the Decalogue. See Formularies, &c. p. 153. Oxf. ed. And the trial of Dr. Sacheverel shows with what uniformity the doctrine was maintained, from that time till the Revolution of 1688." Life of Abp. Laud, by C. W. Le Bas, M.A. 1836. 16mo. p. 107.

^a The following letters, addressed to Lord Burghley, in the handwriting of Dr. Freke, bishop of Norwich, are still extant among the Lansdowne MSS. No. 33, arts. 13 and 20.

"My duty to your Lordship remembered: Being informed of many great disorders in the town of Bury and country thereabout, as well in the clergy as in the laity; whereof, besides the general complaint, the High Commissioners at Bury understanding of the same disorders, advertised me thereof by letters, requiring me to take order therein, I did of late in person, with others of my associates in Commission Ecclesiastical for these parts, visit the said town. In the which, finding great divisions amongst the people, some whereof are very desirous in dutiful affection to have her Majesty's proceeding observed; others, on the contrary, being given to fantastical innovations; there were, moreover, divers matters of importance exhibited and proved against Mr. Handson, who is, in very deed, the only man there blowing the coals whereof this fire is kindled. It was therefore thought meet, for the better quiet of that place, that he should be suspended from preaching, unless he could be contented to enter into bond to her Majesty's use hereafter to teach and preach the Word sincerely and purely, without impugning or inveighing against the Communion Book, the order of government, and laws of this realm now established. Which offer refusing, he was and is thereupon inhibited to preach. Whereof I have thought good not only to inform your Lordship, but also the rest of my Lords of the Council, if so it should like your Lordship. Wherein this bearer is to attend and follow your Lordship's directions; having for your and their Lordships' better information, sent herewith a copy of the article and proof thereof preferred against Mr. Handson, referring the procedure therein taken to your Lordship's judgment and consideration. And herewith I send unto your Lordship other articles ministered against one Robert Browne, a minister, and his several answers thereunto: the said party being lately apprehended in this country, upon complaint made by many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine, contained and set down more at large in the same articles. His arrogant spirit of reproving being such as is to be marvelled at, the man being also to be feared, lest, if he were at liberty, he would seduce the vulgar sort of the people, who greatly depend on him, assembling themselves to the number of a hundred at a time, in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of some thereabout.

Will and Word of God, are declared by their several Definitions and Divisions, in order as followeth."^a

The following selections so clearly prove the New Testament to be the genuine source whence they are chiefly derived; and, also the Scriptural principles of the Congregational Churches to have been developing themselves from the very earliest stages of the Reformation; that as the passages are not to be found in Browne's words in any other subsequent publication, we deem them far too curious and instructive to be omitted here.

"*The New Testament*, which is called the Gospel, or glad tidings, is a joyful and plain declaring and teaching, by a due message, of the remedy of our miseries through Christ our Redeemer, who is come in the flesh, a Saviour unto those which worthily receive this message, and hath fulfilled the old ceremonies.—Our *calling*, in plainer

And so I humbly betake your Honour to God's tuition. Your Lordship's humbly at commandment, Edmond Norwich. Ludham, 19th April, 1581."

"My duty unto your good Lordship most humbly remembered: May it please your Lordship to understand that though Mr. Browne's late coming into my diocese and teaching strange and dangerous doctrine in all disordered manner, hath greatly troubled the whole country, and brought many to great disobedience of all laws and magistrates; yet by the good aid and help of my Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Anderson his associate, the chiefest of such factions were so bridled, and the rest of their followers so greatly dismayed, as I verily hoped of much good and quietness to have thereof ensued, had not the said Browne now returned, contrary to my expectation, and greatly prejudiced these their good proceedings; who having private meetings in such close and secret manner as that I know not possibly how to suppress the same. Am very sorry to foresee that, touching this my diocese, which must, in short time, by him and other disordered persons which only seek the disturbance of the Church, be brought to pass. And, therefore, the careful duty I ought to have to the country being my charge, enforceth me to crave most earnestly your Lordship's help in suppressing him especially, that no further inconvenience follow by this his return: and procuring my Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Anderson such thanks from her Majesty for their painful travail in that behalf, that thereby they may be encouraged to go still forwards in the same: and herewithal, if it would please your Lordship to give me your good advice, how to prevent such dangers as through the strange dealings of some of the gentlemen in Suffolk about Bury, is like to ensue, I should be much bound to your Honour for the same; which gentlemen in winking at, if not of policy procuring the disordered sort to go forwards in their evil attempts, and discouraging the staid and wiser sort of preachers—as by sundry letters which I send your Lordship by this bringer may appear more plainly unto your Honour—will in time, I fear me, hazard the overthrow of all religion, if it be not in due time wisely prevented. And thus leaving the rest to the further declaration of this bringer, I humbly betake your good Lordship to the protection of Almighty God. From Ludham, this 2d of August, 1581. Your good Lordship's humbly at commandment, Edmond Norwich."

^a With the addition, "Robert Browne. Middleburgh, Imprinted by Richard Painter." 1582. 4to. pp. 112. The contents are comprised in 185 questions and propositions, in tabular columns: headed, "The state of Christians;" paralleled by 126, headed "The state of Heathen;" by 41, "The Antichristian state;" and by 18, "The Jewish state." All these are again paralleled in another column, by as many "Definitions;" and the whole is reduced into analytical principles in phrases and single words. The book is an excellent specimen of typographical arrangement, and is excessively scarce. The only perfect copy we know of, is in the library of the Rev. T. Russell, A.M., editor of Owen, Baxter, &c.

manner, is when the means which move us to seek Christ are clear to the conscience, without the outward shadows and ceremonies thereof.

The Church planted or gathered, is a company or number of Christians or believers, which, by a willing covenant made with their God, are under the government of God and Christ, and keep his laws in one holy communion : because Christ hath redeemed them unto holiness and happiness for ever, from which they were fallen by the sin of Adam.—*The Church government*, is the Lordship of Christ in the communion of his offices ; whereby his people *obey* to his will, and have mutual use of their graces and callings, to further their godliness and welfare.”—DEF. 36.

“ *The kingdom of Christ*, is his office of government, whereby he useth the obedience of his people to keep his laws and commandments, to their salvation and welfare.—*The kingdom of Antichrist*, is his government confirmed by the Civil Magistrate, whereby he abuseth the obedience of the people to keep his evil laws, and customs, to their own damnation. . . *Separation* of the open wilful, or grievous offenders, is a dutifulness of the Church in withholding from them the Christian communion and fellowship, by pronouncing and showing the covenant of Christian communion to be broken by their grievous wickedness, and that with mourning, fasting, and prayer for them, and denouncing God’s judgments against them.”—DEF. 48.

“ *The office of teaching and guiding*, is a charge or message committed by God unto those which have grace and gifts for the same, and thereto are tried and duly received of the People, to use their obedience in learning and keeping the laws of God.”—DEF. 49.

“ *Eldership*, is a joining or partaking of the authority of Elders, or forwardest and wisest, in a peaceable meeting, for redressing and deciding of matters in particular Churches, and for counsel therein.”—DEF. 51.

“ *A Pastor*, is a person having office and message of God, for exhorting and moving especially, and guiding accordingly : for the which he is tried to be meet, and thereto is duly chosen by the church which calleth him, or, received by obedience where he planteth the Church.—*A Teacher* of doctrine, is a person having office and message of God, for teaching especially, and guiding accordingly, with less gift to exhort and apply : for the which he is tried to be meet, and thereto is duly chosen by the Church which calleth him, or, received by obedience where he planteth the church.—*An Elder*, or more forward in gift, is a person having office and message of God, for oversight and counsel, and redressing things amiss : for the which he is tried, &c.”—DEF. 53.

“ *The Reliever*, [or *Deacon*,] is a person having office of God, to provide, gather, and bestow the gifts and liberality of the Church as there is need : to the which office he is tried and received as meet.—*The Widow*, is a person having office of God to pray for the Church, and to visit and minister to those which are afflicted and distressed in the Church : for the which she is tried and received as meet.”—DEF. 54.

“ *Civil Magistrates*, are persons authorised of God, and received by the consent or choice of the people, whether officers or subjects, or by

birth and succession also, to make and execute laws by public agreement, to rule the commonwealth in all outward justice; and to maintain the right, welfare, and honour thereof, with outward power, bodily punishments, and civil forcing of men."—DEF. 117.

"*The gathering of voices and consent of the People*, is a general inquiry who is meet to be chosen; when, first, it is appointed to them all, being duly assembled, to look out such persons among them; and then, the number of the most which agree is taken by some of the wisest, with presenting and naming of the parties to be chosen, if none can allege any cause or default against them —The *Ordaining* by some of the forwardest and wisest, is a pronouncing them with prayer and thanksgiving and laying on of hands (if such imposition of hands be not turned into pomp or superstition) that they are called and authorised of God, and received of their charge to that calling."—DEF. 119.^a

These extracts show that their author held some of the principles of Presbyterianism. Whether, indeed, his scheme of Church-government were too rigid, or that his personal conduct were impeached, we have not discovered, but dissensions quickly sprung up in the newly constituted church at Middleburgh. Their Pastor retreated so early as 1584 into Scotland, accompanied by several adherents.^b Here he was so great "a malecontent" that he was committed to "ward, and there detained a night or two, till he was tried."^c But "the Court" took him under their "protection, and encouraged him;" for no other "conceivable reason" than his "exclaiming against the ministers, and calling in question their authority;"^d a reason, we add, for concluding that Browne was not a Presbyterian. The instance just cited is not the only one from which it may be inferred that he was acting covertly, in subserviency to the Courtiers against the dominant Divines, as another instance has been heretofore surmised. It is true these surmises are not confirmed by the royal pen; for we have even kingly authority concerning Browne at this period; yet we cannot forget that the royal craftsman was ever prepared to change his own policy, and that he abandoned what he had called in 1590, the "sincerest *Kirk* of the world."^e He writes, however, that "Divers, as Browne, Penry,

^a "The most wicked have gotten from all, the liberty of using their voice and sentence, and do, at their pleasures, present, name, and approve whom they will; as the Examiner, the Patron, the Bishop," &c.

^b Dr. M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, vol. i p. 325. There is among Cole's MSS. Kennet's Collections, vol. 48, p. 137, a Letter from Lord Burghley to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated from Richmond, 17th July, 1584, in which his Lordship says, "I am content that your Grace and my Lord of London, where I fear Browne is [should] use him as your Wisdoms think meet. I have cause to pity the poor man."

^c Calderwood, p. 230.

^d M'Crie, *sup.*

^e To which he added, "As for our neighbour *kirk* of England, their service is an evil-said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your *purity*, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same!" Calderwood, p. 286.—In 1604, when James had, notwithstanding his pledge, become the "head" of the English Episcopalians, he consistently acknowledged "the Roman church to be our mother church." Stow's *Annals*,

and others, at sundry times came into Scotland, to sow their *popple* amongst us. And, from my heart, I wish that they had left no scholars behind them, who by their fruits will in their own time be manifested.”^a

About 1585, it seems that Browne was in England, where his watchful foes cited him speedily to answer for his Treatises,^b but no proof being found that he was an accessary to their dispersion here, he was dismissed on that occasion. His avowed sentiments on primitive Christianity, and his moral conduct, became, ultimately, quite discordant. His temper and inconsistencies continually embroiled him with those who acted under him in disseminating his doctrines; and at length, after having been excommunicated for contempt, by the bishop

1631, p. 840. Indeed, as one of his countrymen said, “he made a foul defecation.” Serm. at Scoon, at the coronation of Charles II. Jan. 1, 1651-2, by Robert Douglas, Moderator of the General Assembly. Phenix, vol. i. p. 261.

^a Basil. Dor. p. 143, in King James’s Works, 1616. His Majesty’s “popple” may be defined by Hume’s words, that in the reign of his predecessor, “the noble principles of liberty took root, and spreading themselves under the shelter of” what he calls “puritanical absurdities, became fashionable among the people.” ELIZ. App. iii.

^b Besides that from which we have quoted, Browne had printed another, “Of Reformation without tarrying for any; and of the Wickedness of those Preachers who will not reform themselves and their charge, because they will tarry till the Magistrate command and compel them.” Subsequently to this was published “The Rasing of the Foundations of Brownism: wherein, against all the Writings of the principal Masters of that Sect, those chief Conclusions in the next page are—amongst sundry other matter, worthy the reader’s knowledge—purposely handled and soundly proved. Also, Their contrary Arguments and Objections deliberately examined and clearly refelled by the Word of God.—Isa. lvii. 21. Lond. 1588.” 4to. pp. 145. The initials at the end of the Epistle Dedicatory are attributed to S. Bredwell, and it is dated “From London, the 12th of the sixth month.” On the back of the title-page is printed, “The Chief Conclusions in this book: 1. No man ought to depart this Communion, for any open unworthy ones resorting unto it. 2. A faithful Christian may keep himself free from the pollution of the known wicked, at the Sacrament, and yet not separate himself; and how, 3. Open notorious offenders, not separated from a Congregation of Christ, do not thereupon unsanctify the same so as to make it no Church of Christ. 4. It may be a true Church of God that hath in it divers corruptions, both in doctrine and practice. 5. The Church of England is not more unsound than divers undoubted Churches have been, from which no separation was counselled. 6. No man ought to separate himself from the Church of England, for the defects and corruptions that are therein. 7. By Faith only, visible Churches have their account and being in Christ. 8. Discipline is not of the essence or being of a Church.” In his address to the Reader, the author writes, “Of mine adversaries, I rather know the nature than the number. Although sundry among them, from time to time, have laboured to be leaders, and so upon the spur of emulation have galloped as hard as they could; yet without all question, there is none among them that can justly take the garland from Robert Browne. His writings do forejudge the cause against all his competitors. . . Let them not disdain, therefore, that he should bear the name, as the father of that family and brood, which, of late years, in a quarrel for the Discipline, have made that rend in the assemblies of England. . . Barrowe and Greenwood nakedly discovered their profession, and are prisoners. Browne cunningly counterfeited Conformity, and dissembleth with his own soul, for liberty.” The first page of the treatise itself is headed, “The doubts and objections of a certain disciple of Robert Browne’s, wherein being urged ‘to come to Church,’ the said party desired first to be resolved.”

of Peterborough,^a he revolted from his disciples, and was protected and rewarded by Burghley,^b Sept. 6th, 1591,^c with the rectory of Achurch, Northamptonshire, "and that none of the meanest,"^d; and hence at his death, about 1630, he left to the Church of England the ample legacy of his shame. ^e All that was discreditable in him, Independents

^a Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 582.

^b This letter, among the Lansdowne MSS. vol. 103. art. 60, confirms what is stated above:—"To the Rev. Father in God, my very good Lord the Bishop of Peterborough. After my very hearty commendations to your Lordship: Although it might seem somewhat strange that I should write to your Lordship in the favour of this bearer, Robert Browne, who hath been so notably disliked in the world for his strange manner of writing and opinions held by him; yet seeing he hath now a good time forsaken the same, and submitted himself to the order and government established in the Church, I have been the rather moved to recommend him to your Lordship's favour, and to pray you if haply any conceit may be in you, that there should remain any relics in him of his former erroneous opinions, your Lordship would confer with him, and, finding him dutiful and conformable, as I hope you shall, to receive him again into the ministry, and to give him your best means and help for some ecclesiastical preferment: wherein I am the more willing to do him good, and am not a little glad at the reclaiming of him, being of kindred unto me, as your Lordship, I think, knows. And so I very heartily bid your Lordship farewell. From my house near the Savoy, the 20th of June, 1589. Your Lordship's very loving friend, W. Burghley." Misconceiving, perhaps, the tactics of the chief statesmen, the Editor of the *Biographia Britannica* (vol. ii. p. 621. ed. 2d.) remarks, that "There is a *lenity* in Lord Treasurer Burghley's conduct towards his relation, which reflects honour on that excellent statesman." Heylyn, *Hist. Presb. lib.* viii. sect. 21, says, Burghley was "a neutral at the best." Fuller, who had known Browne, says, with much *acumen*, "One may justly wonder, when many meaner accessaries in this schism were arraigned, condemned, and executed, how this BROWNE, the principal, made so fair an escape, yea, enjoyed such preferment. I will never believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained." p. 168. Hume has let in some light tending to substantiate our surmise respecting the manœuvring of the several parties. "Ever since the first origin of that sect, through the whole reign of Elizabeth as well as of James, *puritanical* principles had been understood in a *double* sense, and expressed the opinions favourable both to a political and to ecclesiastical liberty. And as the Court, in order to discredit all parliamentary opposition, affixed the denomination of 'Puritans' to its antagonists, the religious Puritans willingly adopted this idea, which was so advantageous to them, and which confounded their cause with that of the patriots, or country party. Thus were the civil and ecclesiastical factions regularly formed." *Jas.*, Note K. *an.* 1621. An earlier writer gives this as the ground of policy: "In the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh years of queen Elizabeth, there was a more severe urging these things than ever before: I am loath to think any rancour against those, at that time, called Puritans, was the original cause; but do believe that an *employment* for those who managed the Ecclesiastical Courts, without using their power against the Papist, or Moral Debauchees, might be no little argument in the cause." *The History of Conformity; or, a Proof of the Mischief of Impositions*, from the experience of more than one hundred years. 1681. 4to. Pref. p. v.

^c Wood, vol. ii. col. 17. ed. Bliss.

^d Fuller. bk. ix. p. 168.

^e Consult Fuller, p. 168, 169. The fate of Browne shows, as Peirce remarks, in his *Vindication of the Dissenters*, 1718, p. 143, that "our *adversaries* are more strict in punishing men for disparaging their constitution, than for transgressing the undoubted laws of Christ." Besides what is related by Fuller, Pagit tells us, *Heresiog.* p. 77, that "Old father Browne being reproved for beating his old wife, distinguished, that he did not beat her as his wife, but as a curst old woman."

remit to his ultimate patrons ; the good alone that has followed his career, they shrink not from applauding and adopting."

The kind of opposition to which the Brownists, and those who, like them, sought to burst through the trammels of an assumed dictatorship over conscience, and over the external homage or adoration due from man to his Maker, were subjected, when argument was tried against their opinions, is illustrated in "A plain Confutation of a Treatise of Brownism, published by some of that Faction, entituled 'A Description of the Visible Church.' In the confutation whereof is showed that the Author hath neither described a true Government of the Church, nor yet proved that Outward Discipline is the life of the Church.—Whereunto is annexed an Answer unto two other Pamphlets, by the said Factioners lately dispersed, of certain 'Conferences' had with some of them, in prison : Wherein is made known the Inconstancy of this Sect ; what the Articles are which they still maintain ; as also, a short Confutation of them. There is also added, a short Answer unto such Arguments as they have used to prove the Church of England not to be the [true] Church of God.—London. 1590." 4to. pp. 139.

The dedication, to the Rt. Hon. Sir Thomas Heneage, Knt. "Vice-Chamberlain to Her Highness ; &c." is subscribed "R. Alison." His Preface commences with a passage not unworthy of attention from those who either are or affect to be disturbed at the existence of controversies among Christians ; and since it is relevant to our present purpose, it is appropriated accordingly : "Howsoever earthly kingdoms do prosper best when peace is had, yet the Church of Christ, which is His throne, receiveth good even by dissension ; *Inde crescit Ecclesia, unde mundus deficit.*^b Therefore, although a good agreement in all affairs ought to be regarded, yet a dissent in Religion doth sometime profit : inasmuch as thereby the faith of some is exercised, the inconstancy of others is manifest ; and the diligence of all those whom deep security hath not overwhelmed is much quickened unto the searching of the Truth." The remainder of the Preface is made up of criminatory allegations, mingled with what purports to be a concise history of the Donatists, and with illustrative details from ecclesiastical history, but all which is open to remark both for misapplication and for exaggeration. The only point, however, to which the attention of our readers is directed, is one accompanied by our regret at beholding the spot which dimmed the lustre of not his principles alone who is named, but of the mass of his contemporaries, from whom Alison cannot be excepted : "It may be to the discontentment of some," he writes, "that any punishment should be inflicted upon them for their disordered stubbornness ; I would not be mistaken, I wish it not, howsoever Master Greenwood affirmeth 'That the Magistrate ought to compel unto the hearing of the Word.'"^c Neither is this the hasty sentiment of him to whom it is referred, for it is more deliberately expressed in another place,^d as is Alison's own on the application of the civil law.^e

^a The Biographia Britannica contains a somewhat elaborate but not quite correct account of Browne : *sub nom.* Fol. 1778-93.

^b Cassianus, in Psal. i. ^c In his Conference with Master Cooper, p. 49.

^d See a subsequent chapter.

^e *Ibid.*

He has, in the Treatise itself, made strictures upon or attempted the "Confutation" of about eight other treatises, of which he has not given all the titles.^a But passing over this "Confutation," such as it is, of the Brownists' first treatise, by making but this single remark, That whatever deference its author might have had for the Governness of the Church of England, he does not seem to have had due reverence for that greater Head whose wisdom in devising a scheme of Discipline he appears to impugn as impracticable, in these words, "Christ indeed hath showed an outward government unto His Church, whereof although we are not capable, partly, by reason of men's insufficiency to order it; and partly, by means of the crookedness of the common sort, who will not abide to be ordered by it; but especially, for that a whole Nation cannot so easily be brought to that uniform order as some one private Congregation: yet, assuredly, the nearer we come to this His ordinance, the more heavenly is that harmony and consent of ours."^b

In his "Manifestation of the Inconstancy of Brownism: Gathered out of two Treatises lately dispersed throughout the Land;" Alison says, he will set down their Articles which they "did" hold;^c accordingly, in the next page, he presents what they purport to be, under the head of "The Articles which are so injuriously imputed to them; as they themselves have published." With what truth they may be said to have been "published" by the Brownists, can be inferred from their asserting in the treatise called "A Collection of certain Slandrous Articles given out, by the Bishops, against such faithful Christians as are now unjustly detained in their Prisons, &c.," where the Epistle informs us that "there are sparsed abroad throughout the Land, certain Articles of the Bishops' own devising against these men, to bring them into hatred with the whole Land," and tarning those Articles "forged positions."

Trying to retort upon the sufferers their objections against "set and stinted prayers," that they are unfounded, because "set prayers were used under the Law," Alison flies to the negative argument, that they "are not forbidden in the Gospel;"^d which is just as much to the point as that neither is the seventh-day Sabbath, nor circumcision, forbidden there! So, in the next paragraph, he finds no better way of defending the Prayer Book from the accusation that it is "a Pseudo-diathesis," or "huge chaos of long-gathered and patched absurdities," than that because "no work of man, so not our Book of Public Prayer, can be free from all blemishes:" and, that "it being compared with the best treatise that these disturbers have brought forth, the most gross and blasphemous error which they can prove therein, may

^a 1. A True Description, out of the Word of God, of the Visible Church.—2. A treatise, Of the Church Apparent.—3. A pamphlet, Of the Best Preachers in England.—4. A treatise which they have scattered abroad.—5. A pamphlet against Read Prayers.—6. Another pamphlet of theirs, in which the Book of Common Prayer is termed "a piece of swine's flesh."—7. A Collection of certain slanderous Articles.—8. A Collection of certain Articles and Conferences.

^b P. 72.

^c P. 105.

^d P. 109.

be justified in comparison of many that are delivered for sound doctrine in their pamphlets, if both of them be rightly understood:"^a strange comparison this; considering the party from which it comes!

He makes a statement, elsewhere, which may be transcribed merely for what it contains that is historical. "They say, 'That all true Christians, within her Majesty's dominions, acknowledge her Majesty to be the supreme magistrate and governess over all persons, within the Church, and without the Church; yea, over all causes, ecclesiastical and civil.' Which assertion, if it had been received of the whole sect, then it had been a slander indeed; but inasmuch as in an assembly of about twenty persons, it was concluded, 'That her Majesty is not supreme Head of the Church, neither hath authority to make laws ecclesiastical in the Church;' they must acknowledge a dissent of judgment amongst themselves, or else confess that there was a time when they were of another opinion, but now they have learned to be more wise. Yet the caveat that is given, hath a secret meaning; namely, a granting of the latter part of this Article, That her Majesty hath no authority to make any laws ecclesiastical. But this being so closely covered, I mind not to see it."^b

It grieves this opponent, that, by "these men," their Article, that "the laws ecclesiastical," are not derived from the Book of God, but culled out from that great Antichrist's canons, orders, and devilish policies; and not to be received or obeyed of any that love the Lord Jesus; is still "maintained," and "not unjustly imputed to them:" for he is obliged to flee to his former shelter, that "the decrees and statutes of men, though holy, yet have their wants: in regard whereof," he adds, "I do acknowledge a want of perfection; but the deformity of these laws doth seem greater, partly by the means of such as should dispose them more uprightly; and partly by reason of others, who have a malicious eye in beholding, and an envious tongue in reproaching them."^c Thus is it, to this hour; that is called "malicious" in any who speak the truth against admitted unrighteousness! "Some defects," he goes on to say, in another place, "there are in our government; we challenge no perfection; some corruption there is, oftentimes, in such as have the ordering of it; I defend not all."^d

Still would Alison impose upon the Brownists, as a hard necessity, that "they must prove that a private man may attempt reformation in the Church."^e Here we have not, however, lost sight of the Confuter's avowed purpose, "*not palinodiam canere*."^f

Brownists had not much to fear from the reasoning of an antagonist like this: his production would enable them, on revising their various propositions, to strengthen themselves by its aid: neither would they much regard, from him, the abuse of denouncing their conduct as "a sottish schism;" nor more regard his competency for the task he had undertaken, when he turned his opponents over to the civil law as "the fittest argument to be used with these unreasonable men!"^g

Incidental notices have come under observation above, concerning

^a P. 109.^b P. 111.^c P. 112.^d P. 138.^e P. 112.^f P. 113.^g P. 139.

the Tract intituled, "A True Description, out of the Word of God, of the VISIBLE CHURCH." Our historical researches would be exceedingly deficient of full particulars, if this invaluable document were not found in its relative connexion among the other *primordia* which have contributed toward the more correct understanding, and the advancement, of what is held to be Scriptural Discipline. This Tract has no title-page, or imprint, by which to discover from what individual, or from what place, it emanated: it consists of eight pages, quarto, and its colophon is the date, 1589. The objuratory Joseph Hall^a assigns the authorship to Robinson's "Pastor." For so early a production, its excellence has been very little impaired by the results of later investigations.^b Accompanied by a multiplicity of Scripture references, the matter runs in these words:

"As there is but ONE GOD and FATHER of all, one LORD over all, and one SPIRIT; so is there but one Truth, one Faith, one Salvation, one CHURCH,—called in one Hope, joined in one Profession, guided by one Rule—even the Word of the MOST HIGH.^c

"This CHURCH, as it is universally understood, containeth in it all the Elect of God that have been, are, or shall be: but being considered more particularly, as it is seen in this present world, it consisteth of a Company and Fellowship of faithful and holy people gathered in the Name of Christ Jesus their only King, Priest, and Prophet; worshipping Him aright, being peaceably and quietly governed by his Officers and Laws; keeping the unity of Faith in the bond of peace, and love unfeigned.^d

"Most joyful, excellent, and glorious things, are everywhere in the Scriptures spoken of this CHURCH. It is called the city, house, temple, and mountain of the Eternal God; the chosen generation, the holy nation, the peculiar people, the vineyard, the garden enclosed, the spring shut up, the sealed fountain, the orchard of pomegranates with sweet fruits, the heritage, the Kingdom of Christ; yea, his sister, his love, his spouse, his queen, and his body; the joy of the whole earth. To this Society are the covenant and all the promises made,

^a In his Com. Apol. p. 14. Whether Clyfton, or Smyth, be the "pastor" intended here, we cannot decide, as both names stand in that capacity in relation to Robinson.

^b The tract was reprinted, not only in Alison's "Confutation," but in Lawne's "Brownism turned the Inside outward. 1603."; and separately, with this addendum, "Printed in the time of this hopeful Parliament, for the good of God's people, which desire that Christ may reign in his own Ordinances. 1641." 4to. pp. 8. The word "Congregation" is substituted, in this edition, for "Church," in the heading, and several other places. The original is found entire in Wall's "More Work for the Dean." 1681.

^c Gen. i. 1; Exod. xx. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4; Phil. i. 27; Eph. ii. 18. John viii. 41. Deut. vi. 25; Rom. x. 8; 2 Tim. iii. 15; John viii. 51; 1 John ii. 3, &c.

^d Gen. xvii; 1 Pet. i. 2; Rev. vii. 9; 1 Cor. x. 3; John xvii, 10, 20. Psal. cxl. 1; cxlix. 1; Isa. lxii. 12; Eph. i. 1; 1 Cor. i. 2; Deut. xiv. 2. Deut. xii. 5; John vi. 37; iii. 14; xii. 32; Luke xvii. 37. Gen. xlv. [xlix.] 10; Psalm xlv. 6; Zech. ix. 9; Heb. i. 8. Rom. viii. 34; John xvii; Heb. v. 9; viii. 1; iv. 14. Deut. xviii. 15; Matt. xvii. 5; Heb. i. 2; Gen. xiv. 18. Exod. xx. 4—8; Lev. x. 5. John iv. 23. Mett. xi. 29; 1 Cor. xi. 16; Mar. xiii. 34. Rev. xxii. 9. Eph. iv. 3; 1 Cor. i. 13; Mark ix. 50. John xiii. 34; 1 Cor. xiii. 4; 1 Pet. i. 22; 1 John iii. 18.

of peace, of love, and of salvation; of the presence of God; of his graces, of his power, and of his protection.^a

"And, surely, if this CHURCH be considered in her parts, she shall appear most beautiful; yea, most wonderful, and even ravishing the senses to conceive, much more to behold; what then, to enjoy so blessed a communion! For behold, her King and Lord is the King of peace, and Lord himself of all glory. She enjoyeth most holy and heavenly Laws; most faithful and vigilant Pastors; most sincere and pure Teachers; most careful and upright Governors; most diligent and trusty Deacons; most loving and sober Relievers; and a most humble, meek, obedient, faithful, and loving People: every Stone living, elect, and precious; every Stone hath his beauty, his burden, and his order: all bound to edify one another, exhort, reprove, and comfort one another; lovingly as to their own members, faithfully as in the eyes of God.^b

"No Office, here, is ambitiously affected; no Law wrongfully wrested, or wilfully neglected; no Truth hid, or perverted: every one, here, hath freedom and power—not disturbing the peaceable order of the Church—to utter his complaints and griefs, and freely to reprove the transgression and errors of any, without exception of persons.^c

"Here, is no intrusion, or climbing up another way into the Sheepfold, than by the holy and free election of the Lord's holy and free People; and that, according to the Lord's Ordinance; humbling themselves by fasting and prayer before the Lord; craving the direction of his Holy Spirit, for the trial and approving of gifts, &c.^d

"Thus, they orderly proceed to Ordination, by fasting and prayer; in which action the Apostles used laying on of hands. Thus, hath every one of the People interest in the election and ordination of their Officers; as also, in the administration of Offices, upon the transgression, offence, abuse, &c.; having an especial care unto the inviolable order of the Church, as is aforesaid.^e

"Likewise, in this CHURCH, they have holy Laws, as limits and bonds, which, it is lawful at no hand to transgress: they have laws to direct them in the choice of every Officer, what kind of men the Lord will have. Their Pastor must be apt to teach; no young scholar; able to divide the Word aright; holding fast that faithful

^a Psal. lxxxvii.; *ibid.*; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Heb. iii. 6. 1 Cor. iii. 17. Isa. ii. 2; Mic. iv. 1; Zech. viii. 3. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Isa. v. 1; xxvii. 2. Sol. Song. iv. 12; Isa. li. 3. Isa. xix. 25. Mic. v. 2; Matt. iii. 2; John iii. 5. Sol. Song. v. 2. Psal. xlv. 9. 1 Cor. xii. 27; Eph. i. 2, 3. Gal. iv. 28; Rom. ix. 4. Psal. cxlvii. 14; 2 Thess. iii. 16. Isa. xlv. 13; Zech. xiv. 17. Isa. lx; Ezek. xlvii; Zech. iv. 12. Ezek. xlviii. 35; Matt. xxviii. 20; Isa. lxii.

^b Sol. Song vi. 4, 9. Isa. lxii. 11; John xii. 15; Heb. ii. 7, 8. Matt. xi. 30; 1 John v. 3. Eph. iv. 11; Acts xx. Rom. xii. 7. 1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 8. Acts vi. Rom. xii. 8. Matt. v. 5; Ezek. xxxvi. 38; Isa. lx. 8; Deut. xviii. 9—13. 1 Pet. ii. 5; 1 Kings vii. 9; Zech. xiv. 21. Gal. vi. 2. 1 Cor. xii. Rom. xii. 3, &c. Heb. x. 24. Lev. xix. 17; 1 Thess. iv. 9. Col. iii. 23; 1 John iii. 20.

^c 2 Cor. ii. 17; 3 John 9. 1 Tim. iv. 2, 3; v. 21; vi. 14. Gal. vi. 12. 1 Cor. v. Jer. xxiii. 28; 1 Tim. iii. 15. 1 Cor. vi; xiv. 30; Col. iv. 17.

^d John x. 1. Acts i. 23; vi. 3; xiv. 23.

^e 1 Tim. iv. 14; v. 22. Luke xvii. 3. Rom. xvi. 17; Col. iv. 17.

Word, according to doctrine, that he may be able also to exhort, rebuke, improve, with wholesome doctrine, and to convince them that say against it. He must be a man that loveth goodness: he must be wise, righteous, holy, temperate; he must be of life unreprouable, as God's Steward; he must be generally well reported of, and one that ruleth his own household under obedience with all honesty; he must be modest, humble, meek, gentle, and loving; he must be a man of great patience, compassion, labour, and diligence; he must always be careful and watchful over the Flock whereof the Lord hath made him Overseer, with all willingness and cheerfulness; not holding his office in respect of persons, but doing his duty to every soul, as he will answer before the Chief Shepherd.^a

" Their Doctor or Teacher must be a man apt to teach; able to divide the Word of God aright, and to deliver sound and wholesome doctrine from the same; still building upon that sound ground-work, he must be mighty in the Scriptures, able to convince the gainsayers, and careful to deliver his doctrine pure, sound, and plain, not with curiosity or affectation, but so that it may edify the most simple, approving it to every man's conscience: he must be of life unreprouable, one that can govern his own household; he must be of manners sober, temperate, modest, gentle, and loving.^b

" Their Elders must be of wisdom and judgment; endued with the Spirit of God; able to discern between cause and cause, between plea and plea; and accordingly, to prevent and redress evils: always vigilant and [super]-intending, to see the statutes, ordinances, and laws of God, kept in the church; and that, not only by the People in obedience; but, to see the Officers do their duties. These men must be of life likewise, unreprouable, governing their own families orderly; they must be also, of manners sober, gentle, modest, loving, temperate, &c.^c

" Their Deacons must be men of honest report, having the mystery of the Faith in a pure conscience; endued with the Holy Ghost: they must be grave, temperate; not given to excess, nor to filthy lucre.^d

" Their Relievers, or Widows, must be women of sixty years of age at the least, for avoiding of inconveniences: they must be well reported of for good works; such as have nourished their children; such as have been harbourers to strangers; diligent and serviceable to the saints,—compassionate and helpful to them in adversity; given to every good work, continuing in supplications and prayers night and day.^e

" These Officers must first be duly proved; then, if they be found ' blameless,' administer, &c.^f

" Now, as the persons, gifts, conditions, manners, life, and proof of these officers, are set down by the Holy Ghost; so are their Offices limited, severed, and divers.^g

^a Matt. v. 19; 1 Tim. i. 18. Deut. xxiii. 10; Mal. ii. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c. 2 Tim. ii. 15. Tit. i. 9; 2 Tim. iv. 2. Tit. i. 7, 8. Num. xii. 3, 7; Isa. l. 4—6; Jer. iii. 15; Ezek. xxxiv. 18; Acts xx; 1 Pet. v. 1—4; 1 Tim. v. 21.

^b 1 Tim. iii.; Tit. i.; 2 Tim. ii. 15; 1 Cor. i. 17; ii. 4.

^c Num. xi. 24, 25; 2 Chron. xix. 8; Acts xv; 1 Tim. iii.; v.

^d Acts vi. 3; 1 Tim. iii. 8, 9.

^e 1 Tim. iii. 10.

^f 1 Tim. v. 9, 10.

^g 1 Cor. xii. 12, 18, 28.

"The Pastor's Office is to feed the Sheep of Christ in green and wholesome pastures of his Word, and lead them to the still waters, even to the pure fountain and river of life. He must guide and keep those sheep by that Heavenly Sheephook and pastoral staff of the Word; thereby, drawing them to Him; thereby, looking into their souls, even unto their most secret thoughts; thereby, discerning their diseases; and thereby, curing them: applying to every disease a fit and convenient medicine; and, according to the quality and danger of the disease, give warning to the Church that they may orderly proceed to Excommunication: further, he must by this his Sheephook, watch over and defend his Flock from ravenous beasts, and the 'Wolf,' and take the 'little Foxes,' &c."

"The Doctor's Office is already set down, in his description: his special care must be to build upon the only true ground-work, gold, silver, and precious stones, that his work may endure the trial of the fire; and, by the light of the same fire, reveal the timber, hay, and stubble of false Teachers. He must take diligent heed to keep the Church from errors; and further, he must deliver his doctrine so plainly, simply, and purely, that the Church may increase with the increase of God, and grow up unto Him which is the HEAD, Jesus Christ.^b

"The Office of the Ancients is expressed in their description: their especial care must be to see the ordinances of God truly taught and practised, as well by the Officers in doing their duty uprightly, as to see that the People obey willingly and readily. It is their duty to see the Congregation holily and quietly ordered, and no way disturbed by the contentious and disobedient, froward, and obstinate; not taking away the liberty of the least, but upholding the right of all, wisely judging of times and [other] circumstances. They must be ready Assistants to the Pastor and Teachers; helping to bear their burden, but not intruding into their Office.^c

"The Deacon's Office is faithfully to gather and collect, by the ordinance of the Church, the goods and benevolence of the Faithful; and, by the same direction, diligently and trustily to distribute them, according to the necessity of the Saints. Further, they must inquire and consider of the proportion of the wants, both of the Officers and the Poor, and accordingly relate unto the Church, that provision may be made.^d

"The Reliever's and Widow's Office is to minister to the sick, lame, weary, and diseased, such helpful comforts as they need, by watching, tending, and helping them. Further, they must show good example to the younger women, in sober, modest, and godly conversation; avoiding idleness, vain talk, and light behaviour.^e

^a Paal. xxiii.; Lev. x. 10, 11; Num. xviii. 1; Ezek. xlv. 23; xxxiii.; xxiv.; John xxi. 15; Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 1—4; Zech. xi. 7; Rev. xxii. 2; Luke xii. 42; 2 Cor. x. 4, 5; Heb. iv. 12; John x. 11. 12; Sol. Song ii. 15.

^b 1 Cor. iii. 11, 12; Lev. x. 10; Ezek. xxxiii. 1, 2, &c.; xlv. 24; Mal. ii. 6; 1 Cor. iii. 11; 1 Cor. i. 17; 1 Tim. iv. 16; vi. 20; Eph. ii. 20; Heb. vi. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 2.

^c Num. xi. 16; Deut. i. 13; xvi. 18; 2 Chron. xix. 8; Exod. xxxix. 42; 1 Tim. iii. 15; 2 Tim. i. 13; 1 Cor. xi. 16; xiv. 33; Gal. ii. 4, 5, 14; Col. iv. 6, 17; Acts xx; 1 Pet. v. 1; Rom. xii. 8.

^d Acts vi.; Rom. xii. 8.

^e Rom. xii. 8; 1 Tim. v. 9, &c.

" These Officers, though they be divers and several, yet are they not severed, lest there should be a division in the Body; but they are as members of the Body, having the same care one of another; jointly doing their several duties to the service of the Saints, and to the edification of the Body of Christ, till all meet together in the perfect measure of the fulness of Christ; by whom, all the Body being, in the meanwhile, thus coupled and knit together by every joint for the furniture thereof, according to the effectual power which is in the measure of every part, receiveth increase of the Body unto the edifying of itself in love: neither can any of these Offices be wanting, without grievous lameness, and apparent deformity of the Body, yea, violent injury to the HEAD, Christ Jesus.^{a b}

" Thus this holy army of Saints is marshalled here in earth, by these Officers, under the conduct of their Glorious Emperor, Christ; that victorious Michael: thus, it marcheth, in this most heavenly order and gracious array, against all Enemies, both bodily and ghostly; peaceable, in itself, as Jerusalem; terrible to the Enemy as an army with banners, triumphing over their tyranny with patience, their cruelty with meekness, and over Death itself with dying. Thus, through the blood of that spotless Lamb, and that Word of their testimony, they are more than conquerors; bruising the head of the Serpent: yea, through the power of His Word, they have power to cast down Satan like lightning; to tread upon serpents and scorpions; to cast down strongholds, and every thing that exalteth itself against God: the gates of Hell, and all the Principalities and Powers of the World, shall not prevail against it.^c

" Further: He hath given them the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, that whatsoever they bind in Earth, by his Word, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever they loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.^d

" Now this Power which Christ hath given unto his Church, and to every Member of his Church, to keep it in order, he hath not left it to their discretion and lusts to be used or neglected as they will; but in his Last Will and Testament, he hath set down both an order of proceeding and an end to which it is used.^e

" If the Fault be private, holy and loving admonition and reproof are to be used, with an inward desire and earnest care to win their Brother; but if he will not hear, yet to take two or three other Brethren with

^a At this place, in the edition of 1641, is added, " In this church, is the heavenly harmony of the exercise of Prophecy; where the variety and diversity of God's gifts and graces, in his saints, are manifested according to the gifts and abilities that God hath given unto them, to the mutual edification, exhortation, and comfort one of another, and the rest of the body, Num. xi. 27—29. Acts xiii. 15. 1 Cor. xiv. Which exercise of Prophecy is the first ordinance that the Lord commanded and commended in his Church under the Gospel, exhorting all his saints to the same, as the most special and excellent gift; yea, and most needful at all times, but especially when the Pastor and Teacher are either taken away by death, imprisoned, or exiled."

^b Luke ix. 46, 47; John xiii. 12—17; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 25, 28; Eph. iv. 11—13, 16.

^c Rom. xii.; 1 Cor. xii.; Rev. xiv. 1, 2; Sol. Song vi. 3; Rev. xii. 11; Luke x. 18, 19; 2 Cor. x. 5; Matt. xvi. 18; Rom. viii. 38, 39.

^d Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 23; Matt. xviii. 18.

^e Matt. xvi. 16, 19; xviii. 15—18; xxviii. 20; Deut. xii. 31, 32; Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

him, whom he knoweth most meet for that purpose, that by the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be confirmed: and if he refuse to hear them, then, to declare the matter to the Church; which ought severely and sharply to reprehend, and gravely to admonish, and lovingly to persuade the party offending; showing him the heinousness of his offence, and the danger of his obstinacy, and the fearful judgments of the Lord.^a

“All this, notwithstanding, the Church is not to hold him as an enemy, but to admonish him, and pray for him as a Brother; proving if, at any time, the Lord will give him repentance: for this power is not given them to the destruction of any, but to the edification of all.^b

“If this prevail not to draw him to repentance, then are they, in the Name and power of the Lord Jesus, with the whole Congregation, reverently, in prayer, to proceed to Excommunication: that is, unto the casting him out of their congregation and fellowship, covenant and protection of the Lord, for his disobedience and obstinacy; and, committing him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus, if such be His good will and pleasure.^c

“Further: they are to warn the whole Congregation and all other Faithful, to hold him as a heathen and publican, and to abstain themselves from his society, as not to eat or drink with him, &c.; unless it be such as of necessity must needs, as his wife, his children, and family; yet these, if they be Members of the Church, are not to join to him in any spiritual exercise.^d

“If the Offence be Public, the party is publicly to be reprov'd and admonish'd: if he then repent not, to proceed to Excommunication, as aforesaid.^e

“The Repentance of the party must be proportionate to the Offence; namely, if the Offence be public, public; if private, private: humbled, submissive, sorrowful, unfeigned, giving glory to the Lord.^f

“There must great care be had of Admonitions; that they be not captious, or curious, finding fault where none is, neither yet in bitterness or reproach; for that were to destroy and not to save our Brother: but they must be carefully done, with prayer going before; they must be seasoned with truth, gravity, love, and peace.^g

“Moreover, in this CHURCH is an especial care had, by every Member thereof, of Offences. The strong ought not to offend the weak, nor the weak to judge the strong; but all graces, here, are given to the service and edification of each other in love and long-suffering.^h

^a Lev. xix. 17, 18; Matt. xviii. 15; Deut. xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16.

^b 2 Thess. iii. 15; 2 Cor. x. 8; xiii. 10.

^c Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11.

^d Matt. xviii. 17; 1 Cor. v. 11.

^e 1 Tim. v. 20; Gal. ii. 14; Josh. vii. 19; 2 Cor. vii. 9.

^f Lev. xix. 17, 18; Prov. x. 12; Rom. xii. 19; xiii. 10; xiv. 1.

^g Matt. xviii. 15; xxvi. 8; Gal. vi. 1, 2; 2 Tim. ii. 24; Mark ix. 50; Eph. iv. 29; Jas. v. 15, 19, 20.

^h Luke xvii. 1; Prov. x. 12; Rom. xiv. 13, 19; Gal. vi. 2.

"In this CHURCH is the Truth purely taught, and surely kept : here are the Covenant, the Sacraments, and Promises ; the Graces, the Glory, the Presence, the Worship of God, &c."

"Into this Temple entereth no unclean thing, neither whatsoever worketh abominations or lies ; but they which are written in the Lamb's Book of Life.^b But 'without' this CHURCH shall be dogs, and enchanterers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whatsoever loveth and maketh lies."^c—1589.

The progress which the doctrines put forth by Browne were making at home, even before the year 1592-3, is evidenced by the proceedings in parliament on the introduction of a Bill to explain the statute 23rd of Eliz. *an.* 1580, and further reducing "disloyal subjects to their due obedience." On the 4th of April, Sir Walter Raleigh expressed himself thus,—“In my conceit the Brownists are worthy to be rooted out of the commonwealth ; but what danger may grow to *ourselves* if this law pass, it were fit to be considered. For it is to be feared, that men *not guilty* will be included in it. And this law is hard that taketh life, and sendeth into banishment, where men's *intentions* shall be judged by a jury, and they shall be judges what another *means*. But that law that is against a *fact* is but just ; and punish the fact as severely as you will. If two or three thousand Brownists meet at the sea, at whose charge shall they be transported, or whither will you send them ? I am sorry for it, I am afraid there are near twenty thousand of them in *England*, and when they be gone, who shall maintain their wives and children ?” Mr. Finch said, “There be great faults in the preamble and in the body of this Bill. It pretendeth a punishment only to Brownists and Sectarians ; but throughout the whole Bill, not one thing that concerneth a Brownist ; and if we make a law against Barrowists and Brownists, let us set down a note of them, who they are. But this Bill is, ‘not to come to Church,’ or to ‘speak against the government established,’ this is not the opinion of the Brownists.”^d We are happy at being able to oppose this testimony to an astounding assertion and confession, emanating from the Puritans, and which requires no further notice from us than the bare recital—“We allow not of the Brownists, the overthrowers both of Church and Commonwealth : we abhor these, and we *punish* them.”^e

We are here supplied with a variety of matter, on which we might comment ; as that Raleigh was not tainted with Browne's doctrines, though he were suspected to be of that “philosophical sect,” since called “free-thinkers :”^f—that the banishment contemplated by the Bill was virtually effected on the exile of a large number of those at whom it indirectly aimed, and thus, under the wise dispensation of Pro-

^a Gen. xvii. ; Lev. xxvi. 11, 12 ; Isa. xlv. 3 ; Gal. iv. 28 ; vi. 16 ; Isai. lx. 15 ; Deut. iv. 12, 13 ; Isai. lvi. 7 ; 1 Tim. iii. 15 ; Isai. lii. 8.

^b Isai. lii. 1 ; Ezek. xlv. 9 ; Isai. xxxv. 8 ; Zech. xiv. 21 ; Rev. xxi. 27.

^c Rom. ii. 9 ; Rev. xxii. 15.

^d D'Ewes, p. 517. *an.* 35 reg. ELIZ.

^e The Complaint presented to the Right Honourable Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, by the Godly Ministers, [*ante* 1586]. In “A Parte of a Register, containinge sundrie memorable matters, &c.” 4to. p. 129.

^f “Then extremely rare in England.” Hume, *JAS.* I. *an.* 1603.

vidence, through their much suffering was educed still greater good ; they were at liberty, abroad, to carry their principles into practice, and thus to learn wisdom from experience, so that, on their return, they were far better prepared to stand firmly by their principles, and were more than ever resolved to inculcate them :—that the rapidity of their increase under the determined resistance which they encountered is, all circumstances considered, a problem not solvable by human calculation merely ; something else than the imputation of factious is requisite :—that it was not till about the time when Finch spake as above, that the term “ Separatists,”^a came into vogue ; and that his mention of the Barrowists leads us very appropriately to “ set down a note of them ;” after having produced what no less distinguished a person than Lord Bacon has recorded, where he says, “ As for those which we call ‘ Brownists,’ being, when they were at the most, a very small number of very silly and base people, here and there in corners dispersed ; they are now, thanks be to God, by the good remedies that have been used, suppressed and worn out ; so as there is scarce any news of them. Neither had they been much known at all, had not Browne, their leader, written a pamphlet,^b wherein, as it came into his head, he inveighed more against logic and rhetoric than against the state of the Church, which writing was much read : and had not also one Barrowe, being a gentleman of a good house, but one that lived in London at ordinaries,^c and there learned to argue in table-talk, and so was very much known in the city and abroad, made a leap from a vain and libertine youth, to a preciseness in the highest degree,—the strangeness of which alteration made him very much spoken of,—the matter might long before have breathed out.”^d

CHAP. III.

ORIGIN OF “ BARROWISTS.”—OF BARROWE AND GREENWOOD.

SIR George Paule, “ Comptroller of his Grace’s Household ”—Archbishop Whitgift’s—shall here be our prolocutor :—

“ HENRY BARROWE, gentleman, and JOHN GREENWOOD, clerk, were convented before the High Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, in November, 1587 [1586], for their schismatical and seditious opinions, namely, That our church is no church, or at least no true church ; yielding these reasons,—That the worship of the English Church is flat idolatry : That we admit into our church persons unsanctified : That our preachers have no lawful [scriptural] calling : That our government [Discipline] is ungodly : That no bishop, or preacher, preacheth Christ sincerely and truly : That the people of every parish

^a Pagit mentions “ a kind of Anabaptists, so called, because they pretended to be separated from the world.” *Heresiogr.* p. 36.

^b “ A Treatise upon the Twenty-third Chapter of St. Matthew.”

^c Barrowe had proceeded B. A. in Corpus Christi College, in 1569 ; and “ was the son of a gentleman in Norfolk, who, after he left Cambridge, became a member of the honourable society of Gray’s Inn ; and was sometime a frequenter of the Court.” *Masters, inf.* p. 227.

^d “ Certain Observations.” 1592. *Works*, ed. 1778. 4to. vol. ii. p. 35.

ought to choose their bishop; and, that every elder, though he be no doctor, nor pastor, is a bishop: That all the Precise [Puritans], which refuse the ceremonies of the church, and yet preach in the same church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel, and are close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed policy, as Master Cartwright, Wigginton, &c.: That all which make catechisms, or teach and expound printed and written catechisms, are idle shepherds, as Calvin, Ursin, Nowell, &c.: That the child of ungodly parents ought not to be baptized, as of usurers, drunkards, &c.: That set prayer is blasphemous. The foresaid broachers of these opinions, at this their first convention, made show of their conformity upon conference with some divines, and in hope thereof, were enlarged upon bonds, but all in vain; for, after their liberty, they burst forth into further extremities; and were again committed to the Fleet, July 20, 1588, where they published their scandalous and seditious writings; for which they were proceeded withal at Justice Hall, near Newgate in London, March 21, 1592 [-3].^a

This may be considered to contain the substance of the indictment against the parties, brought by the advocates of the law-established church, upheld by that mystery of iniquity, the court of High Commission, which has received its merited doom, for its antichristian, unconstitutional, and arbitrary procedures; all to support the "left-handed policy" of blending things which differ, the Church with the State; and, in turn, distinguishing, jesuitically, the one from the other.^b The *gravamen* of the offence given by Barrowe and his fellow-sufferers, is in their having acted in unflinching opposition to this usurpation of ecclesiastical over civil concerns.^c The price

^a Life of Whitgift, 1612, 4to. sect. 66, 67.

^b The Court of High Commission was resisted so early as 1591 by Robert Cawdrey, a puritan minister, who appealed from it to the Court of Exchequer (5 Coke's Reports). This "brave stand for the rights of the subject" induced Whitgift to send his prisoners for the future to the Star-chamber Court. The opposition he met with from the courtiers is strongly stated by Heylyn (lib. viii. sect. 21). Indeed, from what Bp. Barlow makes him say, at the Hampton Court Conference, Jan. 18, 1603-4, he was "forced, as oftentimes now it fell out, to sit alone; because," adds the archbishop, "albeit all the lords of the Privy Council were in, all the bishops, many of the judges-at-law, and some of the clerks of the Council, yet very few, or none of them, sitting with him at ordinary times, some of meaner place, as deans, and doctors of divinity and law, must needs be put in, whose attendance he might with some authority command and expect." The Phenix, 1707, vol. i. p. 172. A little while afterward, a noble lord present challenged Whitgift to his face with the illegality of his proceedings in the High Commission, when he had the hardihood to say before the king, that "his lordship was deceived, for if any article did touch the party any way, either for life, liberty, or scandal, he might refuse to answer, *neither was he urged thereunto*." Ibid. p. 173. Hume has denounced the former, a "real Inquisition; attended with similar iniquities and cruelties" (ELIZ. ch. xli.); and Dr. Lingard, a Roman Catholic, says "the chief difference consisted in their names. One was the Court of Inquisition, the other of High Commission," (Hist. of Eng. vol. v. ch. vi.) The Star Chamber Court met its fate simultaneously with the other, both being abolished in 1641, and, marvellous as it may appear, receiving the *coup de grace* from the hand of Lord Clarendon, in his History Ed. 1702, vol. i. p. 53, 54.

^c Hist. of the College of Corpus Christi, &c., commonly called Bene't, in the Univ. of Cambridge. By R. Masters, B. D., 1753, 4to. p. 229.

of *their* blood, however, purchased in part, the seemingly retributive justice which fell afterward on *martyrs* in the less righteous cause.^a We seek not to palliate what we can nevertheless lament over, any indecorous reproaches which provoke wrath, especially if they have been directed against "Authority;"^b but, setting aside the claims of the office of Archbishop, which is conceded, by learned Catholics and Protestants, not to be even analogous to any found in the christian code;^c and, considering the then inconceivable excitement of the times, and the unappalled spirit which oppression had itself excited, not leaving us any thing to sympathize with; we iterate the abstract proposition conveyed in Barrowe's reply to Whitgift's creature,^d the Lord Chancellor Hatton, on pointing to the proud prelate, and asking, "What is that man?" "He is a monster! a miserable compound; I know not what to make of him. He is neither ecclesiastical nor civil; even that second beast spoken of in the Revelation [ch. xiii]."^e The mitiga-

^a See Rapin's Hist. Eliz. *an.* 1593. vol. ii. p. 141. *ed.* 1733.

^b "Great caution must be used that we neither be emboldened to follow them in evil, whom for authority's sake we honour, nor induced in authority to dishonour them, whom as examples we may not follow." Hooker, Eccles. Polity, bk. vii. sect. 18. vol. iii. p. 197. *ed.* 1830.

"Let Cæsar's due be ever paid

To Cæsar and his throne;

But consciences and souls were made

To be the LORD's alone."

Dr. Watts. Hymns, bk. ii. cxlix. 5.

^c "I have shown you that the title of Archbishop was not so much as known in the first ages; so that they spoke of the bishop of Rome, or Alexandria, just as they did of any other bishop of a lesser city; and in their letters they treated one another like brethren, with a perfect equality, as may be seen by the inscriptions to St. Cyprian's Letters. As soon as charity grew cold, titles and ceremonies began to increase. The bishop of Alexandria is thought to be the first that took upon him the title of archbishop; the bishop of Antioch took that of patriarch; and the name of primate was peculiar to Africa." Abbé Fleury, *sup.* Disc. iv. p. 223. "I conceive the metropolitical governance was introduced by *human prudence*. There are indeed some who think it was instituted by the apostles; but their arguments do not seem convincing; and such a constitution doth not, as I take it, well suit with the state of their times, and the course they took in founding churches." Dr. I. Barrow, *sup.* p. 244. These statements are honest. What can we think of that of the opponent of such divines as Cartwright and Wigginton, who asserts, in allusion to Ephes. iv. 11, that "The name of a 'Pastor' doth comprehend both archbishops and bishops;" and further says, that "although this name, archbishop, is not expressed in the Scripture, yet is the office and function, as it is evidently to be seen in the examples of Timothy and Titus?" Whitgift, Def. p. 309, 313, and reasserted p. 372, 375. His successor, Bancroft, (*Dangerous Positions*, 1592. bk. ii. ch. viii.) was indignant at one of the satirists of that day, Martin, jun., asserting that "the laws that maintain the archbishops and bishops, are no more to be accounted of than the laws maintaining the stewes," which those reverends licensed!

^d Paule, sect. 59.—"He was a mere vegetable of the Court, that sprung up at night, and sunk again at his noon." Sir Rob. Naunton, p. 205.

^e "A brief of the Examination of me, Henry Barrowe, the 19 Nov. 1586, before the Arch B., Arch D., and Dr. Cussins [Cosin]: as neere as my memorie could carry: being at Lambeth." 4to. Exam. 4th, Mar., 18, 1586-7. Reprinted in 1662, 4to.; and in the Harleian Miscellany, orig. ed. 4to. vol. iv. p. 326.—Our times have witnessed the following production: "The Church of England Identified, on the Authority of her own Historians, with the Second Beast, as described in Revelations, Chap. xiii. 11—18. By R. B. Sanderson, Esq., late

tions of official character which time has wrought may induce us to respect the individual sustaining it; yet, on a return of similar atrocities to those of Whitgift, "lordly prelacy" being the very root of all bitterness, we should not trust ourselves that we could refrain from Barrowe's plainness of speech, "treating the archbishop and doctors with some freedom."^a

When required, at Lambeth palace, to swear to interrogatories, he persisted in refusing, on the double ground of the solemnity of oaths and the unconstitutional nature of the oath, *Ex officio mero*; but on Whitgift drawing forth the substance of the allegations which we have copied from Paule, Barrowe replied, "Much of the matter in this Bill is true; but the form is false." Four months after, certain other articles of inquiry were put to him, when he gave these answers: "The Lord's prayer is, in my opinion, rather a summary than an enjoined form; and, not finding it used by the apostles, I think it may not be constantly used.—In the word of God, I find no authority given to any man to impose liturgies, or forms of prayer, upon the church; and it is, therefore, high presumption to impose them.—In my opinion the Common Prayer is idolatrous, superstitious, and popish.—As the sacraments of the Church of England are publicly administered, they are not true sacraments.—As the decrees and canons of the church are so numerous, I cannot judge of all; but many of the laws of the Church of England, and the ecclesiastical courts and governors, are unlawful and antichristian.—Such as have been baptized in the Church of England are not baptized according to the institution of Christ; yet they may not need it again.—As it is now formed, the Church of England is not the true Church of Christ; yet there are many excellent Christians in it.—The Queen is supreme governor of the whole land, and over the church bodies and goods; but may not make any other laws for the Church of Christ than he hath left in his Word.—I cannot see it lawful for any prince to alter the least part of the judicial law of Moses, without doing injury to the moral law, and opposing the will of God.—No private persons may reform the *State*, [the question related to the church,] if any prince neglect it, but they ought to abstain from all unlawful things commanded by the prince.—

Fellow of Oriel College, and formerly Secretary of Presentations to the Lord Chancellor." 1836. 8vo. pp. 42.

^a Masters, p. 227.—Whitgift's "greatest fault," according to Sir G. Paule, "*was choler*." Life, sect. 118. See his character unfolded in the Life of T. Cartwright, B. D., inserted in vol. i. of Hanbury's *ed.* of Hooker's Eccles. Polity, 1830. Wigginton says, in Brook's Puritans, vol. i. p. 420, "The Archbishop hath treated me more like a *Turk*, or a *dog*, than a man, or a minister of Jesus Christ." Another Puritan of that day, says, as quoted by Bancroft (Dang. Posit. *sup.* ch. xii.) "Of all the bishops that ever were in the see of the archbishop of Canterbury, there was never any did so much hurt to the Church of God as he hath done. No bishop that ever had such an aspiring and ambitious mind as he; no, not Cardinal Wolsey. None so proud as he; no, not Stephen Gardiner of Winchester. None so tyrannical as he; no, not Bonner. . . He sits upon his cogging stool, which may truly be called the chair of pestilence. His mouth is full of cursing against God and his saints. His feet are swift to shed blood: there is none of God's children, but had as lieve see a serpent as meet him." Dialogues iii. iv. [attributed to Throgmorton].

The government of the Church of Christ belongeth not to the ungodly, but every particular church ought to have an *eldership*." [Presbytery is the word in the question.]^a

Who shall successfully impugn the general correctness of these opinions? Surely no one who enjoys the religious and civil freedom and the protection which the altered condition of circumstances has secured to us, will have so much hardihood as even to attempt such a design. The principles involved in Barrowe's opinions are evidently fatal to the very existence of the hierarchy, "which say they are *apostles*, and are not;"^b and although the struggle has been maintained for ages, those principles are producing, by discussion alone, that final mighty result which shall remove every stumbling-block, though, from the blackness of the iniquity, every trace may not be obliterated of what the "man of sin" has any way superinduced into Christ's own Church! For this, "other men laboured, and *we* are entered into their labours."^c It behoves us, therefore, to promote, by all rational and scriptural means, with honesty and simplicity, "in the sight of all men," the same righteous cause; leaving it to Him whom we would serve, to "restrain the wrath of man,"^d which was permitted to fall on Barrowe, that he might seal his testimony, like "righteous Abel," with his blood!

Notwithstanding his peculiar privations and sufferings, Barrowe contrived to compose his remarkable work intitled "A brief Discovery of the False Church; Ezek. xvi. 44. As the Mother, such the Daughter is:" printed in 1590.^e

He disclaims, in the Preface, any "further credit" for his performance, "than the Word of God giveth warrant; neither yet," he says, "would I be reprov'd for speaking the truth of God plainly and simply; although the same truth have long lain hid and buried, and be now, peradventure, generally impugn'd of all men." He represents "the iniquity of the times," such as that, through the rage of the enemy, he could not "keep one sheet by him, while he was writing another."

A little after, he writes, "But now remaineth the very Argument and subject of this Book, which of all other will be most disliked, and held most odious and heinous of all sorts of men; who will never endure to hear the magnificence of the False Church, wherein they have so long been nourished in so great delight,—reprov'd and cast down. So thoroughly are they intoxicate with the wine of her abominations, and all their senses bound in the fetters of her fornications, that they have no eyes to see, ears to hear, or hearts to believe the Truth. But especially the ship-masters, the mariners, merchantmen, and all the people that reign, row, and are carried in this False Church,—they will never endure to see fire cast into her; they will never endure to suffer loss of their dainty and precious merchandise; but, rather, will raise up no small tumults and stirs against the servants

^a Exam. Barrowe, *sup.* ^b Rev. ii. 2. ^c John iv. 38. ^d Psal. lxxvi. 10.

^e In 4to. pp. 263. Subscribed, p. ult., "By the Lord's most unworthy servant and witness, in bonds, Henry Barrowe." It was reprinted, in 1707, 8vo. but with most unwarrantable liberties by the editor, who destroyed all the raciness of the original.

xxxv. "And then, wheresoever there shall be a people fit, and men furnished with meet and necessary gifts, they are not only still to continue the exercise of prophecy aforesaid, but also, upon due trial, to proceed unto choice and ordination of officers for the ministry and service of the Church, according to the rule of God's Word:^a and so hold on, still to walk forward in the ways of Christ for their mutual edification and comfort, as it shall please God to give knowledge and grace thereunto.^b And particularly, that such as be of the seed, or under the government of any of the Church, be even in their Infancy received to baptism, and made partakers of the sign of God's covenant made with the Faithful and their seed throughout all generations.^c And that all of the Church that are of years, and able to examine themselves, do communicate also in the Lord's Supper, both men and women,^d and in both kinds, bread and wine.^e In which elements, as also in the water of baptism, even after they are consecrated, there is neither transubstantiation into, nor consubstantiation with, the body and blood of Jesus Christ; whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored:^f but they are, in the ordinance of God, signs and seals of God's everlasting covenant with us,^g representing and offering to all the receivers, but exhibiting only to the true believers, the Lord Jesus Christ and all his benefits unto righteousness, sanctification, and eternal life, through faith in his Name, to the glory and praise of God.^h

xxxvi. "Thus, being rightly gathered, established, and still proceeding in Christian communion, and obedience of the Gospel of Christ, none is to separate for faults and corruptions which may, and so long as the Church consisteth of mortal men will fall out and arise among them, even in true constituted Churches; but by due order to seek redress thereof.ⁱ

xxxvii. "Such as yet see not the Truth, may notwithstanding hear the public doctrine and prayers of the Church; and with all meekness are to be sought by all means:^k yet none who are grown in years may be received into their communion as Members, but such as do make

^a Acts vi. 3, 5, 6, xiv. 21—23, Tit. i. 5, &c. Eph. iv. 11, 12. 1 Cor. xii. 7, 8, 14, 15, 28. 1 Tim. iii. & v. ch. Lev. viii. ch.

^b Col. ii. 5—7. 2 Thess. ii. 15. Jude 3, &c. Matt. xxviii. 20.

^c Acts ii. 38, 39, with Rom. ix. 4, and Gen. xvii. 7, 12, 27. Rom. xi. 16. 1 Cor. i. 16. vii. 14. x. 2. Psal. xxii. 30. Col. ii. 11, 12. Exod. xii. 48, 49. Acts xvi. 15, 33. Mar. x. 13—16. Gal. iii. 28, 29.

^d Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. xi. 28. x. 3, 4, 16, 17. xii. 13. Acts ii. 42, with i. 14. xx. 7, 8. Gal. iii. 28.

^e Matt. xxvi. 26, 27. 1 Cor. x. 3, 4, 16. xi. 23—29.

^f 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. xi. 23—25, &c. Matt. xxvi. 26, 27, 29. xv. 17. John xii. 8. Acts iii. 21. vii. 56.

^g Gen. xvii. 11. Rom. iv. 11. Exod. xii. 13, with Heb. xiii. 20.

^h 1 Cor. x. 3—5. xi. 26—29. xii. 13. Rom. ii. 28, 29. Col. ii. 11—13. Acts viii. 13, 36—38. xv. 9. Gal. iii. 27. Rom. v—viii. chaps. 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

ⁱ Rev. ii. and iii. ch. Acts xv. 1, 2. 1 Cor. i. 10. Phil. ii. 1—6. iii. 15, 16. Heb. x. 25. Jude 19. Lev. iv. 13, &c. 2 Chron. xv. 9, 17. xxx. 18, 19.

^j 2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2. 1 Thess. v. 14. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.

^k 1 Cor. xiv. 23—25. Psal. xviii. 49. Rom. xv. 9, 10. 1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 25.

confession of their faith, publicly desiring to be received as Members, and promising to walk in the obedience of Christ:^a Neither any Infants but such as are the seed of the faithful by one of the parents, or under their education and government.^b And further, not any from one congregation to be received Members in another, without bringing Certificate of their former estate, and present purpose.^c

xxxviii. "And, although the particular Congregations be thus distinct and several bodies, every one as a compact and knit city in itself, yet are they all to walk by one and the same rule; and, by all means convenient, to have the counsel and help one of another in all needful affairs of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith, under Christ their only Head."^d

xl.iii. "Unto all men is to be given whatsoever is due to them. Tributes, customs, and all other such lawful and accustomed duties, ought willingly and orderly to be paid and performed: our lands, goods, and bodies, to be submitted in the Lord to the Magistrates' pleasure. And the Magistrates themselves every way to be acknowledged, revered, and obeyed according to godliness; not because of wrath only, but also for conscience' sake: and, finally, all men so to be esteemed and regarded, as is due and meet for their place, age, estate, and condition."^e

xliv. "And thus, we labour to give unto God that which is God's, and unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto all men that which belongeth unto them; endeavouring ourselves to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men."^f

Their views of the office and duty of princes and magistrates, to "suppress and root out, by their authority, all false ministries, voluntary religions, and counterfeit worship of God; . . . yea, to enforce all their subjects, whether ecclesiastical or civil, to do their duties to God and men," in Article xxxix, must be considered as resulting from the spirit and condition of the age they lived in; for the ample discussion this subject has since undergone with the light and liberty which have consequently resulted, have placed "the office and duty" of rulers under a very different aspect before their descendants and successors. With this explanation, the "Confession" must be regarded as a most interesting and highly important document. It proves how intensely and accurately the framers of it had searched out their principles, and how little they left for posterity to adjust. Though it was transmitted

^a 2 Cor. vi. 14—16. Ezra iv. 3. Exod. xii. 43. Lev. xxii. 25. Deut. vii. ch. Exod. xxxiv. 12. Isai. xlv. 5. Psal. xlvii. 9. cx. 3. Acts xix. 18, 19.

^b Exod. xx. 5, 6. 1 Cor. vii. 14. Gen. xvii. 7, 12, 27. Exod. xii. 48, 49. Acts xvi. 15, 33. Eph. iv. 4, 5. See also Art. xxxv.

^c Acts ix. 26, 27. xviii. 27. Rom. xvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. viii. 23. Col. iv. 10.

^d Psal. cxxii. 3. Sol. Song, viii. 8, 9. 1 Cor. iv. 17. xiv. 33, 36. xvi. 1. Col. iv. 16. Matt. xxviii. 20. 1 Tim. iii. 15. vi. 13, 14. Rev. xxii. 18, 19. Col. ii. 6, 19. iv. 16. Acts xv. ch. See besides, Art. xxxiii.

^e Rom. xiii. 1, 5—7. Matt. xxii. 21. 1 Chron. xxvii. ch. Ezra vii. 26. Neh. ix. 36, 37. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c. Exod. xviii. 12. xx. 12, &c. Lev. xix. 32. Job xxix. 7, &c. with xxx. 1, &c. Eph. v. 21—33. vi. 1—9. 1 Pet. v. 5. Tit. ii. ch.

^f Matt. xxii. 21. Acts xxiv. 14—16.

to the authorities at home, it could not have been with any expectation that it should be erected into a standard. If they entertained, however, any opinion favourable to such modes of fixing religious belief, time has shown their utter futility for that purpose; they may be considered to be serviceable as exhibiting the sense of the compilers, yet even that is found also to become obscured by the mists of antiquity, and confused by the heats and dust of controversy: the unadulterated "Word of our God" alone "shall stand for ever."^a

Two years after its publication, the Confession was reprinted with a Dedication "To the Reverend and Learned Men, Students of Holy Scripture in the Christian Universities of Leyden in Holland, of St. Andrew's in Scotland, of Heidelberg, Geneva, and other the like famous Schools of Learning in the Low Countries, Scotland, Germany, and France." They are told that this measure was adopted "for two causes; First, For that we know you are able, in respect of your singular knowledge in the Scriptures," and in the hope that "you are willing, in respect of your sincere piety,—to convince our errors by the light of God's Word, if anywhere we err: Secondly, That this testimony of Christian Faith, if you also find it to agree with the Word of Truth, may by you be approved, either in silence or by writing, as you shall think best." "It may be," they continue, "we shall be thought very bold that, being despised of all," but, as they further say, being thus "partly constrained by our exile and other calamities almost infinite," they should not doubt, "to solicit so many and so great learned men;" and they remark, that as the Preface contains the causes for which they forsook the Church of England, they "here omit the repetition of them."—"From Amsterdam, in the Low Countries. The year of the last patience of the saints, 1698."^b

The plans pursued for giving publicity to the "Confession" were not unproductive of consequences, a few years subsequently. In the interim, the settlers in Holland endured to the utmost all the hardships to which their condition rendered them liable; and, what is more to be lamented, their sufferings were aggravated by dissensions among themselves. At what particular interval is not mentioned, but Hornbeck relates that Ainsworth passed over into Ireland, and there left some disciples, returning in a short time to Amsterdam.^c It must occasion perpetual regret, that there are such scanty particulars to be found concerning a scholar so eminent; whose voluminous works testify that his application must have been almost incessant amidst painful scenes of distraction, and this notwithstanding the deficiency of those comforts and conveniences which contribute to the success of literary employment.

How long this Church preserved its harmony before the first of the instances of discord which will be noticed, we have not any means of ascertaining. That it split into parties early, is notorious; to the extravagant joy of all those who watched for its halting.^a One set, the

^a Isai. xl. 8.

^b There are some variations in the copies of the editions 1602 and 1604.

^c *Sup.* p. 622.

^d Jer. xx. 10.

Puritan conformists forsooth, who like her Majesty the Queen,^a chose to reform no sooner or further than *they* should please, were not backward in exposing the frailties of those who had left themselves in the rear of advancement toward the restoration of the genuine apostolical constitution of churches. Ainsworth was, on one occasion, induced to retort on this body, in these words, "What aim you at, in all this, but to draw us back unto your church? And there, it is like, we shall find 'discipline' without 'disorder' or 'partiality,' to wit, in your Bishops' Courts; for there the *discipline* of *your* church is to be seen! Of which, we need say nothing; the voice almost of all the land crieth out of their abominations. Only we observe, how pregnant your persuasions are, to make us believe that because there are sins in Sion, there be none in Babylon!"^b

Little more than a year, if so much as that, had transpired, before the relatives of Francis Johnson expressed their dissatisfaction at his marriage with a widow. It may be that grounds of objection existed in the minds of the relatives, which have never come to light; but some ostensible reasons are assigned, in which we take no interest. Not so, however, did the prelatical party: they made the marriage an additional cause for maligning the whole church, because it had not been celebrated at their altar. The Johnsons succeeded in imparting their own feelings and sentiments to other members of the church, which at length began to be divided on the subject, and only ended, on its part, after four or five years, in the expulsion of the pertinacious father and brother; the latter of whom kept the contention alive still longer in a "Discourse of certain Troubles and Excommunications in the banished English Church at Amsterdam, &c. 1603." It says much for Francis, that Ainsworth defended him against the attack of this George, whom he says was, for lying, slandering, false accusation, and contention, "cast out of our church;" and then puts the question, By what rule, or word of God, can the testimony of an excommunicate be admitted against a whole congregation? Reason, he proceeds, might teach, that no man so standing against a church, will ever speak well of it in his own case.^c And another authority on the side of this church, of no mean account, informs us that the contention arose "at the first, upon no great occasion;—George, becoming 'a disgraceful libeller.'" To this he adds, "It is to us just cause of humiliation all the days of our lives, that we have given and do give, by our differences, such advantages to them which seek occasion against us to blaspheme the Truth: though this may be a just judgment of God upon others which seek offences, that seeking they may find them to the hardening of their hearts in evil. But let men turn their eyes which way soever they will, they shall see the same scandals. Look to the first and best churches planted by the apostles themselves, and behold dissensions, scandal, strife, biting one of another."^d

^a Fuller, Ch. Hist. bk. ix. p. 51. ^b Counterpoison p. 51. ^c Count. p. 50.

^d Robinson's Justification, 1610. p. 55. In p. 78, this writer tells us that "Mr. Bernard," of whom hereafter, bringing against this church as an evidence of its "uncharitableness," their "accusatory excommunications, even for light offences in some, albeit others obstinate can be let pass;" to prove this, quotes

One of the instances of "biting" is met with in "Brownism turned the Inside outward: Being a Parallel between the Profession and Practice of the Brownists' Religion. By Christopher Lawne, lately returned from that wicked Separation.—Matt. xxiii. 27. Gen. xlix. 6. Lond. 1603." 4to. pp. 34.

The Preface being a curious specimen of what relates to the allegations against the morality of the Brownists, will be given here at length. It is not our inclination to screen the errors, or sins, of any who have not acted consistently with their profession; though we shall not spare any pains to investigate the charges adduced, as carefully as opportunity affords, little fearing but that, although "the heart" of every man be "deceitful," and "desperately wicked,"^a "nevertheless, the counsel of the Lord, that shall stand."^b

"It is not," Lawne tells us, "Satan's weakest delusion, in these our days, to set the fairest glosses upon the foulest matters; and to dress his deadliest hooks with the most delightful baits. It is my purpose, therefore, gentle Reader, to let thee understand somewhat concerning this sect of Brownism, which miserable experience—the mistress of fools—hath made known unto me; desiring that my mishap may prevent others' harms. I have not, in the manifesting of the impieties of this sect, written anything but that which I can of my own knowledge, with good conscience, affirm; although I have alleged sundry authors for the proof thereof, yet it is not for want of knowledge in myself, but rather for thy resolution, that, in the mouth of so many witnesses, everything might be confirmed unto thee; that thereby thou mayest take heed lest thou tread that schismatical trace, the travelling of which I,—with many more of my penitent brethren,—do now bewail.

"And I have the rather chosen at this time to deal, in this manner, with this their 'Description,' because knowing that many of their schismatical Books are brought in and spread abroad in this land, whereby many good Christians are troubled and entangled, not discerning the errors therein; which they have so cunningly hid and cloaked with the manifold allegations of holy Scripture, the abuse whereof is not—by the unlearned—easily perceived. Among which, this 'Description' is not the least, but rather a principal persuasion to invite guests unto their Pharisaical fellowship; having heard sundry, myself, confess that this book of their 'Description' hath been the only cause that brought them unto Brownism. But now the vizard of their profession being plucked off, and the hooks of their heresy laid bare, I am not without hope that the Reader shall reap such resolution thereby, that some shall thereby be stayed from undertaking that hard and dangerous voyage of 'Separation,' from the which so *few* have ever returned to communion with the *Churches* of Christ. And thus

"Mr. George Johnson, and Mr. White, the former an excommunicate himself, whom Mr. Bernard also, p. 35. of his Book, calls 'a disgraceful libeller;' the other, 'an ungodly apostate, whose accusations have been answered one by one.' A fit evidence," says Robinson, "for such a plea and plaintiff."

^a Jer. xvii. 9.

^b Prov. xix. 21.

wishing it, for thy wealth ; for which end I undertook it, I heartily bid thee farewell in the Lord."

If we might thus soon remark on the "few" only whom Lawne admits to have done as he did, it should justly increase our vigilance to detect the true reason or reasons for those "few" deserting, and to inquire after what "Churches" they were into which these relapsed.

The plan pursued throughout Lawne's "Parallel" is that of putting a paraphrastic perversion of the original, paragraph for paragraph, against the "True Description, out of the Word of God, &c.:"^a The first column is headed, "The Outside is described and set forth, by themselves, on this manner;" and the other, is headed, "The Inside is turned outward; and set forth by those that have lived among them, and know their lives, doctrines, and conversation."

Whether fidelity were Lawne's object, will be best shown by citing his own words. Against the fourth paragraph of the "Description," and opposite where it says "she enjoyeth most holy and heavenly laws," &c., Lawne has put "They are annoyed with the abuse of God's law, and perverting the rules of Christ most lamentably: with a most frailful and villanous Pastor;^b a most simple and piteous Teacher;^c most careless and unright Governors; most negligent and untrusty Deacons. There were no believers while I lived among them, but a most haughty, proud, disobedient, dissembling, and spiteful people. Many of the stones seemed dead in religion; no tokens of God's election on them."

Opposite the words "He must be a man that loveth goodness," &c. in the eighth paragraph, Lawne writes again of the Pastor, "He is a man that loveth vice; he is foolish, unrighteous, unholy, intemperate. He is of life reprobable, as all the Churches of God do testify, and so, generally evil reported of: one that ruleth his own house dishonestly; he is immodest, haughty, proud, cruel, and unnatural. He is always careless and negligent over the flock whereof he pretends to be Overseer, with all unwillingness; grudging for maintenance; holding his office in respect of lucre, but doing his duty to never a soul."

"Their Doctor, or Teacher," he says, against the ninth paragraph, "is a man unapt to teach—and unable to divide the Word of God aright; and he delivers unsound and unwholesome doctrine of schism from the same. He is weak in the Scriptures; unable to convince his gainsayers, and careless to deliver his doctrine pure, sound, and plain, but with curiosity or affectation; not so that it may edify the most simple, or approving it to any man's conscience; therefore, of life reprobable. One that cannot govern his own household out of schism; unchristianly rending from the communion of saints, to the great grief of many good Christians. Those that have left their schism, to wit, C.L., and R.B.^d have sundry times gone unto him, desiring conference, but never could obtain it of him. Many good Christians do lament his fall, in the place where he lived in England, commending his innocent life, praying for his enlargement from his miserable schism: which God grant, if it be his will."

^a See Ch. II. p. 28.

^b Johnson.

^c Ainsworth.

^d Robert Bulward.

Against the twelfth paragraph, Lawne writes, "As for their Relievers, or Widows, there never was any in the 'Separation' till now since their divisions:" meaning the divisions between Johnson and Ainsworth. "And now, one part of them—the Franciscan side—hath chosen two Widows; against whom I can say nothing but this, that they are simply led, by the rest, into schism, and there kept in such bondage as themselves do greatly complain of; lamenting and bewailing the abuses of that Church in supplications and prayers night and day. They have often bewailed the bitter rejection of good people, unto some whom they durst make their minds known unto: yet, for fear of their leaders, they dare not show themselves familiar to their loving friends; fearing to be rebuked for the same."

He asserts, as a note under the sixteenth paragraph, that "Whosoever will come and acknowledge that England is a false and antichristian Church, they do receive them: whereby they have many not only ignorant of religion, but of lewd disposition."^a

Apart from dissensions within his church, Johnson was assailed from without. At this period of his own history, Henry Jacob printed at Middleburgh, in 1599, "A defence of the Churches and Ministry of England. Written in two Treatises, against the Reasons and Objections of Mr. Francis Johnson, and others of the Separation commonly called 'Brownists.' Published especially for the benefit of those in these parts of the Low Countries." Johnson replied to it in "An Answer to Master H. Jacob his Defence, &c. 1600." pp. 217. 4to. The third paragraph of the Preface rebuts his opponent's appeal to human authority. "There is no proof brought from the Word of God," he says, "but instead thereof, either his own assertions and comparisons obtruded unto us as oracles; or the names of Mr. Cranmer, Mr. Ridley, and other dead men, opposed to the Word of the living God; or, putting over his cause to the State to be defended." On the point "If any of the errors which the Church of England at this day retaineth be fundamental," Johnson proceeds by saying, "he is at a flat *non plus*," and all Jacob's book, he adds, "is not worth a rush, save that it yields us the cause, and grants their church to be a false church, and their people to be no true Christians in that estate... I desire the reader in Bridges, Bancroft, Bilson, Hooker,^b Sutcliffe, and all such writers of that church, to mind these three things, 1. That all their reasoning and persuasions are no other but such as may lead men either back again to popery, or the ready way to atheism; or at least, to receive whatsoever religion the prince pleaseth; so themselves account it not to be 'fundamental.' Thus are they all blind guides... 2. That they do even set themselves to carp at the Truth itself, and at the maintenance and practice thereof: to which end they use they care not what objections, and abuse they care not whom. 3. That they never do so much

^a Besides "Ainsworth's Answer to Stone's Sermon," Lawne rings the changes upon such authorities as "T. White;" "The hunting of the Fox;" "Generation of Slanderers;" "Joh. Johnson's Fourteen Articles," in Cut. Hutton's "Profane Schism of the Brownists," ch. xi; and, under the twenty-fourth paragraph, he instances a Jac. Johnson.

^b Richard Hooker—"a rare conceited man of the Prelates' crew." Johnson, *Pref.* sect. 7.

as offer to bring proof from the Scripture for their estate and practice.^a And mind if there be any of them all that, in any book they have written, have brought warrant for them from the Word of God. Only Dr. Whitgift made an assay for some of them; but he was so taken down by Mr. Cartwright,^b as he was glad to lay down the bucklers, which since that time neither himself nor any other durst take up. And now Sutcliffe can tell them, if Mr. Cartwright have the better hand of Dr. Whitgift, that then 'the Church of England is no true church of Christ, and that there is just cause to depart and separate from it.'^c

In reference to this dispute with Jacob, Johnson says of himself, that he had consulted "Mr. Henry Ainsworth, Teacher of our church, my work-fellow to the kingdom of God, approved in Christ; and Mr. Daniel Studley, another of our elders, who hath given up his life for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, being first adjudged to death, in 1593, afterward exiled."^d

It is with pain that we have occasion to recur to the persecuting spirit of the Puritans, which Johnson brings before us in the present controversy thus—"Where I alleged 'that you were not behind, but rather exceeded the Israelites, in persecuting unto bonds, banishment, and death, such as bear witness to the Truth of Christ, &c. ;' to this you answer, 'It is a toy.'^e Thus first you make a mock of sin (Prov. xiv. 9,) and carry yourself as if you had been chaplain to Bonner, Bancroft, Whitgift, or some such Caiaphas. By this also you testify, that not only the Prelates and Formalists, as some would bear us in hand, but even the Reformists, among whom you reckon yourself, have your hands in our blood, consenting unto and approving that which is done against us... When you say, If we be troubled for witnessing against your church estate, 'none can pity' our 'imprisonment, banishment, &c. ;' I leave you and it unto God, who seeth and will judge. Only let the reader note here again, that not the Prelates alone, but you also (the forward preachers and professors) have wittingly and willingly your hand in our blood."^f

Not the least important part of our design in this historical relation concerning Independent or Congregational churches is, that portions of original matter, exhibiting, in their own words, the genuine sentiments and reasons of our devoted forefathers on points of the deepest

^a Here Johnson refers to his list of ninety-one "antichristian abominations yet retained in England," p. 63. The Puritans had put forth a similar list in "Parte of a Register," p. 55-73.

^b See the Life of Cartwright prefixed to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, edit. 1890.

^c "Sut. Engl. b. p. 228."

^d Ans. pref. sect. i.

^e This dispute seems to have been carried on privately, till Jacob's Defence appeared from the press: see Johnson's Ans. pref. sect. i.

^f Jacob, on this occasion, reasoned thus, "It is a toy. First, if you were merely innocent, yet this could not make us worse than the Jews in Christ's time; who, for all that they persecuted, yet were they not wholly fallen from God. Secondly, you suffer indeed more than you need, if that you would but acknowledge the grace of God with us so far as it is. It is therefore not Christ's cross in that regard, but your own that you bear." Quoted by Johnson in p. 112.

^g Pages 133, 177.

and most permanent interest, are redeemed from oblivion. We introduce another portion, therefore, with the double purpose of rendering justice, so far, to some of their grounds of Separation, and of inducing our readers to weigh the validity of the respective positions. The space they occupy may be thought considerable, but as they are not accessible at large beyond the pages in which they first appeared, such excessive rarity, together with perfect relevancy to our main purpose, would claim a much larger sacrifice of room and attention.

“ False Doctrine in the Church of England, and in the Defenders thereof.

1. “ ‘That though the open, notorious, obstinate offenders be partakers of the sacraments, yet neither the sacraments nor the people that join with them are defiled thereby.’—Which doctrine is contrary to the Truth of God in these Scriptures, 1 Cor. x. 17. Hag. ii. 14, 15. 1 Cor. v. 6. x. 28. 2 Cor. vi. 14—18. Gal. v. 9. Matt. xviii. 8, 9, 15—19. Exod. xii. 43. Lev. xv. 4—7, 31. xi. 24. xiii. 45, 46. xix. 7. Num. v. 2, 3. xix. 21, 22. Josh. vii. 11, 12, &c. Ezra vi. 21, 22. Jer. iii. 1.

2. “ ‘That the planting or reforming of Christ's Church must tarry for the Civil magistrate, and may not otherwise be brought in by the Word and Spirit of God in the testimony of His servants, except they have authority from earthly princes.’—Which doctrine is against the kingly power of Christ, and these Scriptures, Matt. xxviii. 18, 20. Acts iii. 23. 1 Cor. i. 27. Psal. ii. 6, 9, 10, 12. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Zech. iv. 6. vi. 6, 12, 13. Dan. ii. 44. vii. 27. ix. 25. Mic. v. 7. 1 Cor. xiv. 27, with 1 Thess. iv. 8. Phil. ii. 6, 12. 1 Tim. vi. 13—15. Rev. i. 5. xii. 11. xiv. 12. xvii. 14. xix. 16. xx. 4.

3. “ ‘That the true visible Church of Christ is not a separated company of righteous men and women, from the idolaters and open wicked of the world, but may consist of all sorts of people, good and bad.’—Which doctrine is contrary to the pattern of Christ's Church, throughout all the Scriptures: Gen. iv. 26, with vi. 2. Exod. iv. 22, 23. Lev. x. 10. xx. 24—26. Psal. xxiv. 3, 4. Ezra vi. 21. 2 Chron. xi. 13, 16. Neh. x. 28. Ezek. xxii. 26, with xlv. 23. Zeph. iii. 4. Matt. iii. 10, 12. Acts ii. 40—42. xix. 9. Rom. xii. 1, 8. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10. Rev. xiv. 9, 12. xviii. 4. xxi. 27. xxii. 14, 15, &c.

4. “ ‘To maintain this error of their confused order and mixture of all sorts of persons together, they pervert the parable of the tares, Matt. xiii. 24, teaching, ‘That all are the Church, and that they may be retained, and communicated withal, in the church.’—Which doctrine is against the truth of the Scriptures; yea, against our Saviour's own interpretation in the 38th verse, who teacheth that by ‘the field’ is meant ‘the world’ in which, his Church is militant here on earth. And as therein is the good seed, the righteous, the children of the kingdom, so there are also tares, hypocrites, the children of the wicked; who, as they are often espied in this life by the righteous servants of God, and being discovered, are here cast out of the Church in the Name and by the power of Jesus Christ, so shall they, in that great day, be perfectly severed from the godly by the ‘angels;’ how-

soever here, in the mean time making profession of the truth, and having a show of godliness, they be suffered to grow together with the good seed, and be with the upright of heart reputed members of the church on earth. Note also, that the Church, because it is the temple, house, and kingdom of God on earth, wherein he dwelleth by his Spirit, and ruleth by the sceptre of his Word, as also 'the gate of heaven' through which he bringeth us into his kingdom of glory after this life, is therefore by Christ in this place called 'the kingdom of heaven,' though yet it be here in the 'field' of this world. Matt. xiii. 19, 24, 37, 38, 41, 43, 52. comp. with Gen. xxviii. 17. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17. 2 Cor. vi. 16—18. Eph. ii. 21, 22. Matt. viii. 12. xvi. 18, 19, 28. xxi. 43. xxii. 12—14. xxv. 1. &c. Luke viii. 1. xi. 20. xiii. 18. xvii. 20, 21. John i. 49, 51. Acts i. 3. 1 Tim. iii. 15. v. 24, 25. vi. 3, 5. 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21. iii. 5. And further, if Christ's meaning were that men should here still bear and partake with the known wicked and profane, notwithstanding that their estate; then by this it would follow that there should neither be use of excommunication in the Church, nor punishment of malefactors in the Commonwealth. Which could not but be the destruction of both: and is directly contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles in other Scriptures; as, namely, in Matt. xxviii. 17, 18. xxvi. 52. Rom. xiii. 4. 1 Cor. v. ch. 1 Tim. i. 20. Finally, this their doctrine aforesaid, is against the express commandment of God, the heavenly order of Christ in his Church, and the continual practice of the prophets, apostles, and faithful in all ages: for which, see these Scriptures, Gen. xvii. 14. xix. 12—16. Lev. xviii. 29, 30. xx. 22—26. Num. xvi. 23—26. Ezra vi. 21. ix. 14. Isai. viii. 12, 18. xlii. 5. lii. 11. Jer. xv. 19. Ezek. xxii. 26. Zech. ii. 7. viii. 21—23. Mal. iii. 16—18. Matt. xviii. 8, 9, 15—18. Acts ii. 40, 41, 47. v. 28, 29. xvii. 4, 7, 34. xix. 9. Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. i. 26, 27. v. 4—7. 2 Cor. vi. 17. 1 Tim. vi. 3—5. 2 John 6, 10, 11. Jude 3, 21—23. Rev. ii. & iii. ch.; xiv. 9, 12. xvii. 14. xviii. 4. xx. 4.

5. "That the people may tolerate and join with open iniquity in the Church, until by the Magistrate it be redressed."—Which doctrine is contrary to these Scriptures, 2 Cor. x. 4, 5. Matt. xxviii. 20. Acts ii. 40. iii. 23. iv. 19. ix. 26. xix. 9. 1 Tim. v. 22. Deut. v. 32. xii. 32.

6. "That the gifts of interpretation and application of the Scriptures are a sufficient and lawful calling to the ministry, &c."—Which doctrine is both false and anabaptistical; contrary to the Scriptures, Heb. v. 4. Rom. xii. 6—8. Lev. xxii. 25. Ezek. xlii. 9, &c. Num. i. 51. iii. 10, 38. xvi. 40. xviii. 2—4. Acts i. 20, 26. xiii. 2, 3. xiv. 23.

7. "That the Church may yield obedience unto other laws, canons, traditions, officers, and offices, than God hath prescribed in his Covenant."—Which doctrine is contrary to Gen. xlix. 10. Matt. vi. 24. John x. 4, 5. Rev. xiv. 4. xxii. 18, 19. Heb. iii. 1, &c.

8. "That the Church may read other men's words upon a book, and offer them up to God as their own prayers and sacrifices in the public assemblies."—Which doctrine is contrary to the Scriptures,

Isai. xxix. 13, 14. Rom. viii. 26. 1 Cor. xiv. 15. Matt. vi. 6, 9. xv. 9. Mark vii. 7. Exod. xxx. 9. with Psal. cxli. 2. Rev. v. 8. viii. 3, 4. Jude 20. Eph. iv. 7, 8. vi. 18. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

9. "That it is lawful to join with the ministry of dumb and idol priests, and to receive the sacrament at their hands."—Which doctrine is contrary to Matt. xv. 14. vii. 15. xxiv. 24, 25. Isai. lvi. 10. John x. 1, 5. Num. xvi. 5, 9, 24, 26, 39, 40, &c. 1 Tim. iii. 2. vi. 5. 2 John 6, 11.

10. "That it is lawful for a minister of Christ to cease preaching, and forsake his flock, at the commandment of the Lord Bishops."—Which doctrine is contrary to 1 Cor. ix. 16. Isai. lxii. 1, 6, 7. Jer. xlviii. 10. Zech. xi. 17. John x. 11—13. Acts iv. 18—20. v. 29. Amos vii. 12—15. 2 Tim. iv. 2.

11. "That the Church of Christ hath not always power to bind and loose, to receive in, and to cast out, by the keys of his kingdom."—Which doctrine is contrary to Matt. xviii. 17, 18. Psal. cxlix. 9. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, 12. Num. v. 2, 3.

12. "That it is lawful for the people of God to hear notorious false prophets in their ministry."—Which doctrine is contrary to Deut. xviii. 15. Matt. xvii. 5. vii. 15. 2 John 10, 11. 1 Cor. x. 18. Gal. i. 8, 9. Rev. xiv. 9—11. xviii. 4. John x. 5.

13. "That it is the Church and house of God, the body and kingdom of Christ, where He reigneth not by his own ordinances and officers; but the highest ecclesiastical authority is in the hands of strange Lords and antichristian Prelates; who also govern by Romish canons, and not according to the laws of Christ's Testament."—Which doctrine and practice are condemned by Luke xix. 14, 27. John xv. 14. Rom. vi. 16. Luke xxii. 25, 26. 1 Pet. v. 3. 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, 8. John iii. 35, 36. Rev. ix. 3. xiv. 9—11. xix. 14, 15, 19.

14. "That there may be a prescript Liturgy and set form of service in the Church, framed by man."—Which doctrine is contrary to Deut. v. 8. Isai. xxix. 13, 14. Matt. xv. 9. Mark vii. 6, 7. Gal. iii. 15. John iv. 24. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Eph. iv. 7, 8. Col. ii. 23.

15. "That an antichristian Prelate, notwithstanding his dignity (as it is called) spiritual, may be a Civil magistrate, and obeyed of the people as their lawful governor."—Which doctrine is contrary to Rom. xiii. 1, &c. Matt. xx. 25, 26. Mark x. 42, 43. Luke xxii. 25, 26. Rev. xiv. 9—11. xvii. 14, 16, 18.

16. "That men may give the titles of Christ Jesus to these sons of men, his mortal enemies, to call them their Archbishops, Lord Bishops, Fathers, Lords, &c."—Which doctrine is contrary to 1 Pet. v. 3, 4, with ii. 25. Matt. xxiii. 8—10. Isai. xlii. 8. xlviii. 11. Prov. xvii. 15. xxiv. 24. Isai. v. 20. 2 Cor. vi. 14, 17.

17. "That it is lawful for a Minister of Christ to be maintained in his ministry by Jewish and Popish tithes, chrisms, offerings, &c."—Which doctrine is contrary to Heb. vii. 12. 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14. 1 Thess. v. 12, 13. Prov. xxvii. 26, 27. Phil. iv. 10, 18. Rom. xv. 27. Gal. vi. 6.

"These are the points of false Doctrine, . . which you have left altogether unanswered: as also, your Canons, Articles, Injunctions, &c.

And thus are you driven again and again, whether you will or not, to yield the cause."^a If these points were not deduced by Johnson directly from the writings of Episcopalians, it is well known that they are all main positions, laid down and contended for among their most reputed authorities. That Jacob, however, who formally held, or acquiesced in them, abandoned these unscriptural tenets, it will be our pleasing task to show subsequently.

In the mean time, we have to do, among other matters, with "A Discovery of Brownism: Or, A brief Declaration of some of the Errors and Abominations daily practised and increased among the English Company of the Separation, remaining, for the present, at Amsterdam in Holland. By Thomas White.—Prov. xvi. 29.—Lond. 1605." 4to. pp. 29. Before we saw Johnson's "Answer" to this, we profess our inability to put a right construction on some of the strange allegations with which White abounds. Touching that of "hypocrisy," White says in his Address to the Reader, "I have given an instance, in this treatise following, in that Congregation which God hath made as a spectacle for others to beware of rash, heady, and contentious courses. . . I have rather endeavoured to point at things briefly, than, by dilating, to fill up large volumes; of purpose omitting many the vilest things, partly for offending chaste ears, partly for sparing them, unless further occasion be ministered by themselves. And as for the rudeness of the style, either by superfluous repetitions, in redundant speeches, let the inconvenience both of time and place something excuse me; being but newly arrived, neither enjoying health nor help of books in the penning thereof; my mind also many ways distracted about other businesses." And he says, in p. 24, For some of them that are, by these, accursed, . . "let them acknowledge God's goodness towards them in drawing them out of their tents, as I do his mercy towards me in keeping me from joining with them, being yet sometimes addicted too much unto them before I perceived their fearful estate." In the next page, White adds, "But I like not to sail further into this ocean, but will content myself with the confession of their own members; W. Clerk, 'I thought,' said he, 'that they had been all Saints, but I have found them all Devils:' and this, before many witnesses; yet is this man still a member amongst them!" Does not this justify incredulity? But we have means of coming to a more definitive judgment on all this, in "An Inquiry and Answer of [concerning] Thomas White, his 'Discovery of Brownism.' By Francis Johnson, Pastor of the Exiled English Church at Amsterdam, in Holland.—Psal. lv. 12—14.—1606." 4to. pp. 92.

"Of late," writes Johnson to the Christian Reader, "hath risen up one Thomas White despitefully reviling us, and wickedly blaspheming the Name and tabernacle of the Lord. A man that was himself, heretofore, separated from the Church of England; holding the prelacy, ministry, worship, and confusion thereof to be antichristian: who also was a joined member of a Church in the west parts of England, professing the same faith with us; and, afterward, coming over to Amsterdam, and desiring to be partaker of the Lord's Supper

^a *Ibid.* p. 157—160.

with us, did, in our public meeting, before us all, with his own mouth, testify consent with us in the same faith we profess. . . In himself, though it may seem strange, are found both the extremes whereof he speaketh in his Preface, 'which bring no small annoyance to the Church of God—hypocrisy and profaneness.' . . I will here set down a Letter of his, written, while he held our cause, to a Minister of the Church of England; and, to use his own words, 'as Christ alleged, against the Pharisees, the example of their own children, that they might be their judges;'^a so will I 'his own writings against himself, that they,' as his children, 'may be his judges.'^b The Letter is taken from his own original copy.^c

"To Mr. I. A.,^d Minister at M. in Wiltshire.—Sir, the pillars of the kingdom of darkness have been especially three, ignorance, falsehood, and violence. How far you have waded, with others, in these, in your late dealing against us by sermons, conference, and letters, let the sequel show. . . Your associate, Mr. At., could tell me 'that another place was fitter for me,' meaning the prison: to which I answered, That if I had the gift of dissembling which he had—to subscribe against my conscience, as he did,—I told him then, when, and where,—I might live long enough and enjoy Achan's wedge as himself doth, without abridgment of liberty! . . At your next coming to Slaughtenf. I pray you not to spend an hour and a half in confuting us in proving that [which] we never denied, as you did before, and not contradict yourself, as Mr. Jes.^e did, disproving his own doctrine [at] the same time that he repeated it. The doctrine was, that 'whosoever was reputed to be a minister, and taught the doctrine in the foundation sound, he was a true Minister;' and yet in the same place, at the same time, he said that 'a non-resident was a thief and a robber.' Now, I hope he will confess, that a non-resident is reputed, by them, to be a minister, and may teach the doctrine in the foundation sound; therefore, a thief and robber may be a true pastor! (or else he disproved his own doctrine,) which cannot be. . . So still committing our cause to the just Judge, I take my leave: this present, the 25th of month 2, 1603[4].^f He that desireth you good, from his heart.—Tho. White.'

"This Letter he wrote, as is aforesaid; since which time being here discovered, and disappointed of his expectation, he hath, with Demas, embraced this present world, and left the Truth of Christ; and is become a sworn enemy thereof himself, and a pleader for like fruits of darkness in others. . . Let himself remember his own saying heretofore, if he will regard no others, 'That a man who hath run away from his Master, will seldom give him a good report.' But thus is he the fitter servant for his masters the Prelates, by whose authority he pleaded here, before the Magistrates, that his book was printed: and under them, belike, hopeth to be sheltered in England, whither

^a Matt. xii. 27.

^c It occupies seven pages.

^e Query? Jessop.

^f The importance of this date, as manifesting his speedy change, appears in comparing it with that of White's "Discovery."

^b White, p. 4.

^d "Aw," elsewhere in Johnson.

he hath now betaken himself: for what cause, he knoweth best. But wheresoever, and howsoever, he bestow himself, let him know, God will find him out; from whom he cannot flee, nor escape his judgment! . . . Neither let him, nor any other open enemies, think their case the better, because of our sins or troubles, or weak walking in the faith, whereon they do so much insist. Concerning which, my answer shall be with the words of the prophet Micah vii. 8—10. And in this will we rest, and wait upon the Lord, the God of our salvation; trusting in Him, that notwithstanding our unworthiness, and his chastising which we have deserved, yet he will look upon us in mercy, and make all things work for good unto us in Christ. . . . To Him be praise and glory for ever and ever, Amen."

Having introduced the subject generally, Johnson writes, in his second page,—“Yet may not our, or any weakness of man, prejudice the Truth of God: so that admitting it were with us as this adversary, Thomas White, hath written against us, yet ought none therefore to be turned away from the truth professed by us; but to make other use thereof for their own good, as we ourselves also ought. But now if the things he objecteth be, many of them, notorious lies; divers of them, purposely perverted; few of them, truly related; and all of them—as all may see—maliciously abused against us; how justly shall that return upon his own head, which he would, in this manner, bring upon us?”

“What our cause and testimony are, we have, long since, published in the Confession of our Faith; which this man knoweth well, and hath, in his book,^a alleged the seventeenth Article thereof. If then, he take our cause,—for which, we are reviled, under the name of ‘Brownists,’—to be error, why did he not confute it? If it be truth, why doth he thus blaspheme it?”

Passing over the intermediate matter, to which only this general reference can be made here, but which would well reward the curious investigator into the real state of the opinions and facts called forth by White's remarks and charges, we find Johnson writing, at his 39th page, “Concerning ‘love and compassion,’ why should I think otherwise but that I may sometimes fail them? Yet this man, for it, of all other, might have laid his hand on his mouth, to whom—when at first, he came a stranger, and poor, into these countries—I gave meat and drink and lodging, about nine or ten weeks together, till he returned again into England!”

“Touching my ‘Father’—of whom he speaketh in particular,—I do and will alway acknowledge that I was so bound to him, both by nature and for his care and charge of my bringing up, as I never did or could do enough to show myself sufficiently thankful. And what, then, should I do, speaking of any thing that I have done by any means that way? And, in particular, for the time when he was here, what I did and offered him to do, at his arriving hither, remaining here, and going from hence, with other particulars that might be noted; I will not here speak, neither what myself could, if it were another's case, nor what divers others know and could testify, if it were needful.”

neither will I stand to show what I could, touching the pretence which he maketh about his being here in 'necessity.'^a

"He excepteth against one of our Deacons,^b Mr. C. Bowman, to whom, *eleven* years since, the Magistrates of Narden did *once*,—and not 'weekly,' as this man intimateth,—send a little money to be given to the poor of the Church; which he, together with one of the Elders, Mr. G. Knifton, did accordingly bestow upon such as they judged to stand most in need. Whereof, because goodwife Colgates, the woman of whom he speaketh, had not a part, thereupon by her means, it seemeth, was this report raised of Mr. Bowman, which now this fellow hath published; and for which his 'many such like instances,' he is by Mr. B. called before the Magistrates, as a slanderer. And touching the woman, no marvel if she so abused him who hath since, in other things, carried herself so ungodly as she is cast out of the Church, and so remaineth. And for Mr. Bowman, how well he hath approved himself in his office, I shall not need to relate; neither need he regard any slanderous tongue or pen; knowing his own integrity, and having the Church's testimony, to which he hath, with good approbation, ministered in that office now about fourteen years!^c

"He saith, 'we condemn the Dutch Church, for baptizing the seed of those that are not members of their Church,'^d which is not so: but we dislike, in the Dutch Church of this town, that 'they baptize the seed of them who are not members of *any* Visible Church; and besides, 'admit not the Parents themselves to the Lord's Supper.' Great difference there is between these two,—not to be members of *their* Church, and not to be members of *any* Visible Church! And this, it seemeth, himself perceived, and therefore kept not our words, as he had them set down in the book^e alleged by himself.^f

"As for that he saith of the book aforesaid,^g being 'unanswered,'^h we have divers reasons for so leaving it. 1. It is but part of a book, printed before the rest was finished:ⁱ and to see the whole might be of special use, if an answer should be given unto it. 2. Since the writing thereof, it pleased God to visit him with sickness that he died: and seeing he is dead, we do so leave him; forbearing now to write what we could, as is well known to many. 3. He did not, like as this man, leave, or contrary, our general cause and testimony against the Church of England; but held it so himself as of late going into England, he was there taken and put in prison for this cause, where he died under their hands. These reasons, among other, we have of not answering it!^k

"About thirteen years since, this Church, through persecution in England, was driven to come into these countries. Awhile after they were come hither, divers of them fell into the heresies of the Anabaptists—which are too common in these countries—and so persisting, were excommunicated by the rest. Then, awhile after that again,

^a White, p. 14. Johnson, p. 40.

^c P. 48.

^d White, p. 17.

^e See Junius' Letters, p. 54.

^b P. 15.

^f "A Discourse of certain Troubles, &c." By George Johnson.

^g P. 51.

^h White, p. 20.

ⁱ It has, hitherto, eluded our most diligent search. B. H. 1888.

^k P. 61.

many others—of whom specially, I think he [White] speaketh here,—some older, some younger, even too many, though not the half, as I understand,^a fall into a schism from the rest, and so many of them as continued therein were cast out; divers other of them repenting and returning before excommunication, and divers of them after.^b

“Now here let the Reader observe, how this man, which blameth others for not forgiving of ‘penitent sinners,’ hath not cared, throughout his book, to publish and object the sins of such against the whole Church and the parties themselves: besides the manifest falsehoods and blasphemies into which also he is run. But his madness is become manifest to men, and his judgment sleepeth not with God, who will remember and ‘reward him according to his works.’^c”^d

Thus have matters which could not well be dissevered, pressed themselves in advance of other events and transactions, a view of which, in their turn, will not only recompense curiosity, but disabuse the hitherto unenlightened of many perversions artfully wrought in their understandings by the instruments of a hierarchy, whose existence depends on the subjugating of both body and mind to its interests.

CHAP. VI.

ACCESSION OF JAMES I.—CONSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS.

WHILE the church of exiles, whose history we are tracing, was undergoing the fluctuations incident to its peculiar position, death was making inroads upon the despoilers and destroyers of its members. Elizabeth, and her revenger to execute *her* wrath,^e—he who strove to prevail “with sweetness and gentleness!” Whitgift,—having now passed to their account, were succeeded in their offices by the equally tolerant and merciful James—the Prelates’ *jackal*, and “the scorn of the age;”^f and by that “sturdy piece,” Bancroft,^g The *honourable, consistent, and christian-like* demeanour of the new “Head of the Church of England” is not within *our* province to display, even if it were within the reach of human ability! The disgusting adulation, alike unprincipled and

^a Francis Johnson was then in prison, in London, “while these things fell out in the Church being in the Low Countries:” p. 64. He corresponded frequently, however, with that Church.

^b P. 63.

^c Neh. vi. 14. 2 Tim. iv. 14.

^d P. 76.—The remainder of this book contains “A Note of Particulars, wherein we differ from the Dutch and French Churches of this city; &c.” Certain “Cautions.” And, “An Answer to the Reasons alleged to prove the Use of the Lord’s Prayer as a Prayer.”

^e Rom. xiii. 4.

^f James is so described by Bishop Burnet, “Own Time,” 1724. fol. vol. i. p. 17.—Heylyn says, “He was so taken with the delicacies of the English Court, that he abandoned the severities and cares of government, to enjoy the pleasures of a crown.” Hist. Preb. lib. xi. sect. i.

^g Whitgift expired, Feb. 29th, 1603-4, “leaving a name like a sweet perfume behind him: and Bancroft, a sturdy piece, succeeded him, but not with the same spirit, for what Whitgift strove to do by sweetness and gentleness, Bancroft did persevere in with rigour and severity.”—Wilson’s Hist. of the Life, &c., of James I., 1653, fol. p. 8.

unprecedented, with which their Head was greeted by certain intoxicated self-styled successors of the apostles, is admirably contrasted by the honest manliness and sobriety with which less compliant suitors approached him; mistaken only in supplicating him "for the love you bear unto Christ." Owning James, as was fit, for their "liege lord," they forwarded to him "The humble Petition of certain poor Christians your Majesty's loyal subjects," wherein, having alluded to the corruptions of Christianity and to the duties of true Christians, they tell their Sovereign, That they have always been careful, howsoever traduced, to acknowledge "the true doctrines of the Gospel professed by the Church of England;" while they have been equally careful "to forsake the antichristian hierarchy, form of worship, and confusion of all sorts of people in the body of that Church, which yet do there remain commingled." They present him at the same time with the Confession, in Latin, heretofore published; that his Majesty's knowledge of their cause might be "true and full;" and they then pray his Majesty "to take knowledge of this cause of Christ, witnessed by his unworthy servants, in long and manifold affliction sustained at the hands and by the means of the Prelates," that they may be suffered "in peace" at home, "to walk in the faith of the Gospel."

What notice was taken of that petition is not stated, but it was followed by "The Humble Supplication of sundry your Majesty's faithful Subjects, who have now a long time been constrained either to live as exiles abroad, or to endure other grievous persecutions at home, for bearing witness to the Truth of Christ against the corruptions of antichrist yet remaining." Here they tell the King, "Albeit our faith and practice, for which we suffer these things, be no other, to our knowledge, than that wherein the Apostles at first planted the Primitive Christians, and have left recorded for a rule to all posterity; as appeareth by The Confession of our Faith, already exhibited to your Majesty; . . yet, because in it also are contained, as in such a Treatise was meet, other doctrines of the Christian faith, wherein we agree with the Church of England," the "very points of difference" are on this occasion "noted down apart," for his "Majesty's godly and wise consideration." These are reduced to fourteen particulars, after which, they add, "Our humble suit therefore is, That the ancient and only true way of Christ being revived, we, his unworthy witnesses thereof, your Majesty's loyal subjects, may, by your sovereign authority, be protected so as we may be suffered peaceably to walk in that faith," &c.

Still, it was needful for the supplicants to approach the throne a third time. On this occasion, they remind "the King's most excellent Majesty" of their former petitions; and, further to promote their "humble suit" for their "return," and for being discharged from the bonds they had been compelled to give to the magistrates, they say—"We, being come to attend your Majesty's pleasure, . . have confirmed by the Scriptures, and Reasons deduced from them, the positions of our former petition; . . and we humbly beseech your Majesty vouchsafe to read and weigh these reasons, and let not the truth of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ be esteemed by the small number, contemptible estate, or many infirmities of us that testify the

sama." Not having room for the whole, which occupy between thirty-nine and forty pages, quarto, their "first position," the "eighth," and part of the "ninth," are selected.

"The First Position.—That Christ the Lord hath by his last Testament, given to his Church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary offices, with the manner of calling or entrance, works, and maintenance; for the administration of His holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction, guidance, and service of His Church to the end of the world:—Matt. xxviii. 18—20. Heb. iii. 1—6, and Acts i. 3, compared with ch. vi. 3—6. xiv. 23, xx. 17, 28. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, 12, 13. ix. 8, 13, 14. xi. 23—26. xii. 4—6, 18, 28. xiv. 37. Eph. iv. 8, 11—13. 1 Thess. v. 12—14. 1 Pet. v. 1—4. 1 Tim. ch. iii. and v. with the rest of Timothy and Titus.

"Reasons deduced out of these, and other the like Scriptures, for declaration and proof of this Position :

1. "Because the very office of Christ's mediation, to be the eternal Prophet, Priest, and King of the Church, and his faithful dispensation thereof, importeth, requireth, and assureth this of him. Heb. iii. 1—3. x. 21. xii. 24—28. John xiv. 6. xv. 15, 16, with Acts i. 3.

2. "Because otherwise it would follow, either that Christ hath not in his Testament so provided (the thing being not needful, or Himself not careful, faithful, or sufficient, so to give and appoint), or that Men may abrogate his Testament, or super-ordain thereunto: which is contrary to the Scriptures aforesaid, compared with Gal. iii. 15.

3. "Else, Moses, being but a servant, was more faithful in the house of God, than Christ the Son: contrary to Heb. iii. 1—6, with Exod. xxxix. 42, 43.

4. "Because the Scripture doth teach that Christ hath given to his Church, and set in it, certain and distinct offices, gifts, and works, for his ministry, and building up of his Church, until we all meet in the unity of faith and knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, &c.—Eph. iv. 11—13. 1 Cor. xii. 4—6, 28, 29, with Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Tim. ch. iii. and v. 3, 9, 17. vi. 13, 14.

5. "Else, there should not be one Lord, but many lords, of the diversity of administrations in the Church: neither hath He as Lord appointed them; but as a servant, whose appointment may be controlled and altered by others. Contrary to 1 Cor. xii. 5. Eph. iv. 5, 11, 12.

6. "Else, it should be in the power of Man to add or take away members to and from the body of Christ—for the Church is his body, and the officers be members thereof: which were contrary to 1 Cor. xii. 18, 27, 28, with Rom. xii. 4—8.

7. "Else, there might be Church-offices and functions, from the earth; and not from Heaven only, as Christ hath taught, and even the Pharisees themselves acknowledged. Matt. xxi. 25. John i. 21—27. Heb. v. 4.

8. "Else, the Church either is not the kingdom and house of the Lord, or He hath not had that sovereignty and care that all wise princes and householders have for their kingdoms and houses, to have them ordered by officers and ordinances appointed by themselves,

and not by others: contrary to Acts i. 3, with 1 Tim. iii. 15. vi. 14, 15. Heb. iii. 5, 6. xii. 28.

9. "How else did the apostle Paul, who was not with the other apostles, but did afterward receive the Gospel by revelation from Christ; how else, did he plant [in] the Churches that were gathered by him, in the same way, offices, and ordinances, that the other apostles did;—if the Lord himself have not so ordained, or if these ordinances were not part of the Gospel which he received? For which, see and compare his Epistles, and Acts, with the rest.

10. "Else, we could not of faith, either receive, use, or join unto the offices and administration of holy things in the Church: because true faith is, and must be, grounded on the Word of God. Rom, x. 17. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6. John ii. 22.

"The Eighth Position.—That all particular Churches ought to be so constituted as, having their own peculiar Officers, the whole body of every Church may meet together in one place, and jointly perform their duties to God and one towards another. Acts xiv. 23, 27. xx. 28. Rom. xii. 5—8. 1 Cor. v. 4. xi. 20, 23. xii. 27. xiv. 23, 24, 33. Phil. i. 1. 1 Thess. v. 12—14. Heb. xiii. 17. James v. 14. 1 Pet. v. 1—4. Rev. i. 20, with ch. ii. iii. And that the censures of admonition and excommunication be in due manner executed, for sin convicted, and obstinately stood in. Matt. xviii. 15—17. 1 Cor. v. 11. Gal. v. 12. vi. 1. 1 Thess. v. 14. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. Jude 22, 23, with Lev. xiii. 47—59. xix. 17. Num. v. 2, 3. xv. 30, 31. Psal. cxlix. 6—9. 2 Cor. x. 4—6. 1 Tim. i. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 16—18. Tit. iii. 10. This power also to be in the body of the Church whereof the parties so offending and persisting are members. Matt. xviii. 17, 18. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, 12, 13. 2 Thess. iii. 6, with Levit. xxiv. 14—16, 23. Josh. vii. 13, 25."

This Position was much contested among the Separatists, as will be seen in the progress of our history. We forbear therefore, in this place, from giving any of the twenty-two "Reasons."

"The Ninth Position.—That the Lord is to be worshipped and called upon in spirit and truth; according to that form of Prayer given by the Lord, Matt. vi., and after the Liturgy of His own Testament; not by any other, framed or imposed by Men; much less, by one translated from the Popish liturgy, as the Book of Common Prayer, &c. ♪

Sect. iii. 1. "Because Christ hath therefore prescribed that form of prayer, that it should be a rule and pattern according to which to frame all our prayers and supplications to the Lord. Matt. vi. 9—13, with Luke xi. 1—4; of which, see further in the next point.

2. "Because it is not lawful to worship God by read prayer, or to impose it upon the Church of Christ. First, Because God did never command to use, nor promise to accept, such a worship: and then, it is a human invention and tradition, breaking the second commandment, Exod. xx. 4—6. Secondly, Because it is as lawful to prescribe homilies as prayers, for the ministers to read; seeing, to preach, and to pray in the Church, are two especial duties of the ministers, and Christ giveth his servants gifts for the whole work of the ministry;

and, therefore, as well in prayer, to be the mouth of the people unto God, as in preaching, to be the mouth of God to the people. Eph. iv. 8, 12, with Acts vi. 4. And, if any be not indued with such gifts, there is no warrant, in the Word of God, to have them for ministers of Christ. If they be so indued, there is no warrant to prescribe them stunted prayers, or homilies. Besides that it derogateth from the honour, fruit, and benefit of Christ's ascension into heaven; and, from the care, love, and bounty that he bath and showeth continually unto his Church upon the earth, giving gifts unto men for the work of the ministry, &c. Eph. iv. 8—13, and 1 Cor. xii. 4—6, with Matt. xxviii. 20. Thirdly, Because it abridgeth the office of the Holy Ghost, who teacheth us how to pray as we ought; and, keepeth out of the Church, the gifts and graces of God, and quencheth the spirit of the ministers and people in the service of God, &c. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Eph. iv. 8. vi. 18. 1 Thess. v. 19. Jude 20. Fourthly, Because prayer must be according to the present and several occasions of the churches and people of God, and thanksgiving returned upon the prayer heard, &c. Phil. iv. 6. 1 Thess. v. 17, 18. Acts i. 24. iv. 24. Matt. xiv. 30. 2 Cor. xii. 8. Rom. xv. 30—32. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. James i. 5—7. v. 13. 1 Pet. iv. 7. 1 John v. 14, 15. Finally, Because the worshipping of God by read prayer, is part of the worship of antichrist, used and enjoined in the Papacy, maintaining superstition and a dumb and idle ministry, nourishing the people in ignorance of the nature and right use of prayer, &c.

3. "Because, else, the Apostles were unfaithful or insufficient for the work committed unto them, who never left such precedent in, or commandment to, the Churches, nor gave any such power to bring in, or set up, any such apocrypha liturgy in the Church of God.

4. "Because all our worship is to be offered unto God in the mediation of Jesus Christ: neither is to be otherwise accepted of the Lord. And Christ is, and will be, Mediator only of that worship which is according to his own Testament. And, therefore, Book-prayer must either be showed to be according to the Testament of Christ—which hitherto they have not proved; or else, the using thereof is, what lieth in us, to make Christ the Mediator of another worship and ministration, and consequently of another Testament than his own. 1 Tim. ii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Rev. viii. 3, 4, with Heb. ix. 15, 24.

5. "Because, if a Book of Prayer be the liturgy appointed by Christ in his Testament, then ought all churches upon earth to use that manner of worship. For there is but one rule of the Testament of Christ; and all churches are bound thereunto: Gal. i. 8, 9. iii. 15. vi. 16. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14, with Matt. vi. 9—13. xxviii. 20. Whereas it is evident, that the primitive churches planted by the apostles, and recorded in the Scriptures, had not any such prescribed book-prayer.

6. "Because the Book aforesaid doth not only enjoin the church to pray by stint and number of words and prayers, but doth also pervert the right use of the Scriptures; dismembering and misapplying them for making of gospels, epistles, lessons, and collects, appointed for their feasts and fasts, and other like devised worship of their own, and

derived from the papists. Besides, that it bringeth into the church apocrypha writings, and the errors contained in them, &c.

7. "Because that Book erecteth and continueth a new and strange kind of administration in the church; and consequently another Gospel: inasmuch as the ministry of Christ, by the Gospel, is only bound unto the Testament of Christ; wherein they have sufficient rules, and a perfect liturgy, for the whole administration of the Church, neither may administer any otherwise. Gal. i. 6—9. ii. 4, 5, iii. 15, with 1 Tim. iii. 15. vi. 13, 14. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

8. "Else, might men have their prayers by rote, or buy them at the book-binders,' &c.; whereas true prayer is the work of God's Spirit in our hearts, teaching and enabling us to pour out our souls unto God in all necessities and occasions, and so to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. Rom. viii. 26, 27. Eph. vi. 18. Jude 20. 1 Sam. i. 12, 15. 1 Pet. ii. 5. Rev. viii. 3, 4.

9. "Else also, the Apostles gave not a sufficient reason why it was not meet they should attend to the Deacons' office, when they alleged that they were to give themselves, as to the ministration of the word, so also, unto prayer. For it had been easy for them either to have said by rote, or to have read out of a book, some set form of prayer. Acts vi. 2, 4.

10. "Because it is idolatrous, neither can be of faith in us, nor pleasing unto God, to worship him after another manner than Himself hath prescribed. Exod. xx. 4—6. xxx. 9, with Psal. cxli. 2. cxix. 113, 128. Col. ii. 23, with Rom. xiv. 23. Heb. xi. 6. xii. 28, 29.

Sect. iv.—4. "Because the Apostles, who both knew and carefully followed the true meaning of Christ herein, did neither bind themselves to these words [of the Lord's prayer,] but prayed still as they had several occasions, according to this rule—Acts i. 24, 25. iv. 24—30. Matt. xiv. 30. 2 Cor. xii. 8. Eph. iii. 14, 21. Phil. i. 9—11. Rev. xxii. 20;—neither, when they wrote to others concerning prayer, did ever teach them to say over the Lord's prayer (which, how could they but have done, if they had so taken the will of Christ to be?) but always taught them, according to their necessities and occasions to show their requests unto God, in all manner of prayer and supplication in the Spirit, with giving of thanks; and hereunto to watch with all perseverance, because this is the will of God in Christ Jesus. 1 Thess. v. 17, 18, with Phil. iv. 6. Eph. vi. 18. Rom. xv. 30—32. 2 Thess. iii. 1, 2. 1 Tim. ii. 1—3. Jam. i. 5, 6. v. 13. 1 Pet. iv. 7. 1 John v. 14, 15. Jude 20.

5. "Else also, how, saith the apostle, speaking of prayer in a strange tongue, 'When thou blessest, how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say, amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou speakest?' 1 Cor. xiv. 16. For, if they had used to say over the words of this form of prayer, might not some have answered—Yes, we know what he saith; it is the Pater-noster, the Lord's-prayer, which we know aforehand, and therefore we can say, amen, unto it, though it be spoken in a strange tongue!

9. "Seeing it is a most perfect form of prayer, wherein is no want or superfluity,—if it were Christ's meaning to enjoin the saying over

of those words for our prayer to God, then ought we to use these only, and no other ! Because it should be but babbling or presumption, to join or put other prayers instead of that which is so absolute and sufficient : for the Lord will be worshipped with the best we have ; and he is accursed, that, having a male for sacrifice, doth offer a corrupt thing to the Lord. Mal. i. 14.

The whole of the fourteen Positions, with the several points illustrating them, having been introduced, the Petitioners conclude—" Thus have we *briefly* set down unto your Majesty's view, some of the many reasons which the Scriptures do afford for confirmation of the Positions which we propounded. Whereby your Highness' wisdom may perceive what weight is in the controversy between this Church of England and us ; what arguments do move us to stand in our testimony ; what necessity lieth upon us to witness this truth of God in so sundry important doctrines of the Gospel ; what cause our adversaries, the prelates and clergy of this land, have had to pursue us with such manifold and durable [*sic*] calamities ; with what equity we have been, all manner of ways, traduced and divulged to be Donatists, Anabaptists, Brownists, Schismatics, &c. ; and, whether there be in us the spirit of error, faction, sedition, rebellion, &c., while in these things only we insist,—for these, do labour, in meekness and patience, in all obedience and good conscience towards God, and loyalty to your Majesty and our native country : assenting unto the other grounds of Christian religion professed in this land, and other churches about us. . . And seeing your Majesty suffereth strangers in your dominions which differ from the hierarchy and worship here established, we hope your natural loving subjects shall find no less favour in your eyes." The whole document is subscribed—" Your Majesty's Loving and Faithful Subjects. Some living in foreign lands abroad ; some here at home in our native country imprisoned, and otherwise subject to many great calamities ; for the Truth of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

One result of this last Petition was a request, from " an honourable person," some weeks after it had been presented, to condense " the effect" of the suit, which, he said, he would himself show to his Majesty. This was accomplished by reducing the substance into three distinct propositions, suing, That they might be allowed to live at home, &c. ; that, if it were the King's pleasure to have the differences discussed, then that their positions and reasons might be handed over to their " adversaries," to answer by the Word of God, and so be referred back to the Petitioners ; or, that a set of questions might be submitted for both sides to reply to ; " and so the whole, exhibited to his Majesty and their Honours to judge of." And they expressed their readiness to comply with any other course for the finding out of the Truth " by the Word of God."

Petitioning was not confined to these dissidents alone, the most memorable being that of the Puritans, called the Millenary Petition ; subscribed, as the preamble says, " to the number of more than a thousand,"^a and presented to James in April 1603, during his progress into his new dominions, which he named^b afterwards " the promised

^a See the whole, in Fuller's Ch. Hist. bk. x. p. 22.

^b Jan. 14th, 1603-4.

land!" As what arose from it implicated the Separatists, we premise that Fuller terms this a "calm and still, but deep petition."^a "Sure it is," he adds, "it ran the gauntlet throughout all the Prelatical party, every one giving it a lash; some with their pens, more with their tongues; and the 'dumb ministers,' as they term them, found their speech most vocal against it! The Universities, and justly, found themselves much aggrieved that the petitioners should proportion a seventh part only out of an inappropriation in a Layman's fee, ['That the proportion of Laymen's fees may be charged with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the maintenance of the preaching ministry'] &c. This motion, if effected, would cut off more than the nipples of the breasts of both Universities, in point of maintenance!"—Cambridge, he informs us, therefore began, and passed a Grace,^b suspending "whosoever should by word or writing" hereafter oppose the received doctrine and discipline of England, "or any part thereof." Oxford followed, "making a strong and sharp confutation,"^c under the title of "The Answer of the Vice Chancellor, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford.—Agreeable, and undoubtedly, to the joint and uniform opinion of all the Deans and Chapters, and all other the learned and obedient Clergy, in the Church of England: And confirmed by the express consent of the University of Cambridge:—to 'The Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church.'—'Beware of the concision.' Phil. iii. 2.—1603." 4to. pp. 32.^d A title, say the Separatists, "that pretendeth some great matter to follow in the book; considering the persons that set themselves to write, and the purpose, occasion, and argument of their writing. Which, whether they have accordingly performed, we suppose the Ministers against whom they write will, in their Reply, make manifest. In the mean time, because they content not themselves to deal only with those Ministers aforesaid, but have also, in the same book, very injuriously traduced us whom, falsely, they call 'Brownists,' we have thought it good, and more than needful, being thus provoked, to make Answer unto the things which there they have imputed unto us." They assign nine causes for this their "Apology," the fifth being, "Because such men having so publicly charged us, in the face of the world, not only with 'absurdities;' which might be borne at the hands of so many great doctors! but, even with 'pestilent and blasphemous conclusions,' &c.; it is meet, and cannot but be required of them, that they bring due proof of so grievous accusations."^e

This work, of one hundred and eighteen pages, is dedicated to the King, to whom they wrote thus, "True it is, that our base, contemp-

^a Ch. Hist. bk. x. p. 23.

^b "June 9th, 1603." Strype, Whit. p. 567.

^c Fuller, p. 24.

^d Cambridge voted an Address October 7th. to the sister University on this 'Answer.' See Strype's Annals, vol. iv. p. 374.

^e "An Apology or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called 'Brownists;' Against such imputations as are laid upon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford, in their 'Answer' to The humble Petition, &c."—Jer. vi. 16. Phil. iii. 2.—1604. 4to. p. 2.

tible estate, whom God hath allotted to prophesy in sackcloth, and not to speak at home but from a strange country; and most of all, our own unworthiness and insufficiency to manage such a cause, might discourage us from publishing, especially unto your Majesty, this our Defence and Apology. Nevertheless, relying upon the assistance of the Almighty, and hoping also of your Highness' clemency, we have thus done. For the love of Christ constraineth us, and the importunity of our adversaries enforceth us also hereunto: for they, not content with our afflictions and exile; nor, thinking it enough to speak their pleasures of us in their pulpits, where none may control them; do also in their printed books publicly traduce us, as heretofore, so still, and that in their writings dedicated to your Majesty." Subscribed, "The Overseers, Deacons, and Brethren of the English Church at Amsterdam, in the Low Countries, exiled for the Truth of the Gospel of Christ."

In p. 86 they write, "Having hitherto spoken of the imputations which the Doctors, in their preface, have laid upon us under the term of 'Brownists;' it followeth now, to speak of the other, which in the book itself they do also particularly ascribe unto us. Which they do in two places: in the one, under the names of 'Barrowe and Greenwood;' whom they know to have died in that faith which we profess; for which, they laid down their lives, and, being now asleep in the Lord, are not here to make answer for themselves: in the other, under the same term of 'Brownists,' as they did in their epistle, before. In the first place, speaking of the ministers' desire to have the longsomeness of service abridged, 'From hence,' say they, p. 12, 'their dislike of set and stricted forms of prayer; it doth proceed, that some of them omit, some refuse to repeat, some condemn the use of the Lord's prayer; from hence, hath Barrowe and Greenwood taken their beginning, and fetched the premises of their pestilent and blasphemous conclusions.' Thus they speak. Whereunto we answer, The heads of the differences between them and us—which here they call 'pestilent and blasphemous conclusions'—we have noted down before, in our Second Petition, and in the Preface before the Confession of our Faith, and in the Confession itself; and divers reasons and proofs of them, from the Word of God, we have also set down, as may be seen in our Third Petition, and in the Confession aforesaid. And in particular, concerning that form of prayer called 'the Lord's prayer,' what our judgment is for the right use of it, and why we are so minded; as also, sundry reasons touching our 'dislike of set and stinted forms of prayer,' we have already declared in the places aforesaid, and therefore shall not need here again to repeat them. If they be not according to the Truth, let these men so show it by the Word of Truth, and turn their railing into reasoning against us! Or, if by the Scriptures they find them to accord with the Truth, let them cease thus to speak evil of the living and the dead; and let them rather set themselves unto this, To consider their own ways in their hearts, and to turn their feet into the testimonies of the Lord!

"Now, where they pretend, as if from the 'Ministers,' of their dislike of longsomeness of service, or of set and stinted forms of prayer,

[that] Mr. Barrowe, and others like minded, have 'taken their beginning and fetched the premises' of their Conclusions; let them here call to mind, how the Papists speak of Protestants, That they have had their beginning, and received their religion from 'Luther, and Calvin,' &c.; and if they see the vanity and 'blasphemy' of the Papists herein, let them also discern it in themselves. The LORD JESUS is 'the author and finisher' of *our* faith. The WORD of GOD it is, whereupon *we* build; and not upon any Man or opinions of Men whatsoever! . . . Thereupon *only* do *we* ground *our* religion; and thence fetch 'the premises' of *our* conclusions therein. The writings and opinions of Men, whosoever and whatsoever they be, *we* neither do nor may admit any further but as they agree with the Word of God, which is the only rule of Truth, and shall be judge of all that refuse it in the last day: John xii. 48. xvii. 17.

"And thus, leaving unto the Ministers to answer for themselves; who do themselves best know, whether they 'dislike,' as they ought, 'set and stinted forms of prayer,' and whereupon their 'dislike' ariseth, &c.; let this, for the present, suffice for us, whom these men have here again so maliciously blasphemed, not sparing the dead, and martyrs of Jesus.

" . . . Where they labour to maintain, p. 15, against the Ministers, this to be a strange doctrine, namely, 'That he is no minister that cannot preach;' . . . what the Ministers will answer hereunto, as yet we know not; that which concerneth ourselves, we will now answer. And first, for the question itself which here they argue upon, we do not hold, as they have set it down, 'That he is no minister that cannot preach;' for we know there have been, and still be too many such ministers! But this we hold, That he which 'cannot preach,' is not a true and lawful minister, whose calling and administration can be warranted by the Word of God. It is one thing to say, 'they are 'no' ministers at all; another, that they are not true and lawful ministers.'" ^a

CHAP. VII.

HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE.—DEPRIVATION, ETC. OF THREE HUNDRED MINISTERS.

THE never-ceasing soreness and irritability on the subjects of repudiating uninspired authority, and of exercising the most responsible of all duties, that of private judgment, manifested by the fabricators of and the dependents on State Churches, against any who resolve to examine for themselves what is the counsel of the LORD, and to "stand in the ways, and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein," ^b is a certain indication of the apprehensions those parties entertain concerning the fate of their Dragons; which, unless they are judicially blind, they must see cannot stand

^a Apol. p. 87.

^b Jer. vi. 16.

"before the ark of the LORD."^a Happy, truly happy, will be that day when the Gospel trumpet shall no more be *authoritatively* blown with an uncertain sound.^b The intrepidity and perseverance with which these only truly conservative principles of genuine Christianity have been proclaimed in the hearing of "thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers,"^c shall, notwithstanding the thundering and terrific counterblasts of monkish vice-chancellors, doctors, proctors, and "other heads of houses," eventually triumph; and in that happy day will the due meeds of praise be showered in grateful abundance upon the works and memories of these our predecessors, who thus led the van in what might seem to some to have been a forlorn hope, yet to others the certain road to ultimate victory in the holy cause.

The various petitions and supplications presented to the "Most High and Mighty Prince JAMES," produced the farcical Conference at Hampton Court, between the High and Low Church parties; for *we* cannot here speak of the Puritan conformists but as Churchmen. The despised Separatists had no representative there; not being permitted the privilege even of witnessing the "dispute before so learned^d and wise a king!"^e They were, however, implicated in the consequences; for the farce was but a prelude to the issuing of a royal proclamation, on the 5th of March, 1603-4, declaring the "wise" king's decision that Conformity should be enforced, and prohibiting further application to him upon the subject, "for that his resolutions were absolutely settled."^f

The Prelatists availed themselves now of the Convocation, summoned for March 20th, to treat upon the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical;" and, under the presidency of Bancroft, agreed upon such as the following; which may serve as a sample of their Scriptural warranty, and of their Spiritual meekness!

Canon III, enjoins that "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that the Church of England, by Law established under the King's Majesty, is not a true, and Apostolical Church, teaching, and maintaining the Doctrine of the apostles, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the Archbishop after his repentance, and public revocation of this his wicked error."

On this, it may be said most truly, that the Anglican Prelatists themselves have *affirmed*, perhaps unwittingly, what they here denounce; by the existence and perpetuation of their horrid Canons alone.

The IVth, denounces likewise whosoever shall affirm "that the form of God's worship" in the Book of Common Prayer, &c. "containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the Scriptures." This is settled by the admissions and avowals of innumerable writers among

^a 1 Sam. v. 3.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 8.

^c Col. i. 16.

^d "The learnedest King, that ever sat upon this throne; or, as I verily think, since Solomon's time, upon any other." Bishop Hall; *Humble Remonstrance*. 1640. Works, ed. 1808, vol. ix. p. 630.

^e See a Letter of Thanks from the Heads of Cambridge to their brethren at Oxford for their "Answer" to the Petition of the Ministers; commented on in Neal. Hist. Purit. pt. ii. chap. i.

^f Strype, Whit. p. 567.

the *ex animo* subscribers to this said Book! As is the Vth Canon also, which treats in the same way whosoever shall affirm "that any of the nine and thirty Articles . . . are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto." And the like punishment is denounced in the VIth, against impugnors of the Rites and Ceremonies. The VIIth, inflicts the same vindictive censure on any who shall affirm, that the government by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest; "is anti-christian or repugnant to the Word of God;" as does the VIIIth, on impugnors of "the form, and manner of making, and consecrating bishops, priests, or deacons."^a

The next three Canons embody in their wrathful interdicts the very *fulmen Prelatorum*, their harshest thunder, against the progress of "the Truth," and the *freedom* which the only HEAD of our Religion has graciously conferred upon all His disciples.^b In the IXth, they synodically declare that—

"Whosoever shall hereafter separate themselves from the Communion of Saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new Brotherhood, accounting the Christians who are conformable to the Doctrine, Government, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, &c."

The Xth, relates to such Ministers as refuse to subscribe, and their adherents; excommunicating whosoever shall affirm, that such "may truly take unto them the names of another Church not established by Law, and dare presume to publish it, that this their pretended Church hath of long time groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed upon the members thereof before-mentioned, by the Church of England and the Orders and Constitutions therein by Law established."—The XIth, threatens any who affirm or maintain, that there are within this Realm, other meetings, assemblies or congregations of the King's born subjects, than such as by the Laws of this Land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful Churches."—And the XIIth concerns all who shall "hereafter" affirm "that it is lawful for any sort of Ministers and Lay-persons, or either of them, to join together, and make Rules, Orders, or Constitutions in Causes Ecclesiastical without the King's Authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them;"—of these voluntary associates, acting under the precedent and authority of Christ and his Apostles, the Anglican tribe of "archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, and the rest," decree, "let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not be restored until they repent, and publicly revoke those their wicked and anabaptistical errors."

^a The maternity of the Romish Church is apparent from the spirit and language of the Council of Trent, whose sixth Canon runs, in English, in these words, "Whosoever shall hereafter say that the Hierarchy instituted in the Catholic Church, which consists of bishops, priests, and [sub-ordinate] ministers, is not Divinely appointed, let him be accursed."

^b John viii. 32, 36.

Such are the spirit and acts of a body of Clergymen who derive their "authority" to worship and serve "the Heavenly Majesty" from the grant and permission of a temporal king! They who are acquainted with the tremendous power and effects of the Consistory Courts, and of excommunication by these Episcopalians in the height of their usurpation of the rights and privileges of Christians, can alone duly estimate them. The victims set before the reader of these pages do not constitute a hundred-thousandth part of those victims which British history enumerates. Happily the pens, and voices, and hearts, of true Britons, have succeeded, since the days of which we are treating, in procuring from the justice of enlightened kings and legislators antidotes for the venom, or shields from the fangs of the prelatial edicts, now become, to us, little more than *brutum fulmen*, or wrathful imbecility! May the day arrive speedily when those who are attached to what is called the Church of England will "repent," and be among the loudest to upbraid their ancestors for framing and recording their intolerant Canons!

We are aware that we are writing strongly, as we feel, on these proceedings, but not more so than we consider justifiable. If we be required to vindicate ourselves, as well as our forefathers, we can effectually do it, by using a lance found in the armoury of our opponents. We tilt it then after the manner of the redoubted Prebendary of Durham against the would-be reformer of modern days, Lord Henley, who had thrown down the gauntlet with these words, "Your Majesty has a Priesthood *at command*, which is endowed with all the great qualities which befit them for high and noble achievements, except one, and that is *courage*; the courage which produces the energy and decision so necessary in new times and difficult emergencies."

Now let every reader balance the language of the Reverend Prebendary with the language and courage of the despised Separatists; they who *proved* their courage to "resist" the edicts of a Parker, a Whitgift, a Bancroft, and, afterward, of a Laud, with theirs who *have bartered* the liberty of *their* Church, for baubles and a mess of pottage!

"I fear, my Lord, you are not well acquainted with the body of whom you thus unadvisedly speak; or this passage would not have found a place in the sixth edition of your pamphlet. The courage of the Clergy consists in this, that they do their duty, and then prepare to suffer. Their strength is to be still; to endure with patience the calumnies of their enemies, and to submit with silent fortitude to the privations to which so many are subjected, and to the daily scandalous misrepresentations of their conduct and their order. But your Lordship is, indeed, mistaken, if you imagine that their silence proceeds from indifference, or their patience from cowardice. They reason wisely, that they ought neither to be found in the public meetings, clamouring for political alterations under the name of reform; nor desiring needless, useless, changes in the doctrine and the discipline of their Church;—and are they for this, to be stigmatized as deficient in moral courage? 'He who cannot reason,' says one of our modern writers, 'is a fool; he who will not, is a bigot; he who dares not, is a slave.' The Clergy of the Church of England are neither

fools, nor slaves, nor bigots. They *can* reason, but they can also endure. With respect also to the affirmation, that his Majesty has a Priesthood at his 'command,' I for one, at least, have courage to tell his Majesty, that the Priesthood are not at his command. No King of England, nor the Parliament, nor the people of England, can dictate the terms of our faith, nor the line of our religious conduct. While we are ready to pay homage to all to whom it may be due, while we fear God and honour the King, we are not to be persuaded, nor influenced, by either King or people, beyond that point of duty which our religion, our conscience, and our principles teach us to maintain. The members of the Church of Rome have submitted neither to the dictates of King, nor people. *The Dissenters have asserted their opinions, under the frowns of the Stuarts, and the alternate approbation or disapprobation of the people.* Do you really believe, my Lord, that the Episcopal Clergy have less courage than these; and that they dare not RESIST any alterations in their liturgy, or creeds, or discipline, under the specious name of reform, that the King of England, or his Parliament, may please to adopt? Are we to confess ourselves to be more slaves than our separating brethren, whether of Rome, or of Geneva? You do not know us, my Lord. We are ready 'to submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King, as supreme, or to governors.' We are willing to take into our most respectful consideration whatever his Majesty may be pleased to place before us for our approbation; but we have the courage to demand that the ordinances of man *be consistent with the laws of God*; and if the plans proposed by his Majesty, should not be deemed consistent with these holy guides, the King of England will find that he has *not* a Priesthood at his 'command.' If the Clergy of the Church of England are required, for the sake of pleasing those who are of another creed, to change their own mode of worship, or the essentials of their faith, they will be ready, rather than do so, to submit to the fate of their predecessors."^a

How much there is here, of the one or the other, is not for us to settle; but we are reminded of this, that passion and principle are rarely in a state of equality. The passion for liberty which inflames this champion of modern episcopalians, exceeds greatly, we are led to gather from a consideration of all the circumstances, the quantum of principle constituting the solid ingredient. The avowal and maintenance of principle by the Separatists met with disallowance and prohibition, under pains and penalties, and their passion was enkindled by actual oppression; but, behold now among Churchmen, how passion is more than enkindled, for it has mounted to *defiance* of their sworn "head under Christ" from the mere contemplation of any interfering with their politico-spiritualities; and see further, how ready they who live upon the produce of flocks not fattened in their pastures^b are to borrow, even from those whom they thus shear, the panoply of principle!

The results of the Draconic Conference and Convocation rendered

^a "A Plan for abolishing Pluralities, and Non-residence in the Church of England; &c.," By the Rev. George Townsend, M.A., Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Northallerton. 1833. 8vo. p. 22—24.

^b Ezek. xxxiv. 2, 3.

again entirely hopeless, for a while, any effort to procure the smallest allowance of freedom of worship at home. The Separatists who had remained with the expectation of better days, or those of them who had been induced to return on the accession of James, were now compelled to submit to the alternatives of that "nursing father"^a of the Church, who gave them the choice, if they would not be made to conform, either to be "*harried*" out of the land, or to expect that from him, which was "*worse!*"^b Such was the blessing bestowed by this "most dread sovereign" upon all that portion of his new subjects whom his fawning parasites maligned; terming them "self-conceited Brethren, who run their own ways, and give liking unto nothing but what is framed by themselves, and hammered on their anvil."^c In July, James issued his royal proclamation allowing nonconformists, of all descriptions, to the end of November, when he would have them forcibly silenced. This was but pursuing the course of his predecessor,^d and pronouncing sentence for a second deportation; consequently, not those alone who had ventured to hail "the Sun" on his appearance, but those also who had found means, from connivance or otherwise, to remain at home, were driven away by "the Sun in his strength."^e

But before they left, they had sought for an opportunity to debate their differences publicly with the Bishops. "The chiefest Prelates, Canterbury, London, Winchester, and Lincoln," rejected this openly; for, says our authority, "I speak that I know, they expressly refused, at Lambeth, a most equal and impartial trial offered unto them, in the presence of sundry silenced and imprisoned ministers being called about that little printed book which was then newly published, even for that purpose. They cannot with any honest colour reply, and say that the Conference at Hampton Court before, was a sufficient deciding of these controversies. For that objection of theirs is expressly confuted and taken away in the said printed treatise." Its title is "A Christian and Modest Offer of a most Indifferent Conference or Disputation, about the main and principal Controversies betwixt the Prelates and the late silenced and deprived Ministers in England. Tendered by some of the said Ministers to the Archbishops and Bishops, and all their adherents.—Imprinted, 1606." 4to. pp. 42.

They tell the King, in their Dedication, "Howsoever the prelates and their followers do bear your Majesty in hand, that the Church-government desired is an enemy to your crown and dignity, believe them not, we humbly beseech you, neither hearken to their 'Syren Songs.' It is, as we are ready to prove, a holy ordinance of God, which will stand when all such as oppose it, and blaspheme it in the ears of your Royal Majesty, shall melt away as snow before the sun.

^a Isai. xlix. 23.

^b Conference; last day. Phenix, vol. i. p. 170. ^c Ded. pref. to the Bible.

^d Elizabeth told the French ambassador, "That she would maintain the religion that she was crowned in, and that she was baptized in; and would suppress the Papistical religion, that it should *not grow*: but that she would *root out* Puritanism, and the favourers thereof." Strype, Ann. vol. ii. p. 568. an. 1579.—The basin from which her Majesty was *christened* is preserved in Dr. D. Williams's Library, Redcross-street.

^e Ded. pref. to the Bible. ^f H. Jacob, "Divine Beginning, &c., 1610." *Ded.*

And if by such an indifferent Conference as is here tendered, we shall not make it as clear unto your Majesty as the sun at noon-day, that the Government of the churches of Christ by pastors, teachers, and elders, is much more agreeable to the state of a Monarchy, than is the present government by archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, and the rest of that Romish hierarchy, let us then find no favour in your Majesty's eyes." And further on, they write, "Oh that this should be said or written in succeeding ages, That in the reign of noble King James,—whose name shall live among men when he, having finished his course, shall sleep with his fathers,—so many painful preachers of the Gospel,—even *three hundred*, or thereabouts,—have, in one year and a little more, been turned out of Christ's service, only for refusing such Ceremonies as have their life, breath, and being from Popery; and such a subscription as the like, for aught we know, hath never been urged upon any church of Christ in any age, under a christian magistrate!" This dedication is signed, "Some of the late silenced and deprived Ministers."

Sixteen "propositions" are laid down, all of which these self-constituted, or perhaps selected, disputants offered to maintain. The eighth and ninth run thus, "The Pastor alone ought not to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over his church, but others ought to be joined in commission with him by the assignment of the same church; neither ought he and they to perform any main and material ecclesiastical act without the free consent of the Congregation."—"The presbytery which is desired, is not 'Lay,' as they call it: and the churchwardens and sidesmen here in England, being joined as assistants to the ministers in the oversight of the several parishes, are a resemblance of those governing elders which are desired."

The like number of "conditions" is submitted, for the mode of conducting the disputation; and twenty-two "considerations" are stated, "moving the Ministers to make this offer." How far their confidence exceeded their discretion; or how far the openness of their avowal obstructed their project; let this declaration accompanying such a challenge show,—“Only the Prelates, having many voices of their own in the Upper House, have by their gross flatteries and feigned promises to them in chief place, ever crossed the holy endeavours of the Parliament for the removal of these burdens, grievous both to church and commonwealth.”^a

They say, "It is a shame of shames to the doctors of Oxford, who provoking those whom they call 'theorists,' in their Answer to the Ministers' Petition, and being challenged of 'dishonesty and injustice,' in an Answer thereunto, have not in all this time justified themselves, and answered that which the other say in their own defence."^b

To meet the case by anticipation, they remark, "In their objections to the Ministers, the Conference at Hampton Court, they object to them, as it were, that which is *non ens*: none of them knowing what it was; nor any other, save a few that were present, whose reports thereof are so divers, that one spoils the credit of another. And that which is set forth as the true report of it being published only by the

^a P. 26.^b P. 27.

prelates, who are partial, without the knowledge, advice, or consent of the other side, deserves no credit; the rather, considering that Dr. Morton hath been allowed to call some part of it into question, even some speeches fathered upon his Majesty, which he was fain to confute as unsound and contrary to divinity. Wherein, sith the King's own speeches be, as it seemeth, grossly abused by the author, it is much more likely that speeches of other men are abused."^a

The grounds of supposed "opposition" are twelve: in reply to the eighth, it is met by the avowal that, "It is now made manifest to the whole world, that there is no hope of freedom from the spiritual bondage of antichristian traditions, so long as the Prelates sit in their thrones; but a more direful expectation of greater slavery and servitude than ever before, as may appear by their late Canons and their other proceedings. And, therefore, . . . they think themselves now bound in conscience, by all honest and good means, to seek to be freed from that estate; which cannot, as it appears now to all the world, uphold itself but by the ruin of the Gospel and exaltation of antichristianism. For they that plead for their government and traditions are driven to hold these impious and irreligious absurdities, That 'Christ is not the Law-giver of His Church';^b that, 'It is a virtuous obedience, to rest as well in that which the Church commandeth unto us, as in that which God commandeth to his Church';^c that, 'The Church is ruled by the spirit of Christ, who is the Truth; and therefore her Traditions are holy and true';^d that, 'God alloweth men to do that which in their private judgment it seemeth, yea and perhaps truly seemeth, that the Law doth disallow,'^e that, 'Unwritten ordinances, as well as written, are divine and apostolic in the constitution of the chiefest office and ministry of the church.'—They do no further desire their freedom from the Prelates, and from that power which they have, than they shall be able to prove that it is lifted up against the doctrine and kingdom of Christ our Lord. They leave their overthrow to God and the King; and do only, by these premises, labour that that Truth which hath been amongst us long suppressed and afflicted, may come to light, and may be so honoured and freed at last, as God requireth that it should be."^f

What we have just related, is matter of history; as are the provocations and justifications of either party. The "overthrow" contemplated here was brought about, by the permission of Providence, within the date

^a P. 28.

^b G. Powel, *De Adiaphoris*. 1606. *pref.*

^c Dr. Covel, against "The Plea for the Innocents," p. 19.

^d Dr. Hutton, *Of the Cross*, p. 3. 6.

^e Hooker's *Eccles. Pol. Pref.* sect. 6.

^f Bp. of Rochester's *Serm.* at Hampton Court, p. 31.

^g P. 34.—"All mankind then saw no less than three hundred Ministers, whom the most learned Parker compares to the 'three hundred soldiers of Gideon,' Judges vii. 7; all of them in one particular storm deprived of their ministry and their maintenance, because they could not Subscribe to some unlawful Impositions!" *Eleutheria: Or an Idea of the Reformation in England: And a History of Nonconformity in and since that Reformation, &c.* Lond. 1698. 12mo. p. 74.—Heylyn, *Hist. Presb.*, lib. xi. sect. 10, adduces certain "rolls" brought in by Bancroft, to prove that but *forty-nine* were "*deprived* on all occasions." But Calderwood, —*Altare Damascenum*. Ludg. 1708 4to. *pref.* p. iv. —had more truly stated that "three hundred ministers were (1.) silenced, or (2.) deprived of their benefices, or (3.) excommunicated, or (4.) thrown into prison, or (5.) compelled to flee the realm."

of forty-two years. And the reinstatement of the same titular authority, under modified circumstances, serves for a standing memorial of recorded judgment on the past, while it holds out a warning token or beacon.

The above was not the only effort made to find protection against the unwarrantable assumptions and practices of the Prelatists. The Puritans also addressed a "Supplication" containing "Certain Arguments to persuade and provoke the most honourable and high court of Parliament now assembled; and also all other in any high authority, or in any grace and credit with them that are in high authority; to promote and advance the sincere Ministry of the Gospel; as also, zealously to speak for the Ministers thereof, now degraded, deprived, silenced, or admonished, or afterward like to be called into question for Subscription, Ceremonies, strict observation of the Book of Common-Prayer, or for other Conformity." No sooner did this appear than Vaughan, bishop of London, attacked it by the pen of his domestic chaplain,^a under the title of "A Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers' Arguments for their Restitution to the use and liberty of their Ministry; exhibited in their late 'Supplication' unto the Honourable States assembled in this present Parliament. By Gabriel Powel, 1606." 4to. He writes, p. 3, "This Discourse, such as it is, I was commanded, by some in authority, to peruse and briefly to refute." Of the success of his obedience, a single specimen from p. 18, may be considered here to be quite enough. "If the Suppliants," he says, "had prayed your High Court of Parliament to entreat in their behalf for matters which had necessarily concerned 'the Gospel of Christ,' or their 'ministry thereof,' or 'the salvation of many thousand souls,' then had your Honourable Assembly some reason to mediate for them. But seeing it is but only to free them from the 'Cross' and 'Surplice,' and such other *laudable* ceremonies of our Church, commanded for order and decency's sake, which may well stand with the purity of the Gospel, seeing the kingdom of heaven stands not in 'meat and drink, &c.'^b then have these importunate Suppliants greater reason patiently to bear that burden in the diligent applying their vocation and calling, than to trouble your Wisdoms with such petty and small matters!"

Other efforts of the Puritans show themselves in "A Defence of 'The Ministers' Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, and of Conformity.' Against the several Answers of T. Hutton, William Covell, D.D. and T. Spark, D.D.—Imprinted 1607." 4to. pp. 226.^c The first chapter includes a reprint of "The

^a See Wood's *Ath. Ox. ed.* Bliss, vol. ii. 24.

^b Rom. xiv. 17.

^c On the title-page of the volume in Dr. Daniel Williams's Library, is written in the old chancery hand, "This was written by old Mr. Sam. Hieron of Modbury in Devon. It was printed in Holland, and sent over packed up in the goods of an eminent Merchant of Plymouth, Mr. T. Sperwil. No bookseller daring to sell it, the whole impression was given away. Some were sent superscribed to each of the twenty-six Bishops, and other of his antagonists; and several in the City, and Universities. Some were dropped in the streets, and others left at the doors of Scholars. So the author was never discovered to his enemies, or the collectors of his works.—This account in my father Quick's *Life of Mr. Hieron*, MS."

Ministers' Protestation," which displays at once and strikingly, the difference between these Puritans and those of the Separation in whose cause we most interest ourselves. The former say, "We protest before the Almighty God, that we acknowledge the Churches of England,—as they are established by public authority,—to be true visible Churches of Christ: that we desire the continuance of our Ministry in them, above all earthly things; as that without which, our whole life would be wearisome and bitter unto us. That we dislike not a set Form of Prayer to be used in our Churches. Finally, whatsoever followeth, is not set down of an evil mind, to deprave the Book of Common Prayer, Ordination, or Homilies; but only to show some reasons why we cannot subscribe to all things contained in the same Book."^a

It will be serviceable to the reader to follow the above, with other matter having relation to the same general subjects, since it will enable him still better to apprehend the relative position of all the parties; and it will afford him the further benefit of a prospective glance into the state of affairs at the time to which the date refers, but which it will not fall in with our purpose then to resume. The tract alluded to is intitled "A True, Modest, and Just Defence of the Petition for Reformation exhibited to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. Containing an Answer to the 'Confutation,' published under the names of some of the University of Oxford. Together with a full declaration out of the Scriptures, and practice of the Primitive Church, of the several points of the said Petition.—2 Cor. xiii. 8.—Imprinted 1618." 16mo. pp. 240.

We copy part of the address to the Christian Reader, representing the "very many no small disadvantages" which the Puritans lay under; for if it were so with them, what must it have been with the despised Separatists, who had to "enter the lists, and hold out the conflict," against both rigid Conformists and Puritans? These latter write, 1. "Our adversaries, . . have the countenance of worldly authority; whereas it fareth with us as with the main of the Gospel, in the days of our Lord himself; 'Have any of the Rulers believed on him?'^b—2. Their cause being received by Tradition from our forefathers that lived in blindness, hath the applause generally of all natural men; ours, because it is so hardly discovered, is scarcely received by the 'children' of 'wisdom,'^c and is 'every where spoken against.'^d—3. They abound in outward wealth: we, poor.—4. They have great store of witty and learned men, to defend their cause; we are in number few, and of those few very many timorous, and fearful of ensuing dangers.—5. The Authors of their pleadings richly rewarded with some bishopric, deanery, or other fat benefice; we, deprived, and cast out of our livings and livelihoods if we be discovered, yea, clapped into prison, if the prelates lay hold on us.—6. They, men of glorious state and pomp in the world; we are esteemed, as were the apostles, even 'the offscouring of all things.'^e—7. They have leisure enough to invent and publish what they think meet to say for their

^a P. 1.—In 1608, appeared "The Second Part of the Defence," pp. 243.

^b John vii. 48. ^c Matt. xi. 19. ^d Acts xxviii. 22. ^e 1 Cor. iv. 13.

defence; we must first labour for food and raiment,^a for ourselves and ours, and then take some stolen hours, now and then, to do what we do this way.—8. To them, the Presses are always open and free; but to us they are more than shut. For it is not safe for us once so much as to suffer the printers to know that we have any such copy to be printed.—9. The Stationers, at home, are ready to give them large moneys for their copies, and so undertake the printing and publishing thereof; we must, at our great charge and hazard, hire the printing of ours in some other land.—10. Open sale, in every bookseller's shop, is free for them; ours, if they be taken by the Bishops, are burnt, or otherwise utterly suppressed.—11. They have sundry loathsome prisons at command, whereinto they shut us up, even until we die sometimes, when by arguments they are not able to confute us; we have only bodies to be afflicted by them, and sure arguments unanswered.—12. They are, in their own causes, both parties and judges; and we, without help by any appeal to any other than the Lord Jesus, must, at their pleasure, abide their censures.—13. Their threadbare allegations of man's writings, is accounted deep and ancient learning; but our avouching the most clear evidence of the written Word of the 'Ancient of days,'^b is reckoned ignorant mockery.—14. We challenge them to try it out in the open field by dint of 'the sword of the Spirit';^c witness, the 'Modest Offer of Conference,' the 'Humble Motion,' &c. and yet are blamed; they are praised, though they utterly refuse this way of trial, and war against us only with carnal weapons, as suspensions, deprivations, imprisonments, &c.—15. Threatened dangers make men afraid to read our Books, though never so secretly conveyed unto them: theirs, all may most freely read openly, and with thanks and commendations.

"Now by reason of these, and sundry such like disadvantaging hinderances, this ensuing Treatise hath lain hid,—as many other the like, still do, never like to see the light for want of means of publishing them,—about *fourteen* years. For in the year of our Lord 1608,^d certain Oxford-men having got into their hands a copy of a dutiful and pious 'Supplication' prepared to be exhibited to his Majesty for Reformation of certain corruptions crept into our Churches, or rather left in them by Antichrist at his extrusion, forthwith published the same in print, together with an Answer thereto, such as it is. . . Not long after, some of the chiefest Ministers, that were interested in the Petition, penned this discourse following, in defence of the said Petition and reply to the abovementioned Answer, which hath been obscured from that time till now, partly for the reasons above rehearsed, and partly because such is the woful coldness of *these* back-sliding days, that even those which seemed *heretofore* most forward for Church-reformation are *so declined*, . . inasmuch, that they are so far from being aiding and assisting to Christ in this his cause, either by labour or cost, that when books are printed in defence thereof for their information and instruction, they either neglect to buy the same, or having bought them cast them aside. . .

^a 2 Thess. iii. 8.^b Dan. vii. 9.^c Eph. vi. 17.^d [1606.]

"Of late, there is published a certain scholastical, I had almost said sophistical, tract, mostly of the same subject, by one Mr. Sprint, a Gloucestershire Minister, intituled 'Cassander Anglicanus,' tending, in a sort, to the patronizing of these popish Ceremonies here treated of. . . Doubtless his 'Anatomy' and 'Bellum Ceremoniale,' can never be reconciled to this his Cassander, &c. . . It hath met with some Jesuit-like *Index expurgatorius*;^a for, falling into the hands of the Prelates, or at least of some of their chaplains, not to speak of other purgations, it is in one place purged of this whole paragraph.^b . . Not only it doth manifestly appear that the author is very grossly abused, because his whole mind is not published, but so much only as best serveth the prelates' turn; a trick not unusual with them for their advantage. Witness, amongst others, the English translation of Bucanus, his 'Common Places.' . . Nay, hath not this *Index*, &c. tampered with the Holy Scriptures themselves? Observe, for the present, but two places: Acts xiv. 23, is thus translated, not only in the Genevan, but also in the former Church translation, 'And when they had ordained them Elders by election.' But the new translation, with the Rhemists, leave out the words 'by election'! Why? It is not to be suffered that the People should have any hand in choosing their Ministers; but the papal bishops must do all! 1 Cor. xii. 28, is translated, both by the Genevan and former Church translation, 'helpers, governors;' but the new translators, herein worse than the Rhemists, translate it 'helps in governments;' foisting into the text this preposition 'in.'^c Why? They cannot abide Elders to assist the Minister in governing Christ's Church. So their churchwardens are but the prelates' promoters."

In the "Defence," p. 19, on the assertion of the Oxonians, that "the number of 'more than a thousand' is but a vizard;" the Puritans reply, "The number of 'more than a thousand' is no vizard as theirs is, that mask 'under the names of the Heads of the University, yea of all the learned and obedient of the Clergy,' as the title showeth; whereas we know there are divers hundred of learned, obedient, sober, discreet preachers in the Universities, and other places of the Church, that neither like nor allow their proceedings herein. As at the passing of that 'Grace' in Cambridge,—whereof our brethren make mention in their Epistle,—there was not present the third part of the University that gave voices, nor one Doctor of Divinity—besides the Vice Chancellor, as we are credibly informed. Let them first pull off their 'vizard,' and show themselves!" And, in p. 103, in reply to the question "Hath it not made the 'Brownists' confidently to reproach us, 'that our church is no church, &c.'?" they write, "Neither is it true, that the 'Brownists' condemn our Church and Sacraments, &c. only because some of the Ministers could not preach: for they mislike also, and condemn, the most painful preaching amongst us; but they pretend many other reasons of their Separation. Our brethren needed not therefore to have cast the 'Brownists' in our nose; seeing it is

^a An extract follows here, but although curious it is too long for our use.

^b A remarkable instance of interpolation is given.

^c Has any copy this reading?

well known that the Ministers which desire Reformation have most of all other opposed themselves, by writing, to that faction."^a

We have thus set before the reader the proceedings of the weaker parties in resisting the pressure of the dominant interests. All hope of any accommodation or present relief being, nevertheless, found vain, now, therefore, some whose names have not yet been noticed here, distributed themselves in unoccupied places abroad, or joined the churches which had been instituted already in the Low Countries; while others resolved upon settling in transatlantic regions.^b

^a In the copy before us, on the margin, and in writing almost as old perhaps as the tract itself, are these words, "You should have proved them *factions*, before you called them so!"

^b In consideration of the marvellous career which the individual whom the following Letter concerns pursued through much of the course of our history, and which was addressed to him when merely a B.D. but who attained to the utmost pinnacle of ecclesiastical honours, we bring it under the reader's notice. Our justification for fixing on William Laud as the party to whom this letter was addressed by its author, himself no obscure ecclesiastic, in the year 1606, and the thirty-third of Laud's age, will be found in p. 54 of his Life, by Peter Heylyn, 1668. *fo.*; and also, in its accordance to the general character which Laud sustained: indeed, the insight it gives into the germ of that character is what renders the document so interesting and valuable; besides that it contributes to the elucidation of the *phases* of passing occurrences.

"To Mr. W. L.—I would I knew where to find you; then I could tell how to take a direct aim; whereas now I must rove, and conjecture. To-day you are in the tents of the Romanists; to-morrow, in ours; the next day between both,—against both. Our adversaries think you ours; we, theirs: your conscience finds you with both, and neither!"

"I flatter you not: this, of yours, is the worst of all tempers. Heat, and cold have their uses; lukewarmness is good for nothing, but to trouble the stomach. Those that are spiritually hot find acceptance; those that are stark cold have a lesser reckoning; the mean between both, is so much worse as it comes nearer to good, and attains it not. How long will you halt in this indifferency? Resolve one way; and know at last what you do hold; what you should! Cast off either your wings or your teeth! and, loathing this bat-like nature, be either a bird or a beast.

"To die wavering and uncertain, yourself will grant fearful. If you must settle, when begin you? If you must begin, why not now? It is dangerous deferring that whose want is deadly, and whose opportunity is doubtful. God crieth, with Jehu, 'Who is on my side, who?' Look, at last, out of your window to him; and in a resolute courage, cast down this Jezebel that hath bewitched you. Is there any impediment which delay will abate? Is there any, which a just answer cannot remove? If you had rather waver, who can settle you? But if you love not inconstancy, tell us why you stagger. Be plain, or else you will never be firm. What hinders you?"

"Is it our divisions? I see you shake your head at this; and, by your silent gesture, bewray this the cause of your distaste. Would God, I could either deny this with truth, or amend it with tears! But I grant it; with no less sorrow, than you with offence. This earth hath nothing more lamentable than the civil jars of one faith. What then? Must you defy your Mother, because you see your brethren fighting? Their dissension is her grief. Must she lose some sons, because some others quarrel? Do not so wrong yourself, in afflicting her. Will you love Christ the less, because his coat is divided? Yea, let me boldly say, the hem is torn a little; the garment is whole! Or rather, it is fretted a little; not torn: or, rather, the fringe; not the hem. Behold, here is one Christ, one Creed, one Baptism, one Heaven, one Way to it; in sum, one Religion, one Foundation; and, take away the tumultuous spirits of some rigorous Lutherans,—one Heart! Our differences are those of Paul and Barnabas; not those of Peter and Magus: if they be some, it is well they

are no more; if many, that they are not capital. Show me that Church that hath not complained of distraction; yea, that family; yea, that fraternity; yea, that man, that always agrees with himself! See if the spouse of Christ in that heavenly marriage song, do not call him a young hart 'in the mountains of division'!

"Tell me then, Whither will you go for truth, if you will allow no truth but where there is no division? To Rome, perhaps; famous for unity; famous for peace! See now, how happily you have chosen; how well you have sped: Lo there, Cardinal Bellarmine himself, a witness above exception, under his own hand acknowledgeth to the world, and reckons up two hundred thirty and seven contrarieties of doctrine among the Romish divines. What need we more evidence? O the perfect accordance of Peter's See; worthy to be recorded for a badge of Truth!

"Let now, all our adversaries scrape together so many contradictions of opinions amongst us, as they confess amongst themselves; and be you theirs. No; they are not more peaceable, but more subtle: they have not less dissension, but more smothered. They fight closely within doors, without noise: all our frays are in the field. Would God, we had as much of their cunning as they want of our peace; and no more of their policy than they want of our truth! Our strife is in ceremonies; theirs, in substance; ours in one or two points; theirs in all. Take it boldly from him that dares avouch it—There is not one point in all divinity, except those wherein we accord with them, wherein they all speak the same. If our church displease you for differences, theirs much more, unless you will be either wilfully incredulous, or wilfully partial; unless you dislike a mischief the less, for the secrecy!

"What will you do then? Will you be a Church, alone? Alas! how full are you of contradictions to yourself: how full of contrary purposes! How oft do you chide with yourself! How oft do you fight with yourself! I appeal to that bosom which is privy to those secret combats.

"Believe me not if ever you find perfect unity anywhere but above: either go thither and seek it amongst those that triumph, or be content with what estate you find in this wayfaring number.

"Truth is in differences; as gold in dross, wheat in chaff: will you cast away the best metal, the best grain, because it is mingled with this offal? Will you rather be poor and hungry, than bestow labour on the fan, or the furnace? Is there nothing worth your respect but peace? I have heard that the interlacing of some discords graces the best music; and I know not, whether the very evil spirits agree not with themselves. If the body be sound, what though the coat be torn? Or if the garment be whole, what if the lace be unript? Take you peace: let me have Truth; if I cannot have both.

"To conclude: embrace those truths that we all hold; and it greatly matters not what you hold in those wherein we differ: and if you love your safety, seek rather grounds whereon to rest, than excuses for your unrest. If ever you look to gain by the Truth, you must both choose it and cleave to it: mere resolution is not enough, except you will rather lose yourself than it." Epistles: by Joseph Hall. 1608. 12mo. Vol. ii. Dec. iii. Ep. v.

The propriety of giving a place in these pages, to this letter, appears from its writer having been obliged inconveniently to accommodate himself to his design. He could, here, try to repel an argument from Divisions, and from Contrariety of Opinions; and would show that he estimates Truth far more highly than Peace. The reader will see in other places, with what consistency all this is preserved; and he will find, too, that when Scriptural boundaries are crossed, embarrassment must of necessity ensue: so, Hall, and divines of his school, were driven, at times, to turn their weapons in self-defence: thus, they first manage their *stylus* that it shall inscribe an argument *this* way; and anon, they prepare their *waxen* tablet so that it shall divert the same kind of argument *that* way: but notwithstanding the labour and skill practised, the original lines are so imperfectly obliterated that they betray the difficulties and embarrassments of the operators. Lawson's stricture on Hall's letter is, that "the pious correspondent evidently laboured under the enthusiasm of the times, and one sentence of his epistle generally contradicts another." Life, &c. of Abp. Laud. 1829. 8vo. vol. i. p. 121.

CHAP. VIII.

JUNIUS AGAINST THE EXILES.

ON resuming that portion of our narrative which more directly concerns "the exiled church," we shall remark on what arose out of their "Confession," so far as we gather the particulars from "Certain Letters, translated into English, being first written in Latin. Two, by the Reverend and Learned Mr. Francis Junius, Divinity Reader at Leyden in Holland. The other [four] by the Exiled English Church abiding, for the present, at Amsterdam in Holland. Together with the Confession of Faith prefixed, whereupon the said Letters were first written." 1602. 4to. pp. 57.*

Junius addressed a Letter, on the ninth of January, 1599-[1600], "To his beloved in Christ the Brethren of the English Church, now abiding at Amsterdam," in which, he writes, "I have received, of late, a little book by one of your company; which is intituled 'The Confession of Faith of some Englishmen banished in Belgia,' and have known your desire partly by the speech of the same messenger, partly by the preface of the writing." He conjectures that "for nearness' sake, peradventure," he was applied to "apart," but professes not to see what he can do in the cause, or how he can suit the "purpose" of the applicants.

From this point Junius launches out into a *tirade* against the exercise of private judgment; "for," says he, "I know that now long since, every man doth abound in his own sense;" and, "I thought nothing more commodious, or more safe, . . in all this matter, than . . a holy silence, if there be any thing wherein we be offended." He affects to wonder what can be the design of publishing the Confession: "if ye have set it forth to that end, that ye might purge yourselves, I pray you, brethren, wherefore do you desire to purge yourselves with so many souls who have not known you as yet to be accused!" Then, falling into the common-place jingle of "lawful means," and "indiscreetly" publishing the wounds of the Church, and of the "juice of charity," he would have had them restrain themselves, because, forsooth, of "so many weak ones," who are "offended" that they sniff the "stink of schisms;" their weakness being such that they do not know certainly "the body whereunto they may cleave." "Alas! brethren," he proceeds, "is your purgation so much worth unto you, that therefore the public good of the Church should be brought into so great danger?" Having thus traduced the "end" which the "brethren" contemplated, Junius passes on to what he designates by the "fact:" he now plays the rhetorician, and, assuming certain conditions, he reminds them that if they have found "a place of rest, by the mercy

* See back, p. 91, note (h.)

of God," as they signify, "ye shall do wisely if ye do not stir," but, for that protection, submit to have both "doctrine and faith" tried by the "Church"—"among whom ye are," whom "it is an unlawful course to omit, and to call upon another, or the whole public state, or this university, or me, who am a weak member therein."—"Let them speak first, with whom ye sojourn, whom ye deny not to be your brethren. But if, peradventure, they shall not satisfy you, or you shall not satisfy them, then let a new course be taken by lawful order." . . . "And so much of the doctrine."—"I come to the accusation which ye use against the Church of England, as ye write. . . What need is there that ye should accuse them? Ye have given place; ye have passed over into another court: wherefore you have given place, nobody desireth to know, or doth trouble you. If wrong be done you in England (that I may grant there was done; it belongeth not to me to affirm or deny, who have not known it) yet this injury hath ceased to prosecute you, being departed from them."

Is it not surprising that, placed in so influential a situation as Junius was, he should thus wind about, and create a labyrinth where a plain course was open to him? What was peculiar in his own position, might have prompted him to exercise compassion toward others who showed, by their sufferings, that they were actuated by something more than worldly interests. The anti-protestant conduct and advice of those who ought to set the example of consistency is ever to be lamented; but it required more self-denial and fixedness of principle, to throw off the shackles of human authority in sacred things, and to raise the mind by freeing the understanding from that debasing prostration which priestcraft had inculcated as a dutiful submission to those who assumed to themselves to be the only depositories of the true faith, and the oracular dispensers of the Divine will.

The paragraphs next following are, like some expressions interspersed among those which precede, grounded on a feigned conjecture what "end" the compilers of the Confession proposed to themselves. They had been in the same locality six years or more; and it is impossible to doubt but that Junius had learned some particulars of their settlement and proceedings who were so immediately in his own neighbourhood; yet he would seem to know little or nothing about them: while, under all this mysterious affectation of ignorance, he is ready and profuse with his advice: they were the weaker party, and outcasts, he chooses therefore to presume that they are less sinned against than sinning! He writes, however, "You do so require my judgment as you do also withal require the judgment of all universities and students. If you request this in common, then you do not desire that I should do it alone; but if particularly, do you think that any of us will be so mad, that when the judgment of so many good men and diligence is [are] desired, some one 'Palæmon' should take upon him the chiefest parts? . . . I ought not to judge with myself of matters unknown, at least not so evident; neither yet with such forward boldness to pronounce among you or others, the matter being not sufficiently manifest to myself. . . All wise men have taught this with one consent, and delivered it to posterity, That where the founda-

tion of the truth of doctrine remaineth, which is the pillar of salvation, *although with most corrupt manners and discipline*, there the Church remaineth; and that no man ought rashly to separate himself from that church—while he may tarry in it without shipwreck of faith and conscience—or take from it the name of a church; especially, seeing every church consisteth of pastors and flock, which if some pastors or prelates trouble, yet it is unmeet that this name either should be taken away from the other pastors, which Christ doth witness by the doctrine of truth; or from the flock, which Christ hath purchased with his own blood, and doth daily sanctify with the washing of the new birth by the Word.”

This last passage is conclusive to our minds against the soundness of the doctrine which Junius held, and affords a clue for unravelling the mode of treatment which he practised toward the appellants. The sentiment, concerning the “foundation,” has been successfully controverted by an acute and ingenious disputant in these words:—

“If Rome be a ‘true’ church; if she hold all the essential points of Christianity; if *salvation* may be attained in that communion; why was there such a stir about reforming of *accidents*, when the *essentials* were secured? Why such a contest about a little easier way, when the other was possible? Why all this ado about a *purser* church, when the other is confessed a ‘true’ church?—These things will follow, in a lump, from these concessions: 1. That a person, or party, may separate from *some* ‘true’ church which holds all the essential points of the christian faith, without the imputation of being a schismatic. 2. That a person, or party, may separate from *some* church where *salvation* is attainable, without peril of the guilt of schism. 3. That the only reason that yet appears, to justify the Church of England’s departure from Rome is—That it is lawful, in some cases, to *withdraw* from the communion of a ‘true’ church, wherein all the essential points of faith are owned, and wherein *salvation* may be attained; for the sake of greater purity of worship, greater clearness of doctrine, and greater security of *salvation*! Is it, then, lawful for England to *separate* from Italy for greater purity—it may be lawful for *others* to *separate* from England for greater purity? It is readily acknowledged, that the impurity is much more, unconceivably more, than that of the Church of England; and, therefore, there was not so great cause to leave the latter as the former, upon that account; but, in aspiring after conformity to the institutions of Christ, we are not to consider so much what is behind, as what is before; not so much, what we have left, as what we have yet to reach; not so much the *terminus a quo*—from what state of impurity we have emerged, as the *terminus ad quem*—to what state of purity we should attain. For, if it be true, that there is such a state of purity to be obtained, and such a state of impurity to be avoided, as will justify our forsaking of this for that, and such a measure of both these as will not; it must be exactly stated, what is the lowest degree of corruption that will, and what is the highest that will not, warrant a *separation*?”*

* The Mischief of Impositions: By V. Alsop, M.A. 1680. p. xii.

It will have been observed that the Letter of Junius, which occupies eight pages, octavo, is written throughout in the first person; and that its style and temper are such as could not be expected to receive the full approbation of "his beloved in Christ." They lost no time in returning their fraternal response, or in replying, at equal length, to the somewhat sinistrous advice of the learned "Divinity Reader." A Letter was addressed to Junius, on the nineteenth of February following, bearing the signatures of Francis Johnson, Daniel Studley, Stanshall Mercer, Henry Ainsworth, George Knyveton,* and Christopher Bowman, in the name of "the rest of the English people exiled for the Gospel's sake; and, at this present, remaining at Amsterdam."

They commence by returning to Junius his salutation of "Grace, and peace," acknowledging to have received his Letter "sent, unsealed, to the ministers of the Dutch and French Churches of this city, that it might first be read of them, and then be delivered to us!" and, requesting "that speaking freely that which the thing itself requireth," he would take it in "good part;" agreeing with him, nevertheless, in "many things." They remark upon his taking on himself, "alone," to write: "why, also," they ask him, "do you so often repeat and seem to reprehend, that you—you, we say, alone, apart, are called upon?" Their "little book," containing the Confession, they remind him, is dedicated to the University at Leyden, before others; to whom they still refer it, and request him to let this "suffice for the crimination" of calling on him "apart." Dealing with Junius, on this ground, they enter upon his mode of treating the successive points "in the book itself," and wondering that he should not have said somewhat concerning their "doctrine and faith,"—"but, behold, there is not a word!"—"What may this mean? Is it because yourself believe this faith to be true, sound, grounded on the Word of God, and agreeable thereunto? . . . But yet let us weigh your reasons, 'If, say you, 'there be a certain consent of doctrine; then there was no need that we should set forth a new Confession in this agreement;' . . . how is it then, that sometime since, when the German and French churches had before published their Confessions of Faith, yet afterward" other churches set forth theirs; and Beza's private Confession had been lately published? "Should not these have been published? Whatsoever you shall say for them, mind the same also as spoken for us." Passing to "the end" of their publishing, it was "to the same, that all the reformed churches of late did publish theirs. . . . Such as be weak, and by reason of 'the stink of schisms,' know not the true body of Christ whereunto they should join themselves, they may by this means, be better instructed, . . . that CHRIST may have the pre-eminence over all." Touching the "fact," they enumerate the fathers, and the reformers, who have "set forth in public" their "private" confessions, their apologies, complaints, dispensations, and even their letters "concerning matters in religion publicly controverted; but these things, perhaps, came not in your mind, while there was before your eyes only the contemplation of our particular cause."—"In a

* Called "Kniston," in Buck's *Exam.* see back, p. 85; and "Knifton," p. 110.

case of such weight and necessity, who should rather be called upon than 'the Students of the Holy Scriptures in Christian Universities'?.. Who can, or ought to attend more to the discussing of these things?"

In reply to his objection, ~~that~~ seeing they "have here found a place of rest," there also they must receive "the judgment" of their doctrine and faith; they ask, "What if the rest and breathing which here we enjoy come unto us not by the 'ministers' of whom you speak, but by the *magistrates!* which we do always and everywhere acknowledge with thanks? What if these 'ministers' should be of the same mind with you, that they would not hear or speak any thing concerning our faith and cause; inasmuch as they would not be either 'intercessors, or examiners, or judges?' What, if our 'Confession' have been exhibited *to them*, above three years since?.. What, if some of *them* have denounced us as heretics and schismatics? What, if *they* have received certain articles full of lies and slanders, spread abroad against us; and yet, to this day, have not given us a copy of them; no, though they were desired? What, if upon occasion offered, we have dealt *with them* touching certain corruptions yet remaining in their churches?.. And, finally, What, if we, after the concealing and not regarding of all these things, have now again, this last year, delivered *them* the Confession of our faith, in writing, before it was put forth in print?—You see what we could answer in this behalf; but we would rather have buried these things in forgetfulness, if you had not so urged us!.. Besides these, we answer also, that in the preface, before our Confession, is signified that not here only, but almost everywhere, we are traduced as heretics and schismatics; and that therefore, it concerneth us to declare our faith and cause, not to these only, but unto all."

"Of the 'fact' whereof, as you say, we *accuse* the English Church: here we expected that you would have discussed those four points which we particularly rehearsed in the preface of this [little] book;^a and which we showed to be done and used by them daily, in their divine worship: for which, also, we testified that we are banished. . . But of these neither, have you one word; and yet this was the special *fact* which we noted for to be considered in that church. The other, of the prelates' tyranny and persecution of us, we touched but by the way, and in a few words. We marvel therefore, yea and greatly marvel, that these things which directly concern the matter and cause itself should thus everywhere be let pass by you, who yet pretend to bring into the way such as do err!.. About the word *accusation*, we will not contend: only this we say, we use it not, that we remember, except when we treat of our own cause, who, by them, are accused of heresy, schism, sedition, *etc.* Of which, forasmuch as we are accused among them here, and everywhere, what good man will deny unto us place of defence?" Here they repeat the manner in which they were being aspersed by "Latin books, published at home;" besides the libels their countrymen "sparsed" against them in Amsterdam and elsewhere; "moreover, if none of these things had fallen out openly before the world, yet who knoweth not that antichrist's retinue, such

^a See back, p. 93.

as be the prelates, do still resemble the nature and conditions of the dragon, Rev. xii. xiii. . . Neither are we, in this kind of writing, either the first or alone: . . tell us, we pray you, if this cause [of concealing injuries] had been held by all, which you seem to expect of us? From whence then could you, or any other, have that knowledge and evidence as now is had? . . How could yourself, and other learned men, have so expounded that divine book of the Revelation as you have now already done with great fruit, and gratulation of all the godly? . . We appeal unto your conscience, learned Sir, whether you did think the estate of that church, and of those prelates, to be such in any measure touching their antichristian constitution, liturgy, ministry, hierarchy—which yourself acknowledge to be that other beast^a in Rev. xiii. 11, 18, as now, for certain, you hear and see it, in that book, as it were pointed out before your eyes! . .

“ You annex some things concerning the doctrine and consent of the fathers, and all wise men in all ages: but you propound them so doubtfully, that, as touching our cause, we cannot perceive what your meaning is. Your words may be so understood as we most willingly consent with you in this matter; again, they may be so taken as we dissent from you not a little, nor without cause. We are persuaded that Separation should not be made from any church, either rashly or at all, so long as we may remain with sound faith and conscience. You must, therefore, speak more plainly what you think of our Separation, if you suppose we have erred in this behalf; all those things being discussed, by the Word of God, which we have mentioned in the preface and Confession aforesaid. In the mean time hear and ponder well, we pray you, what Mr. Beza, that learned man, and well deserving of the Church of Christ, hath written and published somewhat since concerning this question. . . In the eighth epistle sent to Ed. Grindall, heretofore prelate of London, wherein, writing of the state and corruptions of the Church of England, he saith, ‘ If it be true which is commonly reported, and whereof myself am not yet persuaded, That private baptism is there permitted to women,^b I see not what is to turn back again from whence men came, if this be not, &c.’ But if those things be true, which I think are not likely, to wit, That the Metropolitans retain in use those most filthy abuses, than which, the church of antichrist hath not any thing more intolerable, namely, pluralities of benefices, licences of non-residency, licences to marry and eat flesh, and other the like; this were certainly, which I speak with horror, not a corruption of Christianity, but a manifest defection from Christ; and therefore they are not to be condemned, but commended rather, which oppose themselves to such endeavours, &c.’ These and many other the like sayings he hath, in his epistles and other books, published, . . but these things by the way; yet so as you may well consider with yourself, beloved brother, whether the things which, here and there, in your Letter you seem to insinuate against us, fall not upon the very head of that most godly man, Mr Beza, by like right, or rather, indeed, by like wrong! . .

^a See back, p. 37. Who could there have foreseen this *coup d’ami*?

^b See Hanbury’s edit. of Hooker’s Eccles. Polity, 1830, vol. ii. p. 228.

"If you write again, we do humbly and earnestly entreat, if any where we have erred in our faith and cause, that you vouchsafe to show it us by the light of God's Word. Otherwise it will be suspected, seeing you bestow so much pains in discussing these things which concern the manner, and not the matter itself, that either you do dissemble your judgment, whatsoever it be, or that in very deed you are of the same mind with us; especially seeing now you have written, that you do not any 'prejudice at all' to our cause, and have spoken this 'religiously, before the Lord.' Pity, we pray you, our church here exiled, everywhere reproached, eaten up, in a manner, with deep poverty, despised and afflicted well near of all; against which Satan hath now a long time attempted all utmost extremities. Pity them from whom we have departed; who, under pretence of the gospel, continue still in antichristian defection, and do so stiffly hold and eagerly maintain it as there is scant any among them that dare so much as hiss against it. Pity these churches, among whom we sojourn, in which, whether you look at the public prayers, or the administration of the sacraments, or the execution of discipline, there be sundry tares, if they may be called tares; or rather, corruptions, and those also not of small moment; at which, as is reported, the anabaptists and others not a few that live here do stumble; of which also we have heretofore conferred friendly with the ministers of these churches, men indeed learned, and our brethren beloved, but hitherto we do not accord therein, yet hope for better consent hereafter, by the blessing of God, and through the help of you and other godly men. Finally, pity the whole Church of Christ, which verily it is not meet nor expedient, neither indeed ought, among so many and grievous wounds of hers universally inflicted, to be further galled with this particular wound, that you should not take it in good part to have, by us, the true faith of Christ published, and the remnants of antichrist's apostacy discovered."

This Letter extorted another, from Junius, dated the tenth of March, and addressed to his "beloved Brethren," with the former salutation. It commences thus, "Your Letters, loving brethren, I received yesterday and read. If your messenger had showed me before, to whom, or whither I should have written, the matter had been otherwise carried; but I sought and waited a whole month, being uncertain to whom I might send. If any thing were done otherwise than ye would, it was your own fault.^a That ye give no place to false suspicion, I did nothing without the knowledge of my brethren and colleagues. To you, I gave counsel; if it please you not, you may let it alone for me: it becometh not us to be contentious, for it is not our custom, nor the custom of the churches of God. Now, that messenger of yours spake openly to me, without Letters, and called

^a "In the Book itself, which was delivered unto him, there was particular mention both of the place and the parties from whom it came; . . . else, how knew he, at the 'month's' end, more than before, to whom and whither to send as he did? . . . Some might think the 'fault' whereof he speaketh to lie on us or the messenger, which, whatsoever it were, is still to rest upon himself, for ought we know." Table of *Errata*, &c.

not on any of my colleagues; what then is the blame that you lay upon me? None forbade me to give counsel alone.

"You asked, indeed, about a matter of faith; but we thought good rather to deal about giving you counsel. What! if a man answer not according to your prescript, is it by and by an injury? Give us leave, brethren, I pray you, to use our own judgment: we thought it fitter to give you counsel than to make an answer to your demands, and that this we might do unto you in brotherly duty. If we might not, yet will we be more indifferent towards you. You may, for us, abstain; you may read the Letters, and we also will conceal it.^a I wrote as touching counsel, because I thought there was need of it. I wrote not of the question, because I thought the time was not for it. Otherwise, I had not thought of you, or your matters, no, not so much as in my dream; so greatly do I shun to be a meddler in other men's matters."

Here follow some sentences affirming, but not showing what he says was not "clear" to him, that "the matter" had not "been handled in order and good manner; whereunto, by giving you counsel, I called you back. . . Others have set forth Confessions! I know it, and I commend it; for either they seemed, and were said to stagger, in the hands of their persecutors; or else, moved of conscience, they did it orderly, with the consent and approbation of the church: but he who writeth with a mind to dissent, writeth against order, and sifteth the sores of the church, against the law of charity. . . Now I thank you even for this, that you acknowledge your dissent, in some things, from the ministers of the church of Amsterdam; and I thank God which moved me to suspend my judgment. Therefore I did well, who, being altogether ignorant of your matters, did yet so write that I prevented a thing by you dissembled (or, at least, obscurely set down) by wholesome counsel. . . I know nothing of you, neither should yet have known any thing, if you had held your peace; so strongly are my ears stopped against all rumours. . . Keep your confidence to yourselves, and leave us our modesty, who have resolved not to speak of other men's matters, except we know them thoroughly. You think that other good men will say otherwise; but I think better of them who, in my persuasion, are furnished with knowledge, skill, and wisdom from Heaven, that they would sooner subscribe to our modesty than to this your judicial confidence. . . If you can do it rightly, we do not hinder you; but let us who cannot, profess this one thing to you, that we can be no judges. . . Beza spake by way of supposition, which you express, in your Letter; we—because we see, and experience doth teach us, that his words being spoken by way of supposition, are understood, of many, as spoken simply,—dare not so much as answer by way of supposition. Is this such a heinous and capital fault with you? . . Be it far from you to take that course with good men, which God, reason, and the times, have taught us to be dangerous. Rash and heady judgments are not to be required, not to be endured, not to be heard. That God of Truth might justly

^a Etiam nobis dissimulaturis.

punish us, if casting aside discretion, which is most needful in these times, we should answer always to all questions according to the laws prescribed by such as propound the same!" .

Junius could play the politician. His Letter was replied to within eight days. Thinking, as they begin by telling him, that if they "write again, it will be thought, perhaps, contentious," or if they are silent it may "prove hurtful to the truth," and referring to the third verse of Jude, they give Junius thanks, because now that he and his "brethren and colleagues" had consulted, yet he did not show "any one error" in their faith and cause. That they "rested not" in his "counsel," they had "many and weighty reasons" for; and they "think it cannot be showed" that what they had done was otherwise than in "good manner," and "meet and needful. Public infamy requireth public apology." . . . "That which every church may lawfully do, and almost every man upon just cause, yet to us and our church you will not permit: so 'indifferent' are you toward us!" They tell Junius plainly and pointedly, after quoting from his own *Life*, published in 1595, that they do not like "this course of taunting, disdainning, winding away from the point in hand, so often used" by him in his Letters "unworthily." . . . "We are not they who either can or will 'prescribe laws' unto others." . . . "Of you, learned Sir, and of other like godly, learned, strong, discreet men, we desire to be instructed and informed; yea, to be brought again into the way, if any where we be found to err in our faith and cause." . . . The applicants remind him that "religious fear" should not hinder him from helping them, for, say they, "God hath not given us the spirit of fearfulness, but of strength and love, and soundness of mind (2 Tim. i. 7), that we should not be 'ashamed' of the testimony of our Lord; neither of them that be his prisoners, exiles, witnesses."

What they had thus written, so far back as the eighteenth of March, 1599-[1600], was accompanied by another Letter, dated the first of July, 1602, commencing thus, "Here included, learned Sir, we send the answer to your second Letter, long since delivered us, which we wrote the day after we had received yours: yet afterward thought we needed not send it, unless some other occasion were offered, both because yourself intimated as if you would be silent if we wrote again, and because, in very deed, you did in those Letters yield us the cause, and answered nothing at all to any purpose, either touching our Confession of Faith which was published, or touching our former Letters. . . . If you ask, why we changed our purpose, and have now sent you this Letter, which was written so long since? Lo, here! this little Book included withal; to wit, your Letters translated into English, and set forth in print! . . . Yet let nothing here offend you: for it is we, if any, that are injured; yea, and the truth itself; inasmuch as your first Letter was published alone, without our answer which you received from us. By whose fault, to what end, with what equity, mind you well. Sure that priest which translated yours, writeth in his preface, how truly you know, that yourself 'delivered' the copy of your first Letter to a 'worshipful knight' of whom he received it, and turning it into English imprinted it. Yet have we

not, hitherto, given unto any so much as a copy either of yours or our own; providing, what we could, for your credit, yea, so as we neglected our own selves, and were traduced by others, as now, by this book published, will appear unto all. But, perhaps, in this matter you purposed one thing, he another. Whatsoever it were, now you cannot but see how the prelates and priests of our country do so interpret your Letters as if they had been written against the truth of the gospel of Christ, which we profess, and for defence of the antichristian apostacy and tyranny wherein they persist. Which thing we leave unto you, to be weighed seriously before the Lord.

"Neither is it to be omitted, that your private Letters are set forth in public: yours, we say, who took it so ill that the 'Confession of Faith' of this whole church should be made public; who, in these very Letters of yours, wrote so much 'of the public view; of publishing the wounds of the church indiscreetly; many weak ones, before so many deadly enemies of God and the church:—of not offending any one of Christ's disciples—of not provoking churches—of every one abounding in their own sense, &c.!' It is marvel if your translator turn not your own words upon yourself, and tell you 'that a Christian, an humble and godly mind, ought to be otherwise affected; and, setting aside the respect of their own private regard, &c.:' but this the more unjustly, if he made your Letters public without your knowledge. Which we indeed at first did suspect; till we saw your second epistle come forth somewhile after the other. Neither could we well think otherwise of the matter, especially seeing you wrote unto us that we might 'rend the Letters:' and, that you also would 'conceal it.' Know, moreover, that in the edition of your Letters, there be certain clauses wherein the translation is not made answerable to yours in Latin sent unto us; which we by your original, amend in our edition now ready to be published.

"These, and many other things which yet we conceal, seem unto us to be of some moment. But we are deceived, perhaps, in our own cause! and therefore you, and your translator^a would, omitting all confutation, that others should have the judgment thereof: you, in delivering, he, in publishing your Letters. But why, then, did you not vouchsafe to give us any knowledge thereof? At least, why did you not so provide as that Letter of ours, which was in your hands, should also be translated and published? Did you think that 'he which is first in his own cause is just?' Why, then, did you not also mind, that 'his neighbour coming after him will make inquiry of him,'^b that so both parties being heard, judgment may be given according to truth and equity? For which cause, though we have hitherto borne this, yet will we, hereafter, meet with such dealing by the best and fittest means we can. Neither doubt we, but all these things, howsoever now they stand, will at length fall out for good both to us and to all other which love Christ, with all his ordinances, and hate antichrist, with all his abominations. . .

"Concerning the differences, whereof you write again in your Letters, which are between us and the Dutch church of this city, it

^a "R.G."

^b Prov. xviii. 17.

needeth not that we write unto you of the particulars, otherwise than as before we have done. If you do yet desire more, we give you to understand, that above a year since we delivered, in writing, the true and particular narration of the whole matter to the ministers and whole eldership of that church; who, if they have not, may now communicate it with you. . . We will briefly note the chief heads wherein we differ from them?" They amount to eleven, but we select the following only, concerning parts of discipline. 1. "The estate of the Dutch church at Amsterdam is such, as being but one, yet it meeteth in three several places; wherefore it is so confused as the whole church can never come together in one: the ministers can never together with the flock sanctify the Lord's day; the presence of the members of the church cannot certainly be known: and, finally, no public action, whether excommunication or any other, can rightly be performed. Which is contrary to these Scriptures, 1 Cor. xii. 27, and xi. 20, 23. Matt. xviii. 17, with 1 Cor. v. 4. Acts vi. 2, 5. Num. viii. 9. Acts xx. 28."—7. "Their Elders change yearly, and do not continue in their office according to the doctrine of the apostles, and practice of the primitive churches. Rom. xii. 4—8. 1 Cor. xii. 11, &c. Acts xx. 17, 28. 1 Pet. v. 1—4. See, also, Num. viii. 24, &c."—8. "They celebrate marriage in the church, as if it were a part of the ecclesiastical administration; whereas it is in the nature of it merely civil. Ruth, ch. iv." "These, among other, are the corruptions of the church aforesaid. . . And for yourself, good Sir, take you heed in godliness, that in this cause you do not in any respect withhold the duty which you owe unto them, or defence which you owe unto the truth. . ." Signed, on behalf of the church, by the same names as are to their first Letter, except G. Knyveton, but with the addition of Thomas Bishop and David Bresto.

It will not be wondered at, from the tenor of his previous Letter, that Junius replied on this occasion with the same disposition to reprehend. Still styling his correspondents "his beloved brethren in Christ," he begins thus, "A huge bundle of Letters, beloved brethren, I received from you yesterday in the evening. I gave you counsel to rest from questions: you command me to enter into questions. I continue still in my purpose; for I esteem more of peace in the church than of the seeds of strife: they that are fed with these seeds, shall reap the fruit. Where you conclude and pronounce that I do therefore assent unto you, it is a false conclusion. As touching the matter, I have enjoined myself silence; and although I be a hundred times called upon by Letters, I will continue still in the argument of counsel, till I see another course taken. If it like you not, let it alone: neither do I like the handling of questions *in this time*. It is more according to God, that I be silent from questions, in this estate of things, than that I pour forth myself and you together into them. You may move many things in your Letters; I will rest from those things; and will occupy myself religiously in the work of the Lord. Christian wisdom will never suffer me to speak of questions controverted, the one party being unheard.

"That my Letters unto you were translated into English, I have

now first known it by you. I knew not that it was done. You object, that my Letters were not showed by you. I believe it; for both by Letters and reports of many, I have been certified that they were not showed. If it please you, show them; for me, you may. All shall see, how false reports have been given forth concerning them. I neither am ashamed of them, neither ever will be. But I pity you, I speak it unfeignedly, who for my Letters give forth, in public, your conclusions. With good men, good dealing should be used. That the copies of my Letters were carried into England, yourselves may easily conjecture by what means it came to pass. About ten months since, the sovereign Queen's Ambassador was there [Amsterdam?] and two of your company dined with him. What happened at that dinner, you can remember. He came hither unto me. He marvelled at the fact of your departure [!] I told him that I had written unto you; he desired a copy. To you I gave counsel; whosoever gave it forth, in public, hath done it without my knowledge. I will not answer for another's doing, but for my own. In the meanwhile, I will pray God that he frame your minds unto the truth, wisdom, love, and peace; and all our minds unto his glory. Farewell in the Lord—yours unfeignedly, Fr. Junius."

The spirit and apparent point exhibited in this last reply of Junius, compelled his correspondents to set themselves right in what most concerned their reputation. They wrote, accordingly, July 21st., "Your third and very brief letter, beloved Sir, we received this last week. They were your letters imprinted, and included, that made the large 'bundle,' if so it were. It is not well said of you, that term the Confession of Christian Faith and Defence of publishing it, to be 'questions,' and 'seeds of strife;' nor, that you say, we 'command' you 'to enter into questions.' For the 'conclusion,' whether it be true or false, now let others judge, which shall see your Letters together with ours! 'Touching the matter, you have 'enjoined' yourself 'silence.' Yea, and touching the manner and other things also, where you can find no answer neither. Yet for 'the matter' itself, if so be that with the papists, anabaptists, or any the like, we did err from the true faith; we doubt not but you would open your mouth to answer, to refute, to convince! But because in our faith you can show no error, and yet 'in this time,' and 'estate of things,' like not to stand for us and this cause, it is *safest* to be silent. Wisely done, indeed! but not according to God, who, denouncing by the prophet, hath said, 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord fraudulently, &c. ;'^a on the contrary, 'Blessed be he that shall reward thee, as thou hast rewarded us. O daughter of Babel to be destroyed, &c.'^b If this, against Moab and the material Babylon, how much more against antichrist, and the spiritual Babylon, with all the daughters and abominations thereof? If this, against the shadow and type, how much more against the substance and body itself? Of 'the argument of counsel,' enough is said. If you repeat it a thousand times, and yet take not away our answer and reasons alleged in our first Letters, we will always repeat the same answer. Those 'many things' which are contained in your Letters and ours, do now come forth in public. Neither doubt we but this is 'the work of the Lord.' See,

^a Jer. xlviii. 10.

^b Psal. cxxxvii. 8, 9.

therefore, that you be occupied therein 'religiously.' That any should speak of things 'controverted,' we desire not, otherwise than the reformed churches, and those godly men and martyrs of Jesus who, with like purpose, have published their Confessions of Faith and causes of their troubles, being so constrained.

"That your Letters 'were not showed' by us, we wrote not; but this, that we 'gave not a copy of them to any;' for what cause, we wrote in our former. Showed they were, and read in the public meeting of our church. If your mind were to have them showed to others, that knew we not. But now that you write this is your mind, we shall show them, together with ours, publicly unto all. And if any have 'given forth' any 'false reports' concerning them, let *them* now be 'ashamed!' In the meantime, yourself provided, by sending yours, at first, unsealed, that they should be showed to others, and be read also of others, before us. Neither doth it excuse the matter, which you wrote in your second, that the 'messenger' showed you not 'to whom' or 'whither' you 'should have written,' and that therefore you 'sought and waited a whole month, being uncertain' thereof. For we did signify both these expressly, in the epistle dedicatory prefixed before that Book which, by the messenger, was delivered unto you. Else, how knew you at 'the month's end' more than before, whither and to whom to send? Or, when you knew, why did you not seal your Letters? Was it because you would have them 'showed?' We believe it; as also, that for the same cause, 'the copies' of them 'were carried into England!' And this too, we knew, before they were translated in English; but we held our peace, waiting to see what would follow thereupon. Now yourself see they are translated, and *given forth* 'in public.' For 'them,' therefore, and with them, we translate and publish ours; by which will appear that we have *dealt well* 'with good men!' You may call them as you please; it skilleth us little: this is the very thing we desire and endeavour, that the simplicity of the gospel of Christ, the iniquity of the defection of antichrist, may more and more be made known unto all. If for this thing you 'pity' us, we will bear it; praying that God in Christ would *pity* you. Where you write, that 'two' of our 'company dined with' that honourable Ambassador, it is not true that we know of. Neither can we tell 'what happened at that dinner.' He sent not for us to come unto him; neither did we like to intrude ourselves. If by us he would have been certified of our cause, we would have done it willingly and sincerely. And you also, when he demanded of you, might have showed our Letters with your own and the Confession of our Faith, and given also copies of both the Letters. So might the Translator have given forth both in public. So, had you provided that sentence should not be given, 'the one party being unheard!' Which thing 'Christian wisdom,' yourself say, suffereth not to be done in 'questions controverted.' In this behalf, therefore, you have erred; and this, by you, is to be answered; notwithstanding that for his doing, himself is to answer that translated and published yours 'without' your 'knowledge.' For ourselves, if anywhere we err, show it, we pray you again and again, by the Word of God, that is, by the only rule of truth; and we shall yield most

willingly. And thus we pray God that he would guide you, together with us and all his, alway, unto Jesus Christ; and that he would keep us in him, who only is 'the way, the truth, and the life.' Whose Name be blessed for ever. Amen.—Yours in the truth and peace of the Gospel of Christ, F. Johnson, H. Ainsworth, [and the five others named above, in p. 144.] Together with the other brethren of the English church at Amsterdam."

The space which this correspondence occupies in our pages is commensurate with its importance, derived from the name and authority of Junius, who died of the plague within three months of the date of the last reply. The true position of the parties could not be thoroughly understood without an extended account of their proceedings. The propriety of repeating the application to Junius may continue to be questioned; while his trimming ambiguity will, also, be thought to have somewhat sullied his reputation for a high sense of honour. The Translator, R. G. admits, in his dedication, that Junius does "not enter into an exact discussing of the question with arguments, objections, and answers," but "useth," what he terms, "a very grave and godly admonition, which is oftentimes of greater fruit than a long and learned disputation." It is important that this Translator tells us himself, that the "answer" of Junius to the solicitation made to him was "delivered, by himself, to a religious and worshipful Knight," and so came into his own "hands;" which he "presumed to communicate" to the Christian reader, "hoping it might prove a good means to stay such as are wavering, to confirm such as do stand, and to recover such as are fallen!"

The exiles say, however, in their "answer to R. G's epistle,"—"All men may see how just and necessary occasion those exiled Christians now have, to print their answer also; which, upon the receipt of his [first] Letter, they sent unto him; but, hitherto, have spared to give out any one copy either of his or theirs; whether for doubt of their own cause, or reverend regard rather of that man, let the sequel declare, and let the discreet reader, by it, judge whether party hath most advantage. As for the Translator's censure, that they 'sought to shroud themselves under the shadow of human authority,' this brief narration . . will show, unto all godly wise, to be but the surmise of a malicious heart. And were it not that the weakness and badness of their cause compelleth them thus to do, it might seem strange that any of the Church of England would publish such a writing as this, in their own defence, as if it approved their estate! . . All wise-hearted may and will, we doubt not, easily discern how naked and helpless they be which neither by their friends at home nor the most learned abroad, can otherwise be relieved than by such things as, hitherto, they have printed: or, howsoever this present generation shall judge of these things, yet the ages to come, which will be less partial, will easily give sentence. . . The Lord rebuke Satan, and make bright the glory of his Name and Gospel; and turn to the profit of every faithful soul these things now published by his unworthy and contemned servants, to his own eternal praise in Christ.—Amen."

CHAP. IX.

CONTENTION BETWEEN BROUGHTON AND AINSWORTH.—
FAIRLAMBE'S APOSTACY.

AN individual of another temperament from his whom we have lately dismissed, demands notice also for being connected with what appertains to the furtherance of our design. This opponent cannot, perhaps, be introduced more pertinently than by his biographer and editor, in the tumid title of "The Works of the Great Albonian [Albionean] Divine; renowned in many Nations for rare skill in Salem's and Athen's Tongues, and familiar acquaintance with all Rabbinical Learning; Mr. Hugh Broughton."^a That pragmatistical Puritan will be seen in something like a characteristic display: his biographer shall, however, be authority for the present censure, that "his style of writing was curt, and something harsh and obscure, for he desired to speak much in little; and besides, his natural genius inclining to such a style, it is likely that his much conversing with Judaic learning did something mould and habituate him the more that way."^b

The first article which demands to be noticed, is a paper without date, inserted among his collected "Works," and intituled "An Admonition to Mr. Francis Blackwell, one of the Company of Amsterdam, which damn all which come to Christian Churches, or keep the commandment of saying The Lord's Prayer; and give over to Satan such as leave their Assembly."^c It begins thus,—“Master Blackwell,—Many causes argue great simplicity in your extolling of Ainsworth, that you put forth his book, extremely disgracing himself and all your company:” then, besides other particulars against Ainsworth, are enumerated, “First, His teaching you to refuse to come to Christian Churches maketh you to have no fellows in the world but Machmadists^d and Jews. . . Atheism: Your wicked objection, That the apostles did never use The Lord's Prayer, is a flat lie: all that Christ commanded they did, and this was always observed. . . Great wickedness: You give them over to Satan that, being once of your Company, go to the Dutch Church; and they be many. . . Injury against this town: When ye excommunicated N. N. for marrying a wife of Amsterdam, did not you censure all maidens here to be infidels, saving them of your sort? . . . Mr. Ainsworth ignorant of his Creed: Your *doctor* and you knew not *Haiden*,^e of late, when Barow [Barrowe] rather chose Tyburn than the propriety of the Creed. Your unthankfulness passed that in printing fragments because ye had no answer. Such blind shifts please you. Mr. Ainsworth cannot spell *Ebrew*. . . Ignorance of the whole alphabet, was objected to your doctor.” . .

It is plain enough, from what has been produced, that Ainsworth was “very roughly attacked;”^f but the contents of a pamphlet,

^a “By John Lightfoot (D.D.) 1662.” fo.

^b Pref. p. ix.

^c P. 722.

^d *Mahmoudists*, followers of Mohammed.

^e [Ἰδην.]

^f Biog. Brit. vol. ii. art. Broughton, note DD.

nowhere noticed in the biographies of the respective parties, and consisting of thirty-nine pages, quarto, show it still more plainly. This is intitled, "Certain Questions concerning—1. Silk, or Wool, in the Highpriest's Ephod.—2. Idol Temples, commonly called Churches.—3. The Form of Prayer, commonly called 'The Lord's Prayer'.—4. Excommunication; &c.—Handled between Mr. Hugh Broughton, remaining of late at Amsterdam, in the Low Countries, and Mr. Henry Ainsworth, Teacher of the Exiled English Church at Amsterdam aforesaid.—1 Thess. v. 21.—1605." F. B., probably Francis Bright,^a states, in the Introduction, that these writings came "lately" into his hands, and that "there were some both from the one and the other that wrote them committed unto me for the delivering them;" and, "if I would, to take a copy." Presuming that "both parties" were "willing to have them seen," he ventured to publish them "in print," and desires "both the authors" to take this his doing "in good part."

Broughton had, "in a book of his, to the King, lately set out, Concerning Corruption in Handling of Religion," taken occasion to reflect on "our translation" of the Bible, for composing the Highpriest's Ephod^b of "blue *silk*, purple, and scarlet, and white twined-silk." He affirms that, on the contrary, the Jews hold, universally, that "wool" and "linen" were the constituents; not the thread of the "unclean worm;" consequently "the worm, unclean by ceremony, might not be in ceremony figuring holiness." He concludes, "this error, our reverend Fathers will amend;" meaning, in the "revised" version to be put forth by the King's Commissioners.

Ainsworth having incidentally fallen upon the text, as in the "common translations," says, for this word, silk, "a clamour of error was raised."^c He took up his pen to support the old version, in an argument evincing familiarity with the Hebrew authorities, and closed it with the words, "This for the present, till better assurance of the contrary." Broughton called it "a tedious writing," and "senseless;" adding, "if you mean to confute my book, put a style promising so much; and follow it logically, without idle citing of men to by-purposes; and I will print your words, and a reply."^d Having adverted to his first position, and made further remarks connected with it, Ainsworth proceeds, "For this writing, you reproach me, who rather should have instructed me with meekness if I had missed. . . I am still of judgment it is neither error nor corruption in religion, to keep the common name of 'silk.' . . And, to conclude 'because it was silk, that it was silk of worms,' hath no better ground than their assertion which say 'the Fathers were in *hell*, because they were in *hades*;' seeing 'silk' is a general name, as well for that which naturally

^a Brook's Puritans, vol. iii. p. 518.

^b Exod. xxviii. 6. xxxix. 2, 3.

^c P. 34.

^d P. 4.

^e Broughton had said, in his "Declaration of General Corruption in Religion, &c." 1604, "Dr. Bilson being told that '*hades*,' to the good, is paradise, would needs prove that Christ went to hell because he went to *hades*: yet when all Greek doctors place all the Fathers in *hades*,—and they place Christ no lower,—he will not have *them* in hell!"

groweth, as for that which the worms make. . . The answer of your book belongs not to me; with the thing which concerneth me, I deal as is meet, according to my measure."

Broughton retorts, "If you were mistaken for the equivocation of 'silk,' wit would you should have opened yourself; seeing our Copes, imitating Aaron's Ephod, have the silk of the worm. . . Your Judaism, that condemns all our Christian Churches as godless buildings, hath lost all right of disputing: so your befooling of saying The Lord's Prayer according to the express commandment; and making phrases of words, to mean matter of such effect; and your excommunicating for 'baptizing in the Dutch Church;' these desperate, *athean*, parts, tell others, that you are not a Church, but a synagogue of Satan. . . Your blindness breedeth saucy malapertship. 'Peace' you hate most deadly, that revile our holy buildings, and befool all Christendom for fifteen hundred years."^a

Ainsworth tells him, "As for myself, I rely not upon any Man's authority; though I reverence and regard their help, as is meet. The Word of God, how 'short'^b soever it be written, giveth sufficient light to the eyes, and understanding to the simple. . . It is yourself that fail in the 'equivocation,' though you will not acknowledge it; for, when the translation giveth 'silk,' you conclude it to be of 'the worm;' and now, to help yourself, flee to the 'Copes;' as if the Bible had been translated out of the Pope's wardrobe, and the interpreters had not looked to Moses' text, to express it in English so near as they could. . . From the matter of 'silk,' you turn to other contumely and reproach, charging this Congregation of which I am, to be no Church, 'but a synagogue of Satan,' and that, for three causes. . . Unto these points,—passing by, for the present, the venom of your tongue,—I answer,

"We witness against the corrupt and false estate of your English Cathedral and Parish Assemblies, first, As not being a communion of Saints; a people called and separated from the world, and brought into covenant with God: Secondly, As not worshipping Him aright, in spirit and truth, according to his own Law, but after human inventions: Thirdly, As not having the ecclesiastical regiment and ministry, prescribed in Christ's Testament; but another, received from the Roman Antichrist!

"Of these, and many other your particular transgressions, derived from these, we have published our proofs and reasons in the 'Confession of our Faith' and sundry other treatises: against which, if you have ought to object, or can any way defend your Church's estate, you not only have liberty, but may get yourself credit so far to do! How is it then, that you leave these main matters, and meddle with one particular, of the Temples, which howsoever they be evil, yet we think your Priesthood and Service, in them set up and used, are much worse? But if they be too bad for you to defend, and the Temples you think will more easily be justified, we are content you shall take

^a P. 6, 7.

^b "Tremellius knew Moses spake *short*, as being present to open his mind." Broughton.

your choice, so as you will add doctrine to your lips, and prove, by God's Word, that which you affirm.

"In this your writing; you have neither convinced [convicted] us of 'Judaism,' nor warranted your Temples by any law of God; only we have your bare word, calling them 'Christian Churches,' and 'holy buildings,' and the old Popish argument of 'antiquity' and 'hundreds of years.' But for this latter, I leave you to try your title with the Papists, who challenge your Churches, and many other things, as being their right, and by them erected!^a And for the former, I refer you to the Scripture, which condemneth the antichristian worship for idolatry, and worship of devils;^b and maketh Babylon the habitation of devils;^c and hath forbidden us all manner of communion and fellowship with devils or idols,^d or retaining and using any monuments of their abomination;^e and draweth their Places within this compass,^f as well as their altars and images; and warranteth us not, by any law or example of the prophets or apostles, to use any such idol-houses for God's worship which are appropriate to the worship of Satan, and a part of his children's devotion. It remaineth, then, upon you, to justify the use of these Mass-houses, and to discover our error,—if such it be—that reprove and condemn them.

"Touching Prayer; we hold it to be a pouring out of the heart before God,^g by making requests, or giving thanks, according to the present need and occasion, through the help and working of the Holy Ghost which God hath shed into the hearts of all his children.^h We find that all the holy men of God used thus to pray in the Spirit, without reading, or saying by rote, any number of words; and have plentiful examples hereof in Abraham, Isaac, and Israel; Moses, and Joshua; David, and Solomon, with many other saints.ⁱ We find it promised, that at Christ's coming, 'the Spirit' should be more plentifully poured upon the Church, even the Spirit 'of grace and supplications,'^k which he graciously performed both by doctrine and spiritual gifts, wherewith he furnished his disciples,^l who, accordingly, prayed not with prescript words, but with such as the Spirit gave them to utter;^m God preparing their heart, and bending his ear." According to these rules and examples in Scripture, we offer up our prayers in faith, acknowledging the Form called The Lord's Prayer to be a most perfect pattern, given for our instruction; and that it is lawful and good to use any of those or other words of Scripture fitly applied to our present purpose. This, you profanely call our 'befooling of saying The Lord's Prayer;' and like not, as it seemeth, of such praying, but would bind us to the saying over of those very words; without

^a "Papists' Supplication to the King.—Reason of Religion, vi. xv."

^b Rev. ix. 20. 2 Chron. xi. 15.

^c Rev. xviii. 2.

^d 1 Cor. x. 20, 21, 14.

^e Exod. xxiii. 24.

^f Deut. vii. 25, 26. Isai. xxx. 22.

^g Deut. xii. 2, 3.

^h Psal. lxii. 8.

ⁱ Rom. viii. 15, 16.

^j Gen. vi. 2, 8. xvii. 18. xxiv. 12, 27. xxv. 21. xxxii. 9. Exod. v. 22. xxxii. 11. Josh. vii. 6, 7. 2 Sam. vii. 18. 1 Kings viii. 22, 23. 2 Chron. xiv. 11. xx. 5, 6. Neh. i. 4, 5. ix. 5, 36. The Book of Psalms. Dan. ix. 3, 4. &c.

^k Zech. xii. 10.

^l Matt. vi. Acts ii.

^m Acts i. 14. iv. 24.

ⁿ Psal. x. 17. Acts iv. 31.

showing any proof by doctrine or example for what you say, save that you mention only 'the express commandment:' as if we might understand any commandment contrary to the analogy of faith and whole tenor of the Scriptures! It is the true meaning of God's oracles, that must be regarded. Otherwise we know the Papists have as express words in show for their real presence in the sacrament,^a and think they have as good warrant from Luke i. 48, to say the 'Ave Maria,' as you for the 'Pater noster.' But if you will needs understand and require a pronouncing of those words in praying, seeing the commandment is general for all times and persons, you must first cast away your own popish Liturgies, where you teach men to say other words, and by which you check the Lord Jesus and his Spirit, taking upon you to give laws and forms of prayer other than his Testament alloweth. You may as well reduce Preaching to the reading over the Ten Commandments, as Praying to the reading of 'Our Father.' And as your prescript Liturgies, so your conceiving of prayers otherwise, at your Sermons and other times, sufficiently refuteth your own doctrine. You shall do well, therefore, better to approve of your own doings, and to convince ours by the Word of Christ, before you persuade people to your custom, and speak evil of the way of Truth with such bitterness.

"For our 'Excommunication;' I answer, First, That myself alone never excommunicated any, but together with the Church whereof I am, in the Name and by the power of Christ; who hath given us this charge and authority to cast out from amongst us all wicked persons.^b This have we done to divers; and God hath confirmed it in heaven, and we have seen it with comfort in the conversion of many, and hardening of others that they have grown worse and worse. Secondly, And where you charge us with 'excommunicating for baptizing in the Dutch Church,' we indeed mislike the faults that are in this Dutch Church about baptism, and will not suffer our Members, that have joined in covenant with us, to run into those iniquities, or partake with them,^c though we have not hitherto cast out any for this particular you mention, but for other transgressions that deserve cutting off, as we, by God's Word, are ready to prove. But if you will take upon you to defend the corruptions of this Dutch Church in baptizing the children of them that are of no church, and their other transgressions in their constitution, government, worship, &c., whereof we have admonished their Overseers, and which things are published in our Answer to Mr. Junius, and are neither amended among them, nor approved by him or themselves; we are willing to hear what you can say, and when you have justified them by God's Word, then may you justly blame us for condemning them.

"But more cause have you to look to your own practice about Excommunication, than thus to revile us. You gave out the curse 'Maran-atha,'^d against your 'Right Reverend Father in God,' John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury;^e and vainly boast that you killed

^a "This is my body." Matt. xxvi. 26. ^b Matt. xviii. 17, 18. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, 13.

^c Luke xvii. 3. ^d Lev. xix. 17.

^e 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

^f "In his book, intituled 'To the aged Sir, John of Canterbury,'" p. 20.

him.* Who hath committed that censure unto you; and by what authority proceeded you against him? . . . You call me a 'blasphemer of the Christians and their Church;' I require proof of your accusation. . . And for your persecuting of this poor Church, making us the mark of your 'sharp arrows,'^b and thinking because we are despised of the world that you also may tread us under your feet, be sure the Lord will bring you unto judgment.

"As for me, I never expected honour from you. I know 'the upright of way is abomination to the wicked;'^c I account it my honour to bear evil men's reproach. The 'best glory' of my study, is to know Christ and him crucified; and to be made a partaker of his sufferings, that I may reign with him."

Broughton's reply to what he calls this "long letter," is short, and perfectly characteristic; but, omitting the introductory remarks, he proceeds, "For the Archbishop, you say I did excommunicate him. How? otherwise than citing him to God's judgment, and myself! May not any to any do so? I did so six years ago: and assured the Readers that they should see him or me pay the price. So I excommunicate you! And for your 'befooling' of us for our Temples, sobriety should be more in you than to require one man to teach you, where all Christian laws would put you to death! George Johnson, for whom I wrote to the Bishop of Duresme [Durham] that I thought him tractable, and desired that he might be suffered to come hither, was accused of turning the subjects from obedience, upon contempt of our Churches, and is dead; as one of Newcastle wrote, returning a Letter sent to him . . . Know you not that laws kill you for your disturbance passed; unless you can persuade your Judges,—that is, all Christendom,—that they were Satanean. . . Go into the coals which thou hast kindled!"

Ainsworth commenced his rejoinder with Psalm lvii. 4., and continues thus, "If the apostle Paul had occasion to desire the prayers of the faithful for him, that he might 'be delivered from unreasonable and evil men,'^d much greater need have we that witness the Gospel in these last days, to desire the same. For so great is Satan's rage, because his time is now short, as he omitteth no opportunity or means to beat down the faith and fortress of the Church, which, maugre his spite, God will uphold unto the end. How I have been drawn into this conflict with Mr. Broughton,—a man that bendeth his wit and learning against this poor afflicted Church,—may appear by my former writings. In what manner I have carried myself towards him, though I knew him to be so great an enemy, and how he again entreateth me, I leave for them to judge that shall view the things past. And now, seeing him to have so intemperate a spirit as he will neither convince me with sobriety, nor admit of just reprehension for his own overcarriage, I purpose no more to direct my style unto him; but turning to the discreet Reader, will show the weakness of his cause, and his bad dealing against me.

"About the question of 'silk,' he triumpheth as conqueror, and

* Feb. 1603-4. Camden, in Ann. Jac. says he died "ex morore."

^b Psal. cxv. 4.

^c Prov. xxix. 27.

^d 2 Thess. iii. 2.

blames me that I 'thank him not;' but if he never get greater victory in other battles, it will be long ere he wax rich with the spoils... If he deceiveth the world with ambiguous words, and intendeth that fine stuff of trees, which by writers may be called wool, or linen, or silk; though, properly, it be none of these, but a fine silken cotton, and such as, by Tremellius, was the only matter whereof the garments were made; let wise men judge of his dealing, and how great a conquest he hath won; and let him joy in his prowess, I will not envy his glory, nor make any further strife...

"And is it not a worthy argument, that he mentioneth for upholding his idol Temples, That all Christian laws would put me 'to death!' And, therefore, 'sobriety' should be more in me 'than to require one man to teach' me. Could not the Turk himself, with this bloody reason, quickly confute all Christendom? And did not his predecessors, the Papists, fight with these weapons against God's former witnesses in their several ages? I perceive now, if the Magistrate's sword will not maintain these 'holy buildings,' we shall have no defence for them from Mr. Broughton! Well then let Baal plead for himself against them that shall ruinate his houses and altars! And whereas he thinketh it will be no joy for him, 'a man,' to 'tread down' me that am 'a worm,' let him go on to rejoice in *his* manhood: I will rest contented with my portion in my Saviour's lot, who was, before me, 'a worm, and not a man; the shame of men, and contempt of the people...'"^a

^a Psalm xxii. 6.

Ben. Jonson, a pander and pensioner of James, must have referred to the above passage when he composed his play called "The Staple [or mart] of News," but which was not exhibited, or performed, before 1625.

Act iii. Scene 1.

"*Penny-boy Jun.* No, good Register,
We'll stand it out here, and observe your Office
What news it issues...

Doper. Ha' you, in your profane shop, any news
O' the Saints at Amsterdam?

Register. Yes, how much would you?

Dop. Six-pennyworth.

Reg. Lay your money down. Read, Thomas.

Thomas. The Saints do write, They expect a prophet shortly,
The prophet Baal, to be sent over to them,
To calculate a time, and half a time,
And the whole time, according to Naometry.

P. Jun. What's that?

Tho. The measuring o' the Temple: a cabal
Found out but lately...

Dop. Peace be with them!

Reg. So there had need, for they are still by the ears
One with another.

Dop. It is their zeal.

Reg. Most likely.

Dop. Ha' you no other of that species?

Reg. Yes;

But dearer; it will cost you a shilling.

Dop. Verily

There is a nine-pence, I will shed no more.

Reg. Not to the good o' the Saints?

"It seemeth, because the Archbishop is dead, this man thinketh he payed the price of his curse; and if himself had first died, the Reader must have judged his curse killed himself. Well, let him beware he curse not many, lest some of them do outlive him, and he dying, without repentance, give the world occasion to think he died 'accursed, and surely miserable.'..

"As for me, I have otherwise learned Christ than to 'fear 'the curse causeless;'^a or to be afraid of vain man, whose breath is in his nostrils."

The remainder of the pamphlet is little more than a mere altercation about Hebrew terms, between wranglers of no mean distinction; and though it were conceded that the one was the more profound, it is indisputable that the other was incomparably superior in all those qualities which constitute the more liberal scholar. Whether or not, it became any man to treat Ainsworth in the contemptuous manner which Broughton used, is left for those to say who are competent judges of their respective merits: "He cannot," said Broughton, "as an Ebriician or Grecian in learned schools would, grammatically expound one line of either Testament."^b And the Letter addressed "To the company of folk that hold Mr. Ainsworth of worth to teach Divinity," contains this passage,— "He taught you, unless his hearers be impudent, That Israel was four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; as our English translation goeth. So Moses should be dead forty before the Law; and all his writing should be fables!"^c "A mere slander of me," Ainsworth replied, "as is known unto God and my own heart, and many witnesses who heard and can testify how, from Exodus vi. and other Scriptures, I showed, the Israelites could not

Dop. I am not sure
That man is good.

Reg. Read from Constantinople,
Nine-penn'orth.

Tho. They give out here, the Grand-Signior
Is certainly turn'd Christian: and, to clear
The controversy 'twixt the Pope and him,
Which is the Antichrist, he means to visit
The church at Amsterdam, this very summer,
And quit all marks o' the Beast!

Dop. Now, joyful tidings!
Who brought in this?—which emissary?

Reg. Buz,
Your countryman.

Dop. Now blessed be the man
And his whole family, with the nation.

Reg. Yes! for Amboyna, and the justice there!—
This is a Doper, a she-anabaptist:

Seal and deliver her her news; despatch."

Broughton, who returned from Middleburgh in 1611, and died in 1612, is said to be represented under the name of John Ball, or Baal, a priest in the reign of Richard II. and styled a Leveller: Docuit et perversa dogmata perfidi Johannis Wicklef, et opiniones quas tenuit et insanias falsas, et plura, quæ longum foret recitare. Hist. Angl. Walsinghami. 1574. fol. p. 292. Hans Buz was a Dutchman employed by the merchants as an "emissary-exchange." See Gifford's edition of Jonson, 1816. 8vo.; and Hume's Hist. app. to James I. for the massacre of the English by the Dutch, at Amboyna, in 1623.

^a Prov. xxvi. 2.

^b P. 30.

^c P. 32.

be dwellers in Egypt so many years any thing near. Let Mr. Broughton, therefore, name mine accusers that have so belied me, and clear himself, or receive with them the due desert of false calumnniation."^a

Broughton's iterated malevolent assaults roused Ainsworth, at length, to pass beyond his prescribed limit of endurance. Still it is apparent that he endeavoured to control himself, from "An answer to the 'Articles of Unlearnedness' objected to me by Mr. Broughton;" which Ainsworth introduced thus, "Although the conscience of mine own infirmities and ignorance, who know nothing yet as I ought to know, but come far short of the wisdom of the Learned both beforetime and in these my days, would stay me from making any Answer to these 'Articles,' whose title pretends want of learning only; and are to no other end penned, or spread, but for my reproach; which I can be content to bear in my bosom; yet, because I see many of them to contain besides malice, most manifest lies and forgeries, and to tend unto the disgrace of God's Truth, and discredit of his Church unto whom they were sent; and whom the author would urge to force my 'direct answer,' which he presumeth I cannot make; yea, 'dareth' me, and will, he saith, 'adventure his fame,' I will show myself 'as a giddy man,' and 'not knowing what to speak;' I have thought it needful to show the vanity and falsehood of these his objections: which, if my accuser himself will not lay to heart, yet others, of discretion, may easily perceive."

That part of the discussion relating to silk, wool, &c. being irrelevant here, we substitute our judgment, that Ainsworth lost nothing by this controversy; in his words, Broughton "useth learned men for his own advantage: if they be with him, they are more than mountains; if against him, they are less than molehills. I would the Bible might decide all controversies of Religion!"^b "He saith, my 'labor tendeth to overthrow this State: holding no true Churches to be here:' and that 'this dealing is stark bad!'"^c I answer, Mr. Broughton dealeth like Sanballat.^d We have ever sought the good of this state and country, and no way the overthrow or hurt thereof. We hold here to be many true churches, Dutch and French; which yet have their corruptions, from which we desire they were purged. Mr. Broughton can neither justify their corruptions, nor yet would have them amended. *This 'dealing' is 'stark bad;'* and his belying of me is no better."^e "I wish he may repent of his evils intended against me and others, without cause. And that we all who profess the Lord Jesus may add virtue unto faith; and remember what God hath said unto man,^f 'Behold, the fear of the Lord is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding.'"^g

One general opinion is entertained of Broughton's talents and character. We adopt the following, as consonant with what we have recorded. "He was, unquestionably, a man of very uncommon erudition; but extremely deficient in taste and judgment. He was also of a testy and choleric temper; had a high opinion of his own

^a P. 18.^c P. 37.^b P. 36.^f Job. xxviii. 28.^c P. 32.^g P. ult.^d Neh. vi.

learning and abilities; was extremely dogmatical; and treated those who differed from him in opinion with much rudeness and scurrility: though some allowance must be made for the age in which he lived, in which that mode of writing was much more common among Divines and Scholars than it is at present."^a

A character of an opposite description in all respects to Broughton's, next claims our notice; and himself will, in pursuance of our plan, be made his own best narrator. We introduce, then, "The Recantation of a Brownist, or a Reformed Puritan. Written by one that hath altogether been led in the same erroneous Opinions for many years together; and thereupon banished this Realm: And now, since his Conversion, hath and doth approve the Holy Discipline by the Ancient Pastors, Doctors, and Elders,—which Disciplinary Malecontents would obtrude upon our Church,—and hath found it far shorter than the Discipline used either in the Primitive Church, or in this our Church of England.—Lond. 1606." 4to. pp. 55, but not paged.

This long, confused title,^b is followed by a dedication to Lord Charles Howard, by his "Lordship's most dutiful suppliant, Peter Fairlambe." He writes, "It may seem strange unto you, Rt. Hon. Lord, that I who, some eighteen years past, dwelling in Deptford Strand, was divers times brought before your Lordship for my contempt of our Church and the Discipline thereof, should now present unto you my Defence of the same; especially, considering how strongly I was that way seduced, for I was so peremptorily persuaded that my Mother, this Church, was an harlot, that I could not be withdrawn in many years, although I conferred oft with divers Ministers in divers parts of England, as also, in my travels, with the best Ministers, in Dantzic and Denmark, and in the Dutch and French Churches in the Low Countries.

"But our God . . did at last take those fogs and scales from my eyes, . . blessed be his Name for it: after I had returned into England from Barbary, and submittit myself to the Governors of our Church, who did use me more kindly than either I had deserved, or did expect. For the Rt. Rev. Father in God; Richard Bancroft, being then newly consecrated Lord Bishop of London, did show himself most loving and liberal to me: as did the 'father,' in the Gospel, to the lost sheep his 'son.'^c And the Rt. Worshipful Sir Edward Stanop^d did forthwith give me a discharge, under seal, from all former warrants gone out for my apprehension.

"Then I presently returned again into Barbary, not only to seek maintenance for my family, but also to see if God would use me as a means to draw from that Schism, either such as were in it before I first came there, or such as partly by my means were drawn into it. And I praise God, I failed not of my expectation. After this, came

^a "Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dic., art. Broughton.

^b "As touching the Title of the book, it may well minister occasion unto Momus, with *Æsop's* dog to snarl at the shadow, but sure I am he cannot bite the substance; in which respect I deem you happy that could so cunningly deceive him." The Printer to the Author.

^c Luke xv. 22—24.

^d Stanhope; and see p. 160.

thither this reverend Preacher with whom I had this dispute; in other respects, a most honest, religious, and worthy man he was;—for I am not, I praise God, like those stinging wasps that if a man descend [dis-sent] from them in any point, with never so good a reason, they straight brave him with the name of an *apostate*, an enemy to their truth; nay, it is well if he be not reputed an atheist! . . . Now this gentleman, Master Bernhere, brought me commendations and a letter from some that had, before that, been my good friends. The effect was to assist him in setting up the Genevan or Scottish Presbytery; but when I made known to him my utter dislike of that kind of Discipline, as that which had given the Brownists their hold, then he drew me by Letters, from time to time, to this dispute; which so soon as it was made known I lost most of my old friends, to my utter undoing as it is fallen out since,—except God be more merciful to me than men have yet been;—for I being, even from my first looking after religion, drawn to affect that trouble-church device of New Discipline, did wholly associate myself with men of that mind, and was well employed by them: but since I left shooting in their bow, they have, at least some of them, not only withdrawn their own favour from me, but persuaded others to detest me. So that in truth I have just cause to give God thanks that, at this last change of Princes, their device did not prevail; for had it, I am persuaded, by things which I have observed, that the Courts of bloody Bonner, and Stephen Gardiner, might have given place to some of them. For to defame his quiet neighbour, the sooner should he have obtained an Elder's gown to cover all his precise hypocrisy: for, to borrow a speech of his most excellent Majesty, whom God preserve, 'I protest before the great God, that one shall not, or hardly, find among those that of late were called 'highland' or 'border-thieves' greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile slanders, than with these fanatic-spirited Reformers.'^a

"I did never purpose to publish this dispute; but because they have given out, in all places of this land, and out of it too, that I have so abused this Minister as did not become any Christian, and all that affect that Cause believed it,—I was advised both by an honorable personage, and by divers, no small friends to the New Discipline, to print it,—who, having heard it, pitied to have heard me so oft abused for it, yet they are in mind that it will recover my credit again with all indifferent men, even of that sort. For, I do confess that many who have, and yet do, well affect that Discipline, deserve not the name of Puritans; for I am persuaded that thousands of them have honest hearts to God and man, although for a time, as I did, they stumble at this unhappy stone. I would some among them could so charitably conceive of such as withstand their weak device, and sometimes, for distinction's sake, use that name: but it is not so; for not long since, I heard an angry Preacher, out of a pulpit, affirm that 'whosoever called any of God's children Puritans, should be saved,'—what the devil was saved,^b—a hard sentence against the ancient and the present

^a King James's Works. Basilicon Doron. Bk. ii. p. 161.

^b This parenthesis is just as it stands in the original.

Churches of God, if a man might believe him ; but, by his leave, it was the froth of a malecontent's zeal !

" Now I most humbly beseech your Lordship to shroud this discourse under your honorable protection. . . I shall never forget to praise God, and be thankful to your Honor, for your exceeding Christian compassion towards me when I did deserve your Lordship's hard censure. . . From my house at Ratcliff, this 4th of October, 1606."

Fairlambe's Epistle to the Christian Reader, begins thus ; " Having been, heretofore, right courteous and friendly Reader, led into the Schism of Brownists, or Donatists, of England, by following and believing certain of our Preachers, who drew many into a course, under pretence of extraordinary zeal ; the grounds whereof drove us into another far worse, God knows, namely, to that Separation from the Church of England :—being taught by the first sort, commonly called ' Puritans,' that the Ministry and Discipline of our Church is [are] antichristian ; which, whosoever believeth, having a good conscience, cannot choose but fall into that Separation, as I did ; and continue therein, until the grounds set forth by the first sort of Teachers be showed to be weak and unsound. . . Now I being, by the great mercy of God, after many miserable days spent in these courses, both by sea and land, and divers very hard imprisonments, as I deserved, to my great impoverishing,—brought into the bosom of this Church again :—I was well esteemed of by divers great favourites of the pretended Holy Discipline,* as a man fit to grace that human device. For they knew that I then could,—and yet can, if I would, as some do, dissemble for my belly's sake,—say as much for that device, as the most unlearned Artificer in this land could or can do. But I, not having learned their art, and the Jesuits', of Equivocation and Disimulation, did plainly make known unto them that I utterly disliked that Discipline, as which had given the poor Brownists their hold ; as I have proved, in the treatise following, very plainly.—I had no sooner made known my resolution, but I was censured by busy Reformers, who became my utter and cruel enemies ; seeking to disgrace me, both at home and abroad, by all unlawful means and slanders ;—as 'tis their use to deal with all them that, touching disciplinary courses, change their mind, and begin to have any liking of the present government established in our Church.

" Travelling into Barbary, to seek maintenance for my wife and seven children, thither they sent word, that I had articulated against two Churchwardens, for suffering certain Brownists to live in the parish with their children unbaptized, and that they were undone by me ; which was, with the rest, a malicious untruth. For I, with a Preacher of mine acquaintance, searched all the offices in London,

* Alluding to Bancroft's " Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, &c." 1593. Fairlambe has made much use of it in his Letter dated April, 1599 ; and has drawn his main positions out of Bancroft, with some force indeed as applied to Puritans ; but wholly misapplicable, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, to Brownists.

and could not find either Brownists or Churchwardens of the parish of Stepney in any trouble at all.

"As for the Brownists, I was so far from troubling them, or causing their trouble, being honest simple people, that when they were, by the Officers, discovered, I went twice to that Rt. Rev. and worthy Father, Archbishop Whitgift, in their behalf; who did easily condescend that their children, being some years of age, should be as privately baptized as might be; and that, in the Church; and they no further troubled: as may appear by a Letter written by Sir Edward Stanop,^a at my Lord's appointment, unto Mr. Thomson the Minister, and the Churchwardens, of the said parish of Stepney. Howbeit, some of them have railed upon me in the open streets of London, with most opprobrious speeches; bidding me, Go, tell their antichristian holinesses the Bishops, my new masters, that they were enemies to the Truth of God and all good preachers! Though these impure railers do submit themselves to all the Orders of our Church as I do: with what conscience, let the wise judge. It is not unknown to many in the parish, what cruel hatred that sort hath laboured to bring me into; even to the undoing of my wife and seven poor children in the time of the last Plague, and ever since, for showing my private dislike of certain seditious doctrines delivered at that time, in the Church of Stepney, by one who for divers horrible, beastly, and notorious misdemeanors, was suspended and silenced. They, most slanderously, charged me to be the cause of his troubles; and so contrived plotting my overthrow by such shameless means as accounting me worse than Julian the apostate; maliciously beating my children in the streets, not shaming to say that they hoped to see my children seek their bread out of the dirty channels in the streets; for 'driving,' as they said, that 'good man' away: who, since that time, hath cleared me of their accusations, publicly, in the Pulpit; and washed his hands, that were so filthy before: though his flatterers give out, that he recanted for fear; only to keep himself within the safety of the Ministry from irregularity; yea, albeit he subscribed most largely, and would have done more than that, if he had been urged. What should I speak of their worse than Turkish, and more than savage cruelty, in dissuading my neighbours from my society? What should I speak of their pride, in comparing with, yea, preferring, some of their fanatical Preachers and many of their own selves, before the ancient Fathers; yea, above St. Peter the apostle? . . . Their cursed threatenings, in a short space after, took such effect, that their strong venomous breath, which I could not endure, drove me and mine household into the country; where my poor wife and children moistened their bread with tears, and their drink with weeping, as chased by these tyrants, by sea and land, into places unknown to them and me: which I pray thee, O Lord, bring not unto their charge, but forgive their sins, and relieve our distresses.

"Marvel not, I pray you, ne [nor] be not offended at me, that I thus ease my sorrows by relating them unto your Christian compassionate ears. My poor maintenance of a just quarrel, in a

^a See back, p. 157.

good conscience, hath occasioned these 'plowers' to plow thus upon my back, and to make long furrows.^a

"I sent a copy of the Letters, Answers, Confutations, and Replications,^b on both sides, betwixt Mr. Bernhere and me in Barbary, unto some of my neighbours the parishioners, concerning the controversies then very rife, and now raked up again; healing, and flaming out. . . I have not learned to abuse any man's person, or his gifts, be they ever so mean: but I rather say, this man, now deceased, was a mirror of that sort of Ministers; who, for his knowledge and faith in Christ; for his painful study and exercise in the Scriptures; knowledge in physic; was to be commended, embraced, revered. A man which carried himself with that moderation and meekness of spirit in the handling of these controversies, both privately and publicly, as I wish, unfeignedly, that the measure of that grace were bestowed upon some of the peevish spirits, when God hath given them repentance.^c . . For I do hear that there be some increase of Brownists now, in and about London; who are obstinate in their ignorance, affirming that our Church is a 'hold of devils, and a cage of unclean birds'; whose eyes, I beseech God to open, that they may come home again with the 'prodigal' child. . ."

The treatise, as it is called, is made up of three Letters, placed in the inverse order of their dates; but they are reversed here. The first is headed "April, 1599. In the *Play*^d of Sainct. Cruss [Santa Cruz]."—"Master Bernhere, Since I last wrote you an answer to the reproachful Letter wherein you published me to be used, in Barbary, as 'a Spy and an Informer,' I have received three Letters from you, and a Book pretending to answer that short discourse which I sent you at your request: how it is performed, let the indifferent judge. . . If my knowledge were comparable to yours, as, the Lord knoweth, it is inferior to many thousands of my brethren; yet you should consider that I have a great charge of small children to sustain by mine hand-labour, having no other help at all left; from which, methinks, you should not thus withdraw me.

"In the last Letter, you are offended that I should write I. W.* what I conceive of your book; but I must crave your patience to write, both to you and others, what I conceive, in these causes! You are likewise offended that I should write to him, that you are so far from confessing your oversight, imagining me to be 'a Spy and an Informer,' that you persuade me, if I be not, to become one! . .

"You are likewise offended that I should write to Richard Ratcliffe, sometime my servant, how you and Master Johnson conceive of me. But you have no reason so to be; for, being, by Mr. Johnson, falsely slandered, which by three Letters,—which here I have, by God's providence,—may appear; and by you strongly suspected, both in that

^a Psal. cxxix. 3.

^b The "Letters" alone appear: what, we ask, is become of the rest?

^c See a short account of him in Brook's Lives, vol. iii. p. 513.

^d Probably a corruption of *playa*, a coast or haven.

^e What Puritan, or what Brownist, who should come under the terrific import belonging to these mysterious initials, but would deprecate the result of any secret communication being made to him by a deserter or betrayer of a cause, the supporters of which were under the interdict of so vengeful a ruler as John Whitgift, the renowned Archbishop of Canterbury?

matter and others; as by your Letters appeareth likewise; and, seeing the affections of old friends are drawn from me, I have no man fitter to acquaint with my grief, that would minister any comfort to my afflicted soul, than he whom I brought up in mine house of a lad: who must needs know my carriage better in seven years' service, than either Mr. Johnson or you; and, I doubt not, will speak according to his knowledge in defence of my credit, against whomsoever. . .

"You are also not pleased, that I say you oppose your judgment and some others, by you mistaken, against the Primitive Church, and those that have, and those that had succeeded them until this age. . . I wrote I.W., and do, indeed, still affirm, 'That if your Book do defend a truth, our Book of Martyrs is worse than an old wife's fable. . . But men read the Book of Martyrs as a book of credit, next to the Book of God; at least, I mean, that part which concerneth the state of the poor churches for three hundred years after Christ: in which time the Pope of Rome had no more authority than other 'popes' had; for the name was then common to all bishops, saith Mr. Fox. . .^a

"But you take occasion to affirm that Discipline^b to be God's perpetual ordinance, because her Majesty and the Bishops, as you said,—as though they were her partners!—do suffer it in London: but you had forgotten that Muly Hamet suffers you to profess the Gospel in Morocco, and the Mass is likewise suffered there; and yet the king neither approves the one nor the other. And if her Majesty should, upon occasion, as sometime she hath done, suffer the Mass to be used by Strangers, in England, it were a saucy part for any private Subject, as I take it, to withstand her, or charge her to approve of it therein. . .

"Your slender account of the learned Fathers of the Primitive Church, makes me wonder, seeing all the godly in the world have them in high reverence, save men of your humour. Indeed, when I read that part of your Letter, it put me in mind of a friend of your conceit, namely Master Jacob, who hath,—to use your own terms,—'patched together' a certain pamphlet against that learned father Bishop Bilson, his Sermons 'Of Christ's Sufferings;' where, the Bishop bringing the testimonies of all the Fathers for fifteen hundred years, he [Jacob] very presumptuously opposeth his own judgment against them all in that matter, as you do in this, and reject them in this malapert manner. 'If,' saith he, 'you see the Fathers variable, or against us, think it not strange; for you must not take them as judges of the Scriptures' sense.' Conceit is much: belike, to judge of the Scriptures' sense is proper to him and his friend! . . . 'Be conformable to the Primitive Church, and then doubtless you cannot err in matters of Faith:' and thus much, good Master Philpot writes in behalf of that Church and those learned Fathers which now are so slightly set by. If you shall think of this holy martyr's judgment as Master Jacob doth of all the Fathers, I shall think of you as I do of him; namely, that you are not guided by that holy and humble spirit which the Primitive Church and godly Master Philpots were guided by. . .^c Your friend. P.F."

^a "Last ed, p. 8."

^b "The French and Dutch."

^c This subject has been handled, since Fairlambe's time, in a masterly manner by Daille in his work on the Right Use of the Fathers.

The author, or perhaps his friendly editor, T.S., has headed what comes next before us, thus, "This Letter following, containeth some of the Reasons that moved P.F. to forsake both the Brownists' Separation, and the Presbyterian Discipline, to join with and approve that the Church of England's Government, by Bishops, is best agreeing with the Word of God and practice of the Primitive Churches. Set down by him, at the request of a reverend Preacher.—1 Thess. v. 21. 2 Tim. ii. 7.

"Sir,—The other day you demanded of me, Whether I held the authority of the Bishops of the Church of England lawful, or not? I, being wholly employed at that time, both in body and mind, about my calling, gave you this brief answer, That 'I did, if they used it lawfully'; and alleged the epistles of Timothy and Titus for proof. You thinking I spake very absurdly, told me, as many others have done before you, that I 'understood nothing'; and, that 'being once otherwise minded,' as I was, 'all men would laugh at me for my gross judgment.' Whereby you and others think that I have altered my mind not on any sound ground, or of conscience; but upon sinister or worldly respect.

"But to satisfy you to the contrary, I assure you that if I had taken as much time to deliberate and examine them, before I entered into them, as I did; and being entered, before I left them—whatsoever any conceive, I had never approved either of the Presbyterian Discipline, or the Separation—which of necessity must follow, if the ground of that Discipline were true—from the Church of England. For, after I was brought into some doubt, I took two years' time to examine both mine own conscience and the proofs on both sides. In which two years' space I read all that ever I could get, written in English, touching these controversies on these three sides; as these for the Discipline—

"Books in defence of the 'Pretended Discipline,' which contain in them the grounds of Brownism.—Master Cartwright's Works. Penry, his Works. Udall's Demonstration. A treatise of the Church, by Philip Mornay. The Complaint of the Commonalty. The Expectation to England. Fenner's Defence of Godly Ministers. The Ecclesiastical Discipline; Master Travers's learned discourse. The Counterpoison [Fenner's.] The Sermon, On the Twelfth to the Romans, [1578.] The Dialogue of White Devils. Master Travers, his Practice of Prelates. The Abstract. A dialogue, Of the Strife of our Church, a little book of Master Davison's. A Scot's Disciplinarian. The Judgment of the most Reverend; written by M. Daneus, as they say. The display of Dr. Some in his colours. Master Udall's Dialogue. Master Knox, his Epistles to England, Calvin's Institutions, which directly confirms the Bishops' Offices; although it be often alleged against them. The Humble Motion to the Council. Martin's Libels. And, The two Admonitions to the Parliament.

"Books in Defence of 'Brownism,' grounded upon the former.—For the Brownists, or Donatists, these;—Master Browne, his book against Logic and Rhetoric; and, Of the Estate of the Christians and Heathen. His Invective against Parish Preachers, and hired Lecturers;

and, against Preaching at Paul's Cross; and, his Answer to Master Cartwright's Letter to Master Robert Harrison, his [Browne's] consort. His Answer, in writing to Stephen Bredwell, his first Book against Brownists—for his second, about Communicating, was never answered. And Browne's book Of the Gathering and joining together of certain persons in Norfolk. Master Harrison's book on the Hundred and Twenty-second Psalm. Master Barrowe, his Discovery of the False Church. Their Refutation of Master Giffard, as they call it. Their Description of the Visible Church; written by Masters Barrowe, Johnson, Penry, and others; and since Confuted by Dr. Alison. Their books against Read Prayers; and their Nine Reasons against the Church of England: with other things, in writing, to that effect. And the Articles of their New Faith; printed, 1596.

"Books in Defence of the Church of England's Government by Bishops; fully confuting all the former, by authority of Scripture and practice of all the Ancient Churches of God.—The Confutation of the two Admonitions to the Parliament; by that Reverend Father, Dr. Whitgift, then [since] Archbishop of Canterbury. Five Books of that Reverend man, Master Hooker, who is at rest with God;^a called the Ecclesiastical Polity. The Answer to the Abstract. The Answer to the Petition made to Her Highness, by Dr. Sutcliffe; and his book called The False Semblance of Counterfeit Discipline detected. The Perpetual Government of Christ's Church; written by that most famous learned Father Dr. Bilson, Bishop of Winchester. And, The Conspiracy for Reformation; Scotizing, and English Scotizing for Discipline; and, The Survey of the Holy Discipline: all which three were written, as I hear, by Master Dr. Bancroft, now Lord Bishop of London. The Remonstrance. Master Rogers, his Sermon on the Twelfth to the Romans; against Master Chadderton's upon the same text. Dr. Saravia upon the Degrees of the Ministers of the Word. Our Book of Martyrs: the first volume whereof I read four times over in one winter, distinctly; and have collected the names of more than a hundred archbishops and bishops out of it, which all suffered martyrdom within three hundred years after Christ, beside many others which were priests and deacons: see how that will agree with that equality in the Ministry which some have taught! And Eusebius, his Ecclesiastical History; .. Socrates, his; .. and out of them doth Master Fox take all, or the most part, of his proofs for the estate of the Primitive Church. Evagrius, his five books... And all this while, not any Christian Church in the world but it had a Bishop to govern both the people and the priests; as Master Calvin saith; or else these ancient works are lies and fables; and so is Master Fox, his book, which is grounded upon them: which thing, whosoever should affirm, would scarcely deserve the name of a Christian.^b

"And albeit in reading all those things, together with the Scriptures,

^a He died in Nov. 1600; so that Fairlambe, or his editor, must have made certain additions to the original manuscripts of these Letters.

^b Neither Fox nor his authorities would be impeached for those points, by the Roman Catholics, against whom Fox's labours were directed; whereas Protestant Dissenters are at issue with them.

I am far off from that knowledge whereunto I might have attained if God had indued me with that quick sight, and help of memory, which yourself, and many others, do possess and have; yet, praised be his holy Name that gave it, I have attained to so much as hath given me a comfortable peace of conscience to return and rest in the Church of God again!..

"That the Holy Ghost not only appointed Paul to make Timothy and Titus bishops, but gave them authority by Paul's mouth, first to ordain; secondly, to examine such as be faulty; thirdly, to reprove and discharge these things, he giveth, in these two churches, [Ephesus and Crete,] particularly to Timothy and Titus and their successors, and to all other bishops of Christ's Church for ever. This is, in the text, very plain to me; howsoever we have, for a time, wholly relied upon one sort of men, and taken all for current which hath been taught us; not duly examining the reasons which are, by the other side, brought to refel these courses."

Fairlambe had not abandoned, with the rest of his Brownisin, the doctrine of the exercise of Private judgment, to which perhaps, his correspondent Whitgift was beholden for the "prodigal child's" Recantation! But he thought that he had made good the origin and perpetuation of the character with which his friend, the Archbishop, was invested, from 1 Tim. v. 22. Tit. i. 5. 1 Tim. v. 19, 20. Tit. i. 11. 1 Tim. i. 3. "This is all the power," he says, "that the Church of God, in England, gives her Bishops: and these are bishops, as appeareth by the authority given them above all other ministers in Crete, and Ephesus. . . This power given to Timothy and Titus must, by God's express commandment, continue for ever; the text is plain, 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. It was impossible for Timothy to do this. These precepts, therefore, are given, by the Holy Ghost, to all that shall come into that holy calling of bishops, until the end of the world?" He was indebted for his confidence in this argument,—so much above the capacity of "the poor ignorant multitude, favouring the Discipline," as he now terms his late fellows and others,—to the Bishop of Winchester.^a Why, however, did he disregard the conscientious misgivings of "that Reverend man, Master Hooker," whose own summary of the like argument he was forced to qualify, in these sentences: "Power of Censure and Ordination appeareth even by Scripture *marvellous probable* to have been derived from Christ to his Church, without this surmised equality in them to whom he hath committed the same. . . Scripture, therefore, doth *most probably* make for the inequality of Pastors?"^b

After such a specimen, to introduce more of Fairlambe's matter intended to justify his latest opinions, were but labour lost; yet we cannot withhold this one remark, "you willed me not to be an enemy to those men which have devised and do favour this New Discipline. I protest, before Him that searcheth the hearts and reins, that I honour many of them for their gifts, and pains in the Church of God... Dated this 17th of August, 1599."

^a "Bilson's Perpet. Gov. Chap. xii—xiv."

^b Eccles. Polity. bk. vii. sect. 11, and the note upon the place, in edit. 1830. vol. iii. p. 149.

The last letter in the order of dates, but the first in the pamphlet, is headed, "Written in October, A.D. 1599 in, S. Cruz, in answer of a former Letter of Mr. T.B [ernhere.]" It is short, and had served as an envelope, or wrapper, for the Letter we have just dismissed. He writes in this, "How far I differ from my former judgment, which you call my peremptory designments, shall plainly appear unto you in this enclosed; written upon another occasion, as you may perceive, to a very great favourer of the Discipline in question; who did return me silence for an answer."

His "Table of such Clergymen as were Martyrs," occupying five pages, and "purporting to show the order of the Succession of Bishops, may have assisted him in his self-delusion, but will not bear the test of a moment's investigation.^a For, to bring the question home, it is enough, for our own satisfaction, that one of the wisest and most learned of his Order, Archbishop Usher, treats the imagined list as no better than a figment: his words are, "Giraldus declares that the accounts given of British Bishops which stand at the head of the succession, were rather agreeable to common fame and opinion than any certainty of history."^b And another divine of note, has acknowledged, that "By the loss of the *Records* in British Churches, we cannot draw down the Succession of Bishops from the apostles' times; *that* of the bishops of London, by Jocelyn of Fernes, not being worth mentioning!"^c These honest concessions, they may ruminate upon who are sticklers for what can never be produced; and are ready to anathematize all who will not submit to the impositions practised upon unsuspecting credulity.

CHAP. X.

JOHNSON, AINSWORTH, AND VARIOUS OPPONENTS.

WHOEVER was the ambassador alluded to above,^d we have the means of showing the kind of interference practised by the prelates, in another instance. The archbishop, Bancroft, in a Letter dated February 9th, 1605[6], and preserved in the Memorials of Sir Ralph, then Mr. Winwood,^e writes, "I suppose it is not unknown unto you, that sundry factious and schismatical persons, who have cut themselves off from the communion of our Church, and are thereupon departed out of the land, have planted themselves in divers towns of the Low Countries, where they have liberty, without impeachment or contradiction, to publish in print many dangerous books and pamphlets in English, to the maintenance of such their anabaptistical opinions, and to the slander of the Ecclesiastical Government established here in England. Which their insolency being lately made known to his

^a See, on this question, a note in Hooker's *Eccles. Pol. sup.* p. 99, 100.

^b Britannic. *Eccles. Antiquitates*, 1639. cap. v. p. 51.

^c Bishop Stillingfleet's *Works.*, vol. ii. p. 48.

^d See back, p. 145.

^e Vol. ii. p. 195.

Majesty, he willed me to give notice thereof unto Sir Noell Caron, that he might write unto the States for redress of the same, which he hath accordingly done, and thereunto expecteth their answer. Wherefore . . . deal with the States, not only for the stay of the said books in Amsterdam, but likewise for the suppressing and restraining of all other such English books which shall be, at any time hereafter, offered to be printed in any of the cities or towns under their government.—R. CANT.”

Notwithstanding the efforts used to restrain the exiles, their industry and enterprise kept pace with those of their opponents; for, nothing daunted, Johnson republished, in 1608, “Certain Reasons and Arguments proving That it is not lawful to hear or have any Spiritual Communion with the present Ministry of the Church of England.—Jer. l. 14, 15. Rev. xviii. 6.” pp. 112. 4to. His name appears at the end of the dedication, in the first page of which he tells his readers—“The causes of our separation from the Church of England are divers, as in other books already printed may be seen. This treatise handleth purposely but one of them, which is, concerning their present Ministry: and was, for the substance of it, written long since [1601] in nine Reasons, which now I have revised, and reduced to seven.”^a

We assign to this place, an enchyridion printed long subsequently, but of which no copy of an earlier date, if such exists, is known to us. That it was occasioned by Smyth, there cannot be a doubt, though the allusion to him is solitary and indistinct. The title is, “A brief

^a This occasioned the following production of the Puritan Divine, William Bradshaw, A.M., before which is a short preface “To the well-meaning Reader,” from the pen of Dr. Ames, as we learn from the edition of 1640. “The Unreasonableness of the Separation: Made apparent by an Examination of Mr. Johnson's pretended ‘Reasons’ published an. 1608. Whereby he laboureth to justify his Schism from the Church-Assemblies of England.—1 Tim. i. 5—7.—At Dort, printed by George Waters. 1614.” 4to. pp. 111. On Johnson's Fifth Reason, and to meet his “Objection, Why will some *seem* to renounce that calling received of the Prelates, and yet blame us for doing the like?” Bradshaw's Answer is, “They may acknowledge a further calling than that of the Prelates, and yet not therein renounce the calling received from the Prelates, but rather ratify the same. For the Prelates being learned Divines; and having been approved of [for] their gifts; and [having] by words and Letters Testimonial given liberty to execute the ministry of the Gospel, they do not thereby thrust them into a ministry, but they leave them to be further called or chosen, either by the people, or those Patrons unto whose fidelity the people have committed this charge. And, therefore, this acknowledging of a further calling, maketh nothing to the justification of the proud and ignorant Schism of these persons.” And, on the next “Objection” he answers, “Though this should be granted, which he in his ignorant simplicity doth suppose, That some amongst us having been ordained by the Prelates did exercise our ministry by virtue of another calling; and though the Law of the Land allow no other; yet, especially so long as they are permitted to execute their ministry by those in Authority, though it be by virtue of another calling, —they are to be reputed Ministers of that Church that hath use of their ministry.” P. 54, 55. Previously to this, Bradshaw had published his “Puritanismus Anglicanus;” 1610: put into Latin by Ames, who wrote the Preface; hence, says Brook, vol. ii. p. 408, it appeared in English with his name, in 1641, under the title of “English Puritanism: Containing the many Opinions

Treatise, Containing some Grounds and Reasons against two Errors of the Anabaptists: The one, Concerning Baptism of Infants; the other, Concerning Anabaptism of Elder People. By Francis Johnson, Pastor of the Exiled English Church at Amsterdam.—1 Cor. xi. 19. Lond. 1645." 16mo. pp. 16.

This manual does not contain a word by any editor or publisher, the whole purports to be the author's, who tells "The Reader" that he has "thought good, now to publish this treatise; . . . whereunto, if *he that challengeth all*, shall make answer directly to the reasons and confirmations here set down, I shall have occasion, as others already have, to write further."^a

His first Division, in the treatise, is "That Baptism is to be administered to Infants, being the children of the Faithful:" under which, there are seven sections, the fifth being "Because Baptism is the Lord's sign of his washing away our sins; receiving of us into the Church; and incorporating of us into Christ, for salvation by his death and resurrection: whereof the Children of Believers are partakers, as well as they which be of years; and, therefore, can no more be deprived of Baptism than of remission of sins, entrance into the Church, ingrafting into Christ and salvation by his means. Neither is there any thing required in the ministration of Baptism—nor was heretofore, in Circumcision—whereof young Infants are not capable as well as elder people: whereas in the ministration of the Lord's Supper, all may see it to be otherwise. For, in Baptism, the Minister is the [outward] agent alone, and the person baptized, whether old or young, is only a patient, and not an agent; but in the Lord's Supper, besides the actions laid upon the Minister, there are also divers actions in regard of the Receivers; as, namely, to 'take,' to 'eat,' to 'drink,' to do it 'in remembrance' of Christ; to 'show forth the Lord's death,' to 'examine' themselves, and 'so to eat of that bread and drink of that cup:' 1 Cor. xi. 24—28. All which actions are required of the Receivers of the Lord's Supper; whereby they also are made agents therein; and not the Ministers only. But in Baptism it is not so: for in it, the action is wholly enjoined and laid upon the Baptizer, and not upon the baptized. So as even by the institution and administration of Baptism, compared with the institution and administration of the Lord's Supper, the truth of this point yet further is

of the Rigidest of those that are called 'Puritans' in the Realm of England. Written by William Ames, D. of Divinity." 4to. pp. 20. The contents are comprised in six chapters, in the last of which it is stated that "They hold, that those Civil Magistrates are the greatest enemies to their own supremacy, that, in whole or in part, communicate the virtue and power thereof to any Ecclesiastical Officers: And, that there cannot be imagined, by the wit of man, a more direct means to check-mate the same, than to make them Lords and Princes upon earth; to invest them with civil jurisdiction and authority; and to conform the state and limits of their jurisdiction to the state of Kings and bounds of kingdoms." p. 19.

^a This he was compelled to do in "A Christian Plea," 1617, where he says, in his Epistle, "Whereas sometimes I allege many Scriptures together, my meaning is not that each of them proves the point in hand, but that to this end they are to be compared and laid together, &c. . . as in questions of religion is wont to be done."

cleared and confirmed unto us, Rom. vi. 3, 4; v. 14, 15; Zech. xiii. 1; 1 Cor. i. 13—16; xii. 13; Acts iv. 12, with xvi. 30—34; xxii. 14—16; Gal. iii. 27—29; Eph. ii. 19; v. 26, 27, 29, 30; Tit. iii. 4—7; Rev. i. 4, 5; Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, with xxvi. 26—28, and 1 Cor. xi. 23—28."

The Second Part, or Division, is, "That Baptism received in the Apostolical Churches of Christians, as of Rome and the like, is *not* to be renounced and anew to be repeated." Here are seven sections also, besides "The Conclusion." We present the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections. "Because the Church of Rome was espoused to Christ in the Covenant of Grace by the Gospel of salvation; having Baptism with the rest of Christian Ordinances, in the Apostles' days: and hath ever since retained it, with other grounds of Christian religion, notwithstanding all her adulteries and apostacy whereinto she is fallen. As may be seen both in the Church itself, and all other Churches which are the Daughters thereof, in their constitution. And hereunto, in all cases and questions of this nature, due respect is always to be had; as may appear by these Scriptures, Rom. i. 7; vi. 3, 4; with Rev. xvii. Ezek. xvi. 44; Hos. ii. 2 Chron. xxx. 6—9; with xv. 3, 4; Lev. xxvi. 14—45; Deut. iv. 25—31; xxix. 10—15; xxx.; with Rom. xi. 15, 16; Heb. vii. 9, 10.

"Because God hath his people in the Romish Babylon; and when he calleth them out from thence, doth not enjoin them to leave whatsoever is there had; but requireth of them, that they have no communion with her sins; but, as the Prophet teacheth, 'Plead' with their 'mother,' that she take away 'her fornications out of her sight, and her adulteries from between her breasts:' Hos. ii. 2. Now Baptism is not of her 'adulteries,' but of Christ's Ordinances; it is not a threshold or post which she hath brought into the Temple of God, but was set there of old, by the Lord himself. Neither may we 'plead' with her, to take it away; but that she put away the 'fornications' and corruptions that are of her own addition. Which are the very things that cause the abomination of her estate, and which we are bound to leave and put away; and not all, whatsoever is had in such Apostolical Churches: Rev. xviii. 4; Hos. ii. 2; iv. 15; Amos v. 4—6; ix. 14, 15; Ezek. xlvi. 7—9; 2 Thess. ii. 3—8; Rev. xi. ; xiv.; &c.

"Because by such like reasons, as 'the Baptism is renounced which is there received,' men might also urge—as some have done—not to retain, use, or regard as we should, the Articles of Faith, the hearing of the Scripture, or the translation thereof, had and acknowledged in those Churches. And likewise might persuade to the dissolution of such *marriages* as have been had by their Ministry; with other as strange consequences that by like manner of reasoning would be inferred thereupon. Which to admit of, were contrary to Deut. v. 32, 33; xxxi. 9—13; Prov. iv. 25—27; xxiii. 23; 2 Chron. xxix.; xxx.; Isai. viii. 19, 20; xxxiv. 16; Luke xvi. 29; John v. 39; Acts xiii. 15; xv. 21; xvii. 2, 3, 11; Rom. xv. 4; xvi. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 6; 1 Thess. v. 21; 2 Tim. iii. 14—17; Heb. xiii. 4, 9; Rev. i. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 17, 18.

The Reader is, in "The Conclusion," directed to "observe also

these things," among others: "How by excluding the Children of Believers out of the Covenant of God, and separating those whom God hath joined together therein—Matt. xix. 6—they show their own want of faith in God's promise, and put themselves from under God's 'Covenant,' which joineth the children with the parents in the same covenant of Grace, and is made and confirmed in Christ to all his people, both Jews and Gentiles: Gen. xvii. 7; Acts ii. 39; iii. 25; xvi. 31; Gal. iii.; Eph ii.; iii. 6, with Mark x. 9. Thus they are injurious to God and his Word; to Christ and his Church; to all nations and families of the earth, whether Jews or Gentiles; and, in special, to themselves and their Children, whom they make, together with themselves, to be as Heathen in the world, 'aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the Covenants of promise,' Eph. ii. 12; not only putting from them the grace of God, and blessing of Abraham which is come upon the Gentiles; but also making them subject to the wrath of God and curse of his Law, which seizeth and abideth upon all that are not under the promise and covenant of God, which Christ hath confirmed by his death, for salvation to all that are His, whether old or young. The Lord reclaim them, if it be his will!"

The affair of Junius may be considered to have been conducted chiefly by Johnson and Ainsworth, but their harmony did not last. Before the year 1608 the question of "Eldership," which is not thoroughly understood even in the nineteenth century, was producing a *separation* between these active colleagues. Deferring this subject awhile, our attention will be confined to what Ainsworth published, and which was printed again in 1642, under the title of "Counterpoison :^a [1] 'Considerations touching the points in difference between the *Godly* Ministers and People of the Church of England, and the Seduced Brethren of the Separation.—Arguments, That the best Assemblies of the present Church of England are true visible Churches : that the Preachers in the best Assemblies of England are true Ministers of Christ.' [2] Mr. Bernard's Book intituled 'The Separatists' Schism.' [3] Mr. Crashaw's 'Questions' propounded in his Sermon preached at the Cross. Examined and Answered, by H.A. 1608." pp. 255—4to.

The "Considerations" and "Arguments" were written by John Sprint, A.M. then vicar of Thornbury, Gloucestershire.

Retorting upon the defenders of the Church of England, that, like the papists, who revile such as forsake them, so do the fornal "Protestants revile and calumniate" such as forsake them, Ainsworth instances in his "Fore Speech," "a forward preacher among them,^b who to grace his own cause by disparaging the truth, would needs join us with the blasphemous Hacket, sometime a brother of the Reformists, and hot maintainer of their cause, . . . that the simple reader who knoweth not our cause, may think that this Hacket was one of us. This abuse we suffer, because, forsooth, we were thought to hinder their counterfeit

^a Another work under this title, and often confounded with Ainsworth's was written *ante* 1584, by Dudley Fenner, a puritan. It is quoted in Ainsworth's, p. 215. ^b Nichols, in his *Plea for the Innocent*, p. 33: and see back, p. 5.

reformation, which Hacket would have set up by force; for which, they bear their reproach at his hands that wrote 'English Scoticizing for Discipline,'^a but this man, most injuriously would turn it upon us."

Sprint was a puritan, and strained his argument against the Separatists so far, that Ainsworth tells him "you overpass the hierarchy of your spiritual heads, the prelates;" and he reminds him of the "schism" between the "conformitans and puritans." "It is written," he says, "in one of the Scriptures that you quote, 'The spiritual man judgeth all things, but he himself is judged of no man,' 1 Cor. ii. 15. Now, every true Christian is a 'spiritual' man, Gal. vi. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 6., therefore he may judge and discern, by God's Word and Spirit, faith from heresy, and the true church from the false; he may see with his own eyes, and live by his own faith, and not depend upon other men, to live and walk in sin till other churches condemn it. Let every man therefore retain his liberty, and take heed how he judgeth. . . ."^b

"Who be those 'godly ministers and people' you mean? If such as are called Puritans, they have, I suppose, more adversaries than friends in your church; yea, the public state, laws and canons of your church, are against them; do silence, depose, and punish them: and, all that know the truth of God, and their estate, aright, have just cause to blame them for their long halting and dissembling. If the Prelates be those 'godly ministers,' they have, in regard of their unlawful places and proceedings, many good people for their adversaries, both within and without the land; and yourselves also which suffer for separation in your church! By neither of these two contrary factions among you are men 'ordinarily converted unto Christ;' both sorts setting yourselves against the true way of Christ for gathering and government of the church, and worship of God; and so do hinder men's salvation, and deserve not to be 'approved,' but reprov'd, in the name of the Lord."^c

"If some of your inferior ministry have spoken or written against a few foolish ceremonies, yet others of your chiefest ministers have written as much for them; that what superstition your church pulleth down with the left hand, it setteth up with the right. The prelates and their side have written against you that seek reformation of Belial; you and they both have set against us that make separation from Babel: and yet you here offer to our consideration, how you have builded Zion! But the Lord will visit both you and your building; then shall your reward be according to your works. . . . If by our testimony of the Gospel, 'dissension' be raised, and your church 'rent,' the 'ignorant' distracted, and 'weak' offended, blame not us which testify the truth, but yourselves and such as resist it. Think you, that Christ came 'to give peace on earth?' He hath told you 'Nay; but rather debate,' Luke xii. 51, 52. . . . And 'blessed' is he that shall not be offended in Christ. Matt. xi. 6. When 'the temple of God is opened in heaven, and the ark of his covenant seen therein, there are light-

^a Dr. Bancroft's "Dangerous Positions and Proceedings, &c. under pretence of Reformation, and for Presbyterian Discipline." 1592 bk. iv. ch. vii.—xv.

^b Page 19.

^c Page 20.

nings, and voices, and thunderings, and earthquake, and much hail.' Rev. xi. 19. Think it not strange, then, if troubles do follow the preaching of the Gospel; neither impute your own faults unto us."^a

"Mr. Harrison returned not unto your Church of England, but died at Middleburgh, in this faith that we profess. Mr. Smyth, Crud, and some others, which never were officers, much less pillars, in our church, did indeed forsake their first faith, and died soon after. . . We, with comfort, do behold, that though many bad ones have gone away, yet God bringeth better in their place daily."^b

"Are not the papists, at this day, hindered from true religion by noting, as you do, the dissensions between Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, &c.? But it seemeth all these were far from your consideration, or, if you minded them, yet were they but motes in your eye. They be *our* 'dissensions,' ours only, that trouble you! 'It pitieth' you 'to see' our 'poor congregation, how lamentably it hath been rent, &c. ;' but you are hard-hearted and take no pity, belike, on your own church, which you so highly commend unto us, though dissensions for Discipline, that I speak not of other matters, have been so great, that you have not only preached and printed one against another now many a year, and that in a very bitter and hostile manner, but also persecuted, imprisoned, and sought the blood one of another. Well, howsoever, we have indeed just cause to lament that by our dissensions you and others have taken occasion to blaspheme the truth of God, yet herein have we comfort, that such things must be amongst us, as the Holy Ghost saith 'That they which are approved may be known.' 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19. And you, if by no means you will learn the estate of a church here on earth, where it is in continual war with the Serpent and his seed,—but, still you think these things 'horrible and strange ;' take heed you stumble not at the stone, Christ, to your destruction, and have your abiding in that 'house' which the 'strong man armed keepeth,' and the things that he possesseth 'are in peace.' Luke xi. 21."^c

"Mr. Junius, whom you mention to reply so 'sharply,' neither approveth your church, nor condemneth our practice, no, not though he were instantly urged. The writings between him and us are extant to the world, let the reader judge what both sides have said."^d

"It is to be observed, that all such impious and heretical persons as have departed from us, are entertained with you in your communion, unless themselves refuse to communicate with you; your church is the receptacle of all such apostates, and there they be suffered in heresy and impiety so as they will frequent your assemblies. Better 'reasons,' therefore, and more weighty 'considerations,' have you need to allege, before you can persuade us to return unto your church; for these hitherto propounded and examined are found too, too, light.—But it may be, better follow!"^e

Thus have we followed Ainsworth over Sprint's seven "Considerations," headed, "On our part," and his other eight, headed, "On your part;" reserving till now, the first of the latter division, that it and

^a Pages 35, 36.^b P. 41.^c P. 43.^d P. 49.^e P. 53.

Ainsworth's reply may be given entire.—“‘On your part,’” says Sprint, “‘consider, your Separation is very strange, unheard of in any age of the church; having no show of warrant from God's Word, either by commandment or example.’—Answer. You would not call our Separation ‘strange,’ if yourself were not a stranger from the commonwealth of Israel. What age was there ever in the world, since light was separated from darkness, that *heard* not of ‘separation’ from the false church? The first man, Adam, saw it, in the separation of Seth's posterity from Cain's. Noah did the like, in Shem's posterity from Ham's. Abram was called out of Chaldaea; Lot, out of Sodom; Israel, out of Egypt and Babel; faithful Judah, from rebellious Israel; Christ's disciples, from faithless Jews and Gentiles; and, all the Lord's people, from your confused Babylon.” Yea, God himself did first teach it, when he made a separation between the woman's Seed and the Serpent's. And yet you say, it hath ‘no show of warrant from God's Word!’ Hereafter, I suppose, you will say no more, but will see if you can prove yourselves a true church, meet to be communicated withal; which, when you do, we, by God's grace, will return unto you.”^b

Ainsworth proceeds from Sprint's “Considerations” to the “Arguments,” and strikes, at once, at their “title;” which, he says, contains “an error or absurdity,” and “argueth some check” in Sprint's “conscience, in that you plead but for ‘the *best* assemblies of the present church of England;’ for, do you not hereby intimate that there is a *worse* sort which you will not plead for? Yet both best and worst are all one body, one church, one communion.”^c

Having commented on the whole six “Arguments,” Ainsworth enters upon the forty-five “Positions concerning a true church,” and afterwards he presents, on his own side, five “Arguments *disproving* the present estate and constitution of the church of England;” this section, he concludes in these words, “For the further describing of the false ministry of this church, I refer thee, good reader, to a treatise lately published, intituled, ‘Reasons and Arguments proving that it is not lawful to hear the ministry of England;’ [F. Johnson's]; and to another, heretofore published, called ‘A Treatise of the Ministry of the church of England.’”^d

He then introduces his “Brief Answer to Mr. Bernard's Book,” and says, in a preliminary statement, that “Among other adversaries, Mr. Bernard cometh forth to fight against the Truth, which, but awhile since, he would needs seem to favor: but things not succeeding according to his expectation, he hath changed his love into hatred.”

^a Rev. xviii. 4.

^b P. 37.

^c P. 55.

^d Pp. 112—151. Before this work, Bernard had published, “Twelve Arguments, proving that the Ceremonies imposed upon the Ministers in the Church of England, by the Prelates, are unlawful, and therefore that the Ministers of the Gospel, for the bare and sole Omission of them for Conscience' sake, are most unjustly charged with disloyalty to her Majesty.”

^e “Once, you know, Mr. Bernard, you did separate from the rest a hundred voluntary professors into covenant with the Lord, sealed up with the Lord's Supper, to forsake all known sin, to hear no wicked or dumb minister, and

And, in the bitterness of his zeal, he hath sent out a treatise containing 'Dissuasions' from the practice of the Gospel, which he pleaseth to call 'The Separatists' Schism, or Brownism.'... For the stopping of this man's mouth, if it may be, who maketh hue-and-cry after some of us, as, in his proem to the Reader, he proclaimeth; and, for help of the simple who may be offended at the truth, not discerning his fraud; I thought it needful to observe and answer briefly the principal things by him objected." ^a

This opponent, who was then vicar of Worksop, Nottinghamshire, grounded his argument against "Brownism," upon seven "Probabilities, or Likelihoods, that the way is not good."—First, The novelty of it. "He thought, belike, the very name of 'novelty' and of the 'reformed churches,' would fray the simple." This "weapon," Ainsworth says, "entereth into his own bowels,"—"he might have seen many more hard and reproachful words used by his Right Reverend Fathers, and fellow Priests, against the Presbytery and Discipline." Agreement with ancient schismatics, is the second likelihood. "Let us see," says Ainsworth, "what answer the Priests of England can make for themselves, that will not as well, if not better, clear us." The third, or "'The ill means' by which our cause is 'maintained,' he maketh to be 'strange exposition of Scripture, &c.'" Mr. Bernard here walketh still in the papists' steps, who object the like unto the Protestants." To the fourth, "That we have not the approbation of any reformed churches for our cause," it is replied, "this seemeth to be a main prop to uphold the Church of England, which love to make flesh their arm." The fifth is, "The condemnation of this way, by the Divines of the Church of England, both living and dead." So, says Ainsworth, "the learned Priests, Rabbins, and 'Divines' of Israel condemned Christ's way and doctrine." The sixth likelihood, namely, "The Lord's judgment, giving sentence, with them of the Church of England, and against this way," is rebutted in part thus, "Judas hanged himself, who was a far more special instrument of the Lord, being an apostle, than Bolton, that was but a ruling elder, and not 'the first broacher of this way,' as Mr. Bernard very untruly, upon Mr. Giffard's report, if he so reported, doth allege." ^b The seventh and last is, "The ill success it hath had these very many years, having no more increased." "Well!" exclaims Ainsworth, "not to tell him of God's gracious work in bringing many to this truth, and causing more to listen after it daily, let Mr. Bernard look to himself and his fellow Reformists, and if his right eye be not blent, let him acknowledge God's hand against themselves, who, heretofore, had so many fautors [favourers], and that not of the meanest in the land; yet now are repressed as troublers of the church; and their counterfeit reforma-

the like; which covenant, long since, you have dissolved, not shaming to affirm you did it only in policy to keep your people from Mr. Smyth."—Robinson's Justification, p. 94.

^a P. 153.

^b See back, p. 67.

tion, further from all likelihood of effecting, than was at the first.^a—And this much of his unlikely ‘Likelihoods.’”^b

To “Probabilities,” Bernard annexed “Reasons,” and to these, “Errors;” all which, occupying thirty-nine pages, are replied to in course; but we are constrained to notice only the alleged sixth error, “That the power of Christ, that is, authority to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to exercise the censures of the church, belongeth to the whole church; yea, to every one of them, and not the principal members thereof.” Here Ainsworth replies, “This opinion, he calleth the a b c of Brownism; but he may put it, if he please, in the chriss-cross-row of Bernardism; he himself being the first that I ever heard to utter such a position. . . I request of Mr. B. that he produce his authors, and show the book or writing where we have avouched such things. . . For the point itself, I answer, Christ’s ‘ruling power,’ which the papists say is in the Pope—we say not, as this man calumniateth us, that it is in the body of the congregation, ‘the multitude,’ but in Christ himself; and, that the Pope is anti-christ, not for taking into his hands the power of ‘the multitude,’ but of Christ, to rule and govern the church as *head* of the same. Christ’s ‘ruling power,’ which the *Protestants* say is in the bishops, the prelates,—we do not say it is in ‘the multitude,’ but in Christ himself, for He only is LORD of the church; He only is Archbishop or Chief-Pastor; He only walketh among the seven golden candlesticks, as Overseer of the seven churches; ruling them by *his* laws, canons, and decrees.^c Whereas the bishops of England are ‘spiritual lords,’ and one is archbishop and primate over all, &c. . . Neither that ‘ruling power’ of Christ, which *Puritans* say is in the Presbytery—do we say is in the ‘multitude;’ for we acknowledge Christ to have ordained a presbytery, or eldership, and that in every church, for to teach and rule them by His own word and laws; unto whom all ‘the multitude,’ the members, the saints, ought to obey and submit themselves as the Scriptures teach.”^d

“And for the particular branches of this sixth ‘Error’ that Mr. Bernard chargeth us with, ‘That the power of Christ, that is, authority to preach, belongeth to the whole church; yea, to every one of them, &c.’ we deny it, as he sets it down; and for the help of the reader, whom he abuseth, will distinctly set down our opinion. The Word of God is given to all and every member of the church, to read and exercise privately; but publicly, in the church, there is a double use; first, in prophecy; and, secondly, in office; as the apostle dis-

^a In p. 166, Ainsworth says, “Puritanism prospereth not, as all men see, but decreaseth daily. The prelates are the men that prevail for awhile; their canons are confirmed, their ceremonies flourish, and their horns are exalted.” This strengthens G. Cranmer’s remark in his Letter to Richard Hooker, Feb. 1596-[9], “Now the Discipline, which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.” See Hanbury’s Hooker’s Eccles. Polity, vol. i. p. cxxiv. edit. 1830.

^b Pp. 153—161.

^c 1 Cor. viii. 6. xii. 5; 1 Pet. v. 4; Rev. i. 13. ii. 1.

^d 1 Tim. iv. 14; Tit. i. 5. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Acts xiv. 28; 1 Tim. v. 17; Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Pet. v. 5.

tinguisheth, Rom. xii. 6, 7. The office of teaching is laid upon some few chosen and ordained thereunto. Into this office may no man intrude, or usurp it, without a lawful calling. This we have long since published as a part of our faith. Confession, Art. xix. xx. xxi. Teaching, in the way of prophecy, which the apostle treateth of, 1 Cor. xiv., is absolutely unlawful for all women, in the church, ver. 34, but men, so many as have the gift and ability from God, 'may all prophesy one by one,' ver. 31, 24; of which point see our Confession, Art. xxxiv.^a And this is what we hold concerning preaching. . . For the second point, 'authority to administer the sacraments,' he could not but see, unless he winked, this plainly expressed, in the same Article. The third and last, 'that every one hath authority to execute the censures of the church,' we also deny; but hold that every member hath authority to 'rebuke' his 'brother' for sin; and, 'if he repent,' to 'forgive him;' if not, to 'take witnesses;' if yet he repent not, to 'tell it to the church;' which church hath 'Christ's power' to judge all within the same, and cast out from among them all wicked men.^b Now that 'every one' hath not this 'power,' nor yet any member or members apart, we have plainly signified in our Confession, Art. xxiv. If this be an 'Error,' in Mr. Bernard's account, let him by the Scriptures confute it, not only in us, but in a principal minister of his own church, Dr. Fulk, who hath written, that 'The keys of the kingdom of Heaven, whatsoever they are, be committed to the whole church, and not to one person only; as Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, Jerome, and all the ancient Doctors, agreeably to the Scriptures, do confess.'^c

"So then, for '*popular government*,' which Mr. Bernard would traduce us by, we hold it not, we approve it not; for, if 'the multitude' govern, then who shall be governed? Christian liberty, which all have, is one thing; the reins of government, which some have, is another thing.^d Now how far the People's right, and liberty, and benefit, thereby extendeth, would require a large discourse to show, which is not my purpose here. It is enough to manifest the *errors* of this adversary, who would father such 'errors' on us; dealing like his predecessors, the papists, who in this wise reproached the Protestants, as labouring 'to bring all things under the rule of the rash, unconstant people, and unlearned multitude;'^e and to make the church 'democratical and popular; because every one of the People, by his private spirit, is supreme judge and head in matters of religion.'^f

Our different judgment and practice from the church of England, where all 'laymen,' as they call them, are forbidden all speaking or expounding of the Word in the public assembly; and where a bishop, chancellor, or commissary, hath 'power' to excommunicate by a Latin Writ, &c.: our difference, also, and dislike of the Presbyteries' prac-

^a See back, p. 95.

^b Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15-17; 1 Cor. v. 4. xii. 13.

^c Treatise, Of the Pope's Pardon. Pt. i. ch. iii.

^d 1 Cor. viii. 23. Gal. v. 1; 1 Cor. xii. 28.

^e Apology of the Church of England. [Query, Jewell's?] Pt. i. ch. ii. divis. 7.

^f Kellison's Survey of the New Religion. Bk. i. ch. iii.

tice, whereby the People are excluded, and deprived of a great part of their Christian liberty and benefit thereby, is in other Books largely treated of, with Scriptures and reasons many." ^a

Ainsworth now enters on a refutation, in forty pages, of " ' Certain Positions, held and maintained by some Godly Ministers of the Gospel, against those of the Separation, and namely, against Barrowe and Greenwood : ' the ground-work whereof, is thus laid, ' That the church of England is a true church of Christ, and such a one as from which whosoever wittingly, and continually separateth himself, cutteth himself off from Christ.' " Rejecting the assumption, that their church is " a true church," with their proofs also, he remarks, " It is to be admired, that these ' Godly Ministers ' can allege nothing for their church, but old popish stales." ^b But we pass on to borrow a remark or two from his " Answer to Mr. Crashaw's Four Questions, propounded in his Sermon preached at the Cross [Paul's], Feb. 14th, 1607, and printed 1608." And hence, we can only give part of the concluding section, premising that the Querist had taken occasion from Jer. li. 9, to inveigh against such as have separated " into a covenant and communion of their own devising." His fourth query is, " If they will needs leave our church, whither will they go? To leave one thing for another no better, is *seely* ; but, for a worse, is folly and madness." " I answer," says Ainsworth, " We have left Babylon for to come unto Sion. We forsook your confused assemblies, which consist of all sorts of people, and an unlawful mixture with the profane and wicked, that we might have communion with the people of the Lord, that willingly and gladly profess to believe the Gospel, and walk in it. Now, where you urge us to join to some other Church in other countries, first, you pass the bounds of your text, from whence you can gather no such doctrine ; for the ' Jews,' forsaking Babel, joined not to any other nation or church than their own : secondly, it is also contrary to your own practice, who, when you first left popery in king Edward's days and queen Elizabeth's, joined not yourselves to any foreign church, but one to another among yourselves : . . . thirdly, we could not join to any of those foreign churches, because we understood not their languages, nor they ours ; and therefore unless we would have builded a new Babel, with strange tongues, we must join in communion among ourselves.

" Thus have I answered your demands : and for your further satisfaction, if it may be, will yet give you a view of your own dealings with us, and the Babylonians' dealings with the Jews of old, as they are collected by yourself, in your sermon.—They of Babel objected, as you say, that their own religion ' was general and universal over the world,' and the Jews' but ' in a corner ; ' and yet again they say, ' Look into the world, at this day, and see if any nation of all that came from all the sons of Noah be of your religion : all that came of Ham are of ours ; all that came of Japhet are of ours ; and all that came of Shem, but only yourselves ! ' Yourself say unto us, in these like words, ' Look over all Christendom, and you shall not find a church

^a P. 174—178.

^b P. 201

that condemneth ours, or any that is not of our religion, &c.; the churches of the Low Countries are of our confession, &c.: whither, then, will you go but unto your corners and conventicles, &c.!" . . . In this way several of Crashaw's arguments are paralleled; and Ainsworth concludes, "Thus we see how you and your ministers imitate Babel, as if they had been set to school by Nebuchadnezzar to get the learning and tongue of the Chaldeans, Dan. i. 4; wherein, how well they have profited, let the reader judge."^a

We advance to the consideration of another work, more immediately relating to the internal affairs of the exiles. The title will sufficiently introduce the topics, and the hundred and twenty-one pages, quarto, in which they are comprised, exhibit another instance of the author's laborious occupation, and a further development of his learning and talents.

"A Defence of the Holy Scriptures, Worship, and Ministry used in the Christian Churches separated from Antichrist: against the Challenges, Cavils, and Contradiction of Mr. Smyth; in his Book intituled 'The Differences of the Churches of the Separation.' Hereunto are annexed a few Observations upon some of Mr. Smyth's 'Censures;' in his Answer made to Mr. Bernard. By Henry Ainsworth, Teacher of the English Exiled Church in Amsterdam. Imprinted at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp, in the year 1609."^b

^a P. 252, *ad fin.*

^b Ainsworth published "An Epistle, sent unto Two Daughters of Warwick, from H. N.; the oldest Father of 'The Family of Love:' with a Refutation of the Errors that are therein, by H. A.—Psal. cxliv. 11.—Imp. at Amst. by Giles Thorp. 1608." 4to. pp. 64.—Henry Nicholas revived or founded a sect, in Holland, in 1555. Their principles produced no small confusion there and in England. They maintained that the essence of religion consisted in the feelings of divine love. Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. sect. 3. Pt. ii. ch. 25. This treatise of Ainsworth's does not concern our present object, further than to remark upon it, that Smyth was, perhaps, tainted with the doctrines of the Familists. Yet the following information will be useful. From S. Rutherford's "Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist: opening the Secrets of Familism and Antinomianism, &c." 1648, 4to, we learn that Henry Nicholas, a mercer in Amsterdam, p. 346, and the Father of the Family of Love, came over to England, and wrote an Epistle to the two daughters of Lord Warwick, "dissuading them from regeneration by the Word of God read, or preached; and called that regeneration ceremonial, elementish, and false; and laboured to persuade the maids to a spiritual 'new birth,' by the Spirit and eternal Word; and did forbid suffering for the Truth, or confessing of Christ to the death, before men; and expounded the laying down of the life for Christ, of the mortifying the 'body of sin:' he had his errors from the Antitrinitarians, and denied Christ to be God." p. 55. This sect presented, in 1604, a Petition or Protestation to King James, printed at Cambridge in 1606, and answered by one of the University, p. 168. They supplicate and declare, that "Prostrate at your princely feet, as true, faithful, loyal, and obedient subjects to all your laws and ordinances, civil, politic, spiritual, and temporal, they, with humble hearts, do beseech your princely Majesty to understand that the people of 'The Family of Love or of God,' do utterly disclaim and detest all the said absurd and self-conceited opinions, and disobedient and erroneous sorts of the Anabaptists—Browne, Penry, Puritans, and all other proud-minded sects and heresies whatsoever: protesting, upon pain of our lives, that we are not consenting nor agreeing with any such brain-sick Preachers, nor their rebellious and disobedient sects whatsoever; but have been, and ever will be, truly obedient to your

John Smyth, A. M. had been resident, and, it is stated, beneficed at Gainsborough, but, with his followers, joined Johnson and Ainsworth at Amsterdam in 1606. This accession produced, in a short time, another dissension in the already agitated Church. Smyth imbibed with avidity doctrines held by the Dutch Remonstrants; and peculiar opinions on the validity of the administration of baptism, with his practice, procured for him the appellation of the Se-baptist. The latter of his two works mentioned in Ainsworth's title above, is "Parallels, Censures, Observations, appertaining to Three several Writings:— 1. A Letter to Mr. Ric. Bernard, by John Smyth; 2. A Book intitled, The Separatists' Schism, published by Mr. Bernard; 3. An Answer to the Separatists' Schism, by Mr. H. Ainsworth. Lond. 1609. 4to." He survived Ainsworth's attack upon his singularities but one year, dying in 1610; and in the following year was issued "A Declaration of the Faith of the English People remaining at Amsterdam, in Holland; being the Remainder of Mr. Smyth's Company: with an Appendix, giving an Account of his Sickness and Death." This brief statement will prepare for the better apprehending what is about to be drawn from Ainsworth's present treatise.

The Preface intimates that Smyth, "not long since, professed himself to be a member with us."^a His challenges for disputation were so exceedingly importunate, that it became necessary to notice them. Ainsworth says accordingly, "I have taken in hand to set forth our just defence, and to show the fraud and malignity of this boaster. . . And this which I have undertaken is rather for others who may be troubled with his writings, than for his own sake, who yieldeth small hope of good, seeing he proceedeth so fast in evil, and out of a 'proud heart' hath stirred up strife. Prov. xxxviii. 25. . . In three sundry books he hath showed himself of three several religions."^b . . I had much rather have followed more comfortable meditations, in the peaceable practice of the truth, than thus to contend with those that seek

Highness and your laws, to the effusion of our blood, and expenses of our goods and lands in your Majesty's service; highly applauding Almighty God, who hath so graciously and peaceably appointed unto us such a virtuous, wise, religious, and noble King, and so careful and impartial a justiciary to govern over us." p. 343. "If," they tell his Majesty, "we do vary or swerve from the Established Religion in this land, either in service, ceremonies, sermons, or sacraments; or have publicly spoken or inveighed either by word or writing against our late Sovereign Princess' government, in cases spiritual and temporal, then let us be rejected for sectaries, and never receive the benefits of subjects." p. 346. Their suit is, "That all of us, your faithful loving subjects, which are now in prison in any part of this your realm, . . may be relieved, &c. . . for we are a people but few in numbers, and yet most of us very poor in worldly wealth." p. 351. They complain most bitterly of the Puritans. Rutherford states, that "divers of the Court of Queen Elizabeth and of King James, and some Nobles, were Familists," p. 349: and, in another place, he writes, "Because there were divers courteous and noble Familists, the Prelates, that respected ever the persons of men, would not publicly accuse them by name." p. 353. By their principles, he tells us, Familists "may profess or deny any religion, as the market goes!" p. 345.

^a See back, p. 172.

^b In his "Principles, &c.;" "Differences, &c.;" and "The Character of the Beast."

strife, and that fight against the faith which themselves once professed ; . . having found such, by experience, to be, above others, most malignant enemies. But truth oppugned may not be forsaken, and wolves that would ravin must be beaten from the fold, lest the sheep be devoured or scattered. Matt. vii. 15."^a

The only "difference," when first he began to quarrel, was this,— "He, with his followers, breaking off communion with us, charged us with sin for using our English Bibles in the worship of God ; and he thought that the Teachers should bring the originals—the Hebrew, and Greek—and out of them translate by voice. . . Why he counted every translation apocryphal, and what he meant thereby, appeareth by these words of his, 'A *written* Translation, or Interpretation, is as well and as much a *human* writing as a homily, or prayer, written and read. . . We disagree, and deny that ; affirming that 'the Scriptures in English and other languages, rightly translated out of the originals, are canonical.' After much time spent about this controversy, he manifested other 'differences,' touching the Ministry, and Treasury ; and, soon after, published this Book of 'Differences,' wherein, having his 'latter thoughts,' as he thought, 'better than his former,' he retracted a former Book of 'Principles, &c.,' and all other his writings 'so far forth,' as they were 'overthwarted' by this his last book. He also acknowledged, in the same Preface, 'The ancient Brethren of the Separation,' as he calleth us, 'are to be honoured, that they have reduced the Church to the true primitive and apostolic constitution, which consisteth in these three things—1. The true matter, which are saints only : 2. The true form, which is the uniting of them together in the covenant : 3. The true property, which is a communion in all holy things, and the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the maintaining of that communion. To this blessed work of the Lord, wherein those ancient Brethren have laboured, I know not what may be added ; I think, rather, there can nothing be added.' . . Our entering in, by the covenant of God with Abraham, Gen. xvii., to the faithful and their seed, hath been as a brazen wall, where-against he hath run himself, to his utter ruin, if God, in mercy, raise him not up. And now, as a man benumbed in mind, he crieth out against us, 'Lo, we protest against them, to be a false church ; falsely constituted in the baptizing of infants, and their own unbaptized estate !' Thus he, having drunk 'the wine of violence,' Prov. iv. 17, proclaimeth open war against God's everlasting covenant. The defence of which grace, being already in the hands of two worthy soldiers of Christ, Mr. Clyfton, whom he hath pointed against, and Mr. Robinson, whom he next threateneth. . . But, because he still urgeth his former quarrels of the Scriptures and Ministry, I purpose, with God's grace, to set against him in these, desiring the LORD my Rock, to gird 'me with strength,' and to make 'my way entire.' Psal. xviii. 31, 32. . .

"Now, because his whole battle against the *translated* Scriptures, is chiefly out of this bulwark of 'Spiritual Worship,' wherein he hath intrenched himself, I will begin with it, as himself also doth, and come to 'Translations' anon."^b

^a Preface.

^b P. 1—5.

Ainsworth begins the section "Of Worship," by showing Smyth's 'equivocation, or double meaning of this word; restraining it where he should not, and eulogizing it where he ought not. . . The divers use of the word, which was needful first to be showed, if he meant not to deceive, he hath quite omitted.' It is impossible to abridge the argument, occupying eighteen pages, so as to make it clear and intelligible. A passage, at the end, shows the practice of the two parties on the point to which it relates. "It seemeth strange unto me, that Mr. Smyth should now both allow of the Scriptures to be sung in tunes in the church; and also make the singing by gift of the Spirit, a part of God's proper worship in the New Testament; and yet, he and his disciples to use neither of these in their assemblies. If it be an ordinary part of worship, why perform it not, but quarrel with us, who, accounting it an extraordinary gift now ceased, do content ourselves with joint harmonious singing of the Psalms of Holy Scripture, to the instruction and comfort of our hearts, and praise of our God."^a

It is impracticable to follow the disputants through the chapters of the Scriptures, of Translations, of the Seventy-two Interpreters, and, Objections for Translations, answered and maintained; all occupying sixty-six pages. A specimen of Smyth's "Reasons" is given in the following:—"Because, upon the day of Pentecost, fiery cloven tongues did appear, not fiery cloven books, Acts ii. 3; and, always, there must be a proportion betwixt the type and the thing typed.—Upon the day of Pentecost, the fiery Law was given in books, Deut. xxxiii. 2; Exod. xxiv. 4, 12; upon the day of Pentecost, the fiery Gospel was given in tongues, Acts ii. 3; Matt. iii. 11; Acts i. 5; the *book*, therefore, was proper for them, the *tongue* for us."—"We should beware," replies Ainsworth, "of such cloudy collections."^b Herein we find, however, a confirmation of the Preacher, "No new thing under the sun!" Eccles. i. 9; since the nineteenth century witnesses the revival of this "inept allegorizing."^c

Under the second head, Smyth affirms that "There is no better warrant to bring Translations of the Scriptures written, into the church, and to read them as parts or helps of worship, than to bring in expositions, resolutions, paraphrasts, and sermons upon the Scripture, seeing all these are equally human in respect of the work, equally divine in respect of the matter they handle." Well did Ainsworth exclaim, "Very impious is this comparison, which thus matcheth a man's comment, or written sermon, with God's written Word set over into another tongue; for it debaseth the majesty of God's law, and advanceth too high the baseness of men!"^d He adds, a little after, "Because in

^a P. 22. "The prejudices against singing were general among the Baptists," says Mr. Ivimey, *Hist. Bapt.* vol. ii. p. 374; and he adds, "the difficulty, we apprehend, to introduce it, was found great in all our churches." It was not till 1691, that an impression favourable to it was made on Mr. Benjamin Keach publishing "The Breach repaired in God's Worship: or, Singing of Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs proved to be a holy Ordinance of Jesus Christ." The practice of not singing in public worship, was continued in the Baptist Church at Maze Pond, Southwark, till the year 1733.—See Ivimey, *Sup.* p. 432.

^b P. 37.

^c P. 38.

^d P. 45.

these Scriptures 'some things are hard to be understood,' 2 Pet. iii. 16, and all men know not how to use and apply God's Word unto their times, estates, actions, &c.; therefore hath Christ given 'gifts' unto men, to open and apply the Scriptures for the edification of the Church unto the world's end, Eph. iv. 11—14; 1 Cor. xii.: always binding them, both teachers and hearers, to the foundation laid by the prophets and apostles, 2 Pet. i. 19; Eph. ii. 20; whose writings are sufficient to make men 'wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus.' 2 Tim. iii. 15."^a

Under the third head, it is enough to present Smyth's first objection against the Septuagint; "For that the covenant of grace ought not to have been preached unto the Gentiles till the fulness of time, Matt. x. 5, 6; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Rom. xvi. 25, 26, with Matt. x. 5, 6. xviii. 19; and, therefore, that the Seventy by their Translation did communicate it to the Grecians, before the fulness of time, was their *grievous sin*." With similar "collections" from the Scriptures, and sophisticated propositions, Ainsworth was occupied through nineteen pages, and eighteen more relating to five "Objections," which Smyth attempted to answer, but which Ainsworth had previously "maintained" against him, *viva voce*. He says here, Smyth's last reason, is that "Manuscripts being few, and very dear, there being yet no printing found out, all could not have or bring their books. But there is only one kind of true and profitable hearing; either all to have books and search, or none.—If God have left it to the wisdom and discretion of his people, when and how to use the Scriptures, so it be not to confound actions or hinder their good, I will not bring their liberty into bondage, nor prescribe a law where God hath given none. Though written copies were 'dear,' yet were they many, and many had them; not all, for all now have not. That such as have not books, or cannot read, should prejudice other that have and can, there is no reason. It is not, therefore, for us to walk by example in this case, but by general ground and equity from God's law, who permitteth us free use of the Scriptures for our edification, according to which, if men use them in private, or public, they do well."^b

The Division we now approach is headed "A Defence of Christ's Ministry in the Church, against the contradiction of Mr. Smyth." The chief proposition here is, that "'The tri-formed Presbytery,' as Smyth calleth it, 'consisting of three kinds of Elders, namely, Pastors, Teachers, Rulers, is none of God's ordinance, but man's device; and, that Lay-Elders, so called, are Antichristian.'" This was, it appears, a retraction of his former judgment, in his book of "Principles, &c."

"We hold," says Ainsworth, "a more strict agreement in the Eldership of the church now, than was in that Eldership and Priesthood of the Law; where one tended to civil causes, the other to ecclesiastical."^c Elsewhere, he says, "Though a man have aptness to teach as a Pastor, yet hath he not therefore aptness as an apostle. For the office is greater, and requireth greater gifts. So a ruling Elder must be apt to teach as a ruler; yet hath he not therefore aptness to teach as a Pastor, in whom

^a P. 47^b P. 87.^c P. 88.

greater skill is required."^a Touching the word *προϊστάμενος*, Provost, or Ruler, although I will not deny but that every Elder may be so called in a large sense; yet specially it is the title of ruling Elders only. And it is an oversight in Mr. Smyth to write that the apostle saith, 'Every Bishop must be *προϊστάμενος*;' for that word hath relation to the 'ruling of his own house,' 1 Tim. iii. 4, which every Bishop must be able 'well' to do; but in relation to the church, the governing Elders only, are called *προϊστάμενοι*, 1 Tim. v. 17; and it is their peculiar title, Rom. xii. 8, even as Pastors and Teachers are peculiar titles to others, and the names *Bishop* and *Elder*, common to them all, Phil. i. 1. Acts xx."^b "Though in the enumeration of the Ministries, Teachers and Governors are evidently distinguished, as 'thirdly teachers, after that—governors,' 1 Cor. xii. 28; and elsewhere, as plainly distinct in their administration, as 'the Elders that rule well, and they that labour in the word and doctrine,' 1 Tim. v. 17;' and again, 'he that teacheth on teaching;—he that ruleth with diligence,' Rom. xii. 7—8; yet Mr. Smyth would darken all this light, with this dim answer, 'It follows not hereupon that Elders are of divers sorts—1 Cor. xii. 28.' As if he should say, though the apostle plainly speaks it, yet do not you believe him! So though Paul expresseth the office of 'Teachers' there, which, Mr. Smyth will have to be the *exegesis*, that is, the exposition of the word 'Pastors,' Eph. iv. 11, and so must needs be the proper and plain name of the office; yet in his book where he pleads for the abomination of anabaptism, he thus proclaimeth, among other challenges, in the Epistle before 'his Character of the Beast,' 'So, we protest against them, to have a false Ministry of Doctors or Teachers;' as if he would have the world to take notice that he meaneth to war against Heaven."^c

To meet the "Objection" that "The apostle, Rom. xii. 6, 8, maketh an opposition between prophecy and office; and maketh five kinds of offices—pastors, teachers, rulers, deacons, widows," Smyth had answered, "That is denied to be the true resolution of the place, &c.; for although there be five several actions repeated, yet doth it not follow that there are five several officers to perform those actions; for one person may perform them all, and yet be no officer, namely, teach, exhort, rule, distribute, show mercy, 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 26, 31. Rom. xii. 13. 1 Cor. v. 5." Ainsworth replies now, "Behemoth is so big that 'he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth,' Job xl. 23; but no beast, I trow, weeneth that he can drink up the waters of the sea. Korah thought so well of his holiness and ability, that though he were but an ordinary Levite, he could do the Priest's office also, Num. xvi. 1, 3, 10; but I never heard of a man, till now, that could 'perform all' the actions that are to be done in a church! The apostles could not 'tend to two offices therein at once, but got others to do one, Acts vi. 2—4; and notwithstanding complained of their inability in that, saying, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' 2 Cor. ii. 16. And may one person now perform all actions; needs must the works become much more easy, or the person that doth them, much more mighty than any that lived in the apostle's time. However it may be, in distress and extremity, that one man may do some things one after

^a P. 101.^b P. 102.^c P. 104.

another, about 'all' these actions, yet 'perform' them he cannot. And who but one stricken 'with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart,' as Moses did prophesy, to 'grope at noon-day, as the blind gropeth in darkness,' Deut. xviii. 28, 29, could read this Scripture, Rom. xii. and the other places cited, and gather such a doctrine from them?"^a

Smyth's last part is, *Of the Treasury*. After his Preface, he says, "We hold, that in contributing to the church Treasury, there ought to be a separation from them that are without, and a sanctification of the whole action by prayer and thanksgiving." In the body of his Book, he says, "There ought to be a separation in alms and contributions to the Treasury, as well as in other parts of our Spiritual communion, Acts iv. 32. v. 13. 2 Cor. vi. 17. Acts ii. 42. Heb. xiii. 16. 2 Cor. viii. 7. Therefore they that are without, if they give any thing, must lay it apart severally for the Treasury, and it must be employed to common use. Matt. xxvii. 6, 7."—"Judas' wages," answers Ainsworth, "was 'the price of blood;' therefore they might not put it into the Treasury. This teacheth us, that goods gotten by violence, extortion, murder, theft, or other like evil way, may not be put into the Treasury, though the members of the church do offer them. But this is no more for those without, than for those within. And, for 'common use' of all unbelievers' gifts; I suppose this example will not bear it out. . . . For the manner of performing, as whether a special prayer is to be made before the contribution, and a special thanksgiving after; or, whether in the general prayers of the church, it is to be sanctified among other public actions; there may be some question, and I will not contend. Let every one use, herein, the wisdom that God giveth them. Only I do observe, how Mr. Smyth himself makes a query, 'At what time of the Lord's day, and after what manner, the Treasury is to be collected,' which sheweth in him no certainty for the form of this business; and I doubt not, but as he, so we all, may be to seek for the most convenient manner and order of doing many things."^b

Fifteen pages are occupied by "A few Observations upon some of Mr. Smyth's 'Censures,' in his answer to Mr. Bernard." We find nothing but what relates to misconstructions which Ainsworth thought himself called upon to expose, and he concludes thus, "But for his injurious dealing with me, and persecuting this poor church, which deserved better of him, with his pen in public, as the world now may see he hath done in high measure, I leave him unto God for mercy and judgment; whose hand, as it is heavy upon him already, in giving him over from error to error, and now at last to the abomination of anabaptism, so will the same hand still follow him unto further judgment, if he do not repent. But I wish he may find grace in the eyes of the Lord."

^a P. 106

^b P. 114—117.

CHAP. XI.

ROBINSON.—HE AND HALL, OPPONENTS.

THE next divine for whose memory the reader's sympathy and regard may reasonably be anticipated, Ainsworth enables us to introduce by the following remonstrance, which he took occasion to address to Crashaw. "If any among you, not meddling with the public estate of your Church, but feeling or fearing his own particular soul-sickness, do resort to a physician whose receipts are not after the common sort, for advice about his health, or of friendship and acquaintance to see him, he is subject to the censure and thunderbolt of your Church. Witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. ROBINSON, a man worthily revered of all the city, for the graces of God in him, as yourself also I suppose will acknowledge; and to whom the care and charge of their souls was erewhile committed. Would any unmerciful man have dealt so with his bond-slave in a case of bodily sickness? But hereby all may see what small hope there is of curing the canker of your Church."^a

The affair alluded to, induced Mr. Robinson to repair, in 1608, to Amsterdam, with the remainder of the church left by Mr. Richard Clyfton, who had preceded them in 1606, and who had been their pastor from 1602. Robinson, at first a member, became pastor with Mr. William Brewster, who had been a fellow-student at Cambridge, for the ruling elder. Smyth was, probably, one of this party originally, which is inferred from an "Epistle" addressed, by the pragmatistical Churchman, Joseph Hall, then the poor Rector of Halsted, Essex, "To Mr. Smith [Smyth], and Mr. Rob[inson], Ringleaders of the Late Separation; at Amsterdam:"^b After telling them, "You could not do a greater injury to your Mother, than to flee from her;" and having expostulated, "Your zeal of truth hath misled you, and you others: a zeal if honest, yet blindfolded, and led by self-will." Hall, besides other matters, thus remonstrates, "Either run out of the world, or your flight is vain. If experience of change teach you not, that you shall find your 'Babylon' everywhere, return not. Compare the place you have left, with that you have chosen: let no fear of seeming to repent over-soon, make you partial. Lo there, a common harbour of all opinions, of all heresies; if not a mixture: here, you drew in the free and clear air of the Gospel, without that odious composition of Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism: there you live in the stench of these, and more! You are unworthy of pity, if you will approve your misery. Say, if you can, that the Church of England, if she were not yours, is not a heaven to Amsterdam? How is it then, that our gnats

^a Answer to Crashaw, p. 246.

^b Epistles: by Joseph Hall, 1608. 12mo. Vol. ii. Dec. iii. Ep. i.—Whatever he were in his humble circumstances; he came to be styled "the moderate Bishop Hall," as by Dr. Zach. Grey, in his "Impartial Examination of the Third Vol. of Mr. D. Neal's Hist. Purit. 1737." 8vo. p. 82. Hall had experienced "Hard Measure" himself, which he complained of in his own adversity.

are harder to swallow than their camels; and that, while all Christendom magnifies our happiness, and applauds it, your handful alone so detests our enormities, that you despise our graces?" His concluding admonition is so singularly characteristic, that it cannot be withheld, "Sure," says Hall, "you intended it not: but, if you had been their hired agent, you could not have done our enemies greater service. The God of Heaven open your eyes, that you may see the injustice of that zeal which hath transported you; and turn your heart to an endeavour of all Christian satisfaction: otherwise, your souls shall find too late, that it had been a thousand times better to swallow a Ceremony, than to rend a Church; yea, that even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer than Separation.^a I have done, if only I have advised you of that fearful threatening of the wise man, 'The eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth the government of his mother, the ravens of the river shall pick it out, and the young eagles eat it.'"^b

Leaving, for the present, this "Bedlam stuff,"^c we hasten to remark, that, on Robinson's arrival, he and his friends attached themselves to their former colleague, Smyth, whose altercations, however, with the "ancient church" of Johnson and Ainsworth, impelled the later comers, after about twelve months, to prefer settling at Leyden, where they left that most "precious" savoury relic, "a good name."^d Previously to this final removal, Robinson's pen was employed in vigorously defending the righteous cause in which he was suffering. He lost no time in sending forth "An answer to a Censorious Epistle," which we find to be denominated, by a country Curate,^e a "scurrilous pamphlet;" but by that Curate's favourite, "a stomachful pamphlet," which he received "not two months since."^f Though we are about to give the whole of Robinson's "Answer," we are compelled to couple with it, portions of Hall's reply, dated 1610, and intitled, "A Common Apology of the Church of England; Against the unjust Challenges of the over-just Sect, commonly called 'Brownists';" ^g for, out of this tract it is that we have copied Robinson's, from the "margent." An affected Dedication is prefixed, by Hall, "To our Gracious and Blessed Mother, The Church of England," in which he tells, forsooth, his "Reverend, Dear, and Holy Mother," that, "besides the private injuries to the Monitor," meaning himself, Robinson had cast "upon Thine honourable Name, blasphemous imputations of Apostacy, Antichristianism, Whoredom, Rebellion!"^h Let the Reader, now deliberate on the weight of these

^a In the same style of infuriated bigotry, Gabriel Powel wrote in his "Consideration of the Deprived and Silenced Ministers' Arguments, &c. 1606." p. 58, — "Scandalous Ministers for *life*, are more tolerable in the Church, than such as be factious, schismatical, or scandalous for doctrine and fanatical conceits."

^b Prov. xxx. 17.

^c Milton's Apol. for Smectymnuus. 1642. Prose Works, *imp.* 8vo. 1833. p. 82.

^d Eccles. vii. 1.

^e The Rev. John Jones, in his "Life and Times" of Bp. Hall. 1826. 8vo. p. 56.

^f Hall's Dedication.

^g By J. H. 1610. 4to. pp. 145.

^h Of this kind of "appendant form of a ceremonious presentment," Milton says, it "will ever appear, among the judicious, to be but an insulse and frigid affectation. As no less was that," continues Milton, "before his Book, against the Brownists, to write a Letter to a *Prosupopœia*; a certain rhetorized woman whom he calls 'Mother'; and complains of some that laid 'whoredom' to her

allegations, and also on such of the responses by Hall, as we have deemed it necessary to adduce below. Thus wrote Robinson:—

“PREAMBLE.—IT is a hard thing even for sober-minded men, in cases of controversy, to use, soberly, the advantages of the times; upon which, whilst men are mounted on high, they use to behold such as they oppose too overly,^a and not without contempt; and so are oftentimes emboldened to roll upon them, as from aloft, very weak and weightless discourses:^b thinking any slight and slender opposition sufficient to oppress those underlings whom they have, as they suppose, at so great an advantage. Upon this very presumption, it cometh to pass, that this Author undertaketh thus solemnly and severely to censure a cause whereof, as appeareth in the sequel of the discourse, he is utterly ignorant: which, had he been but half so careful to have understood as he hath been forward to censure, he would either have been, I doubt not, more equal towards it, or more weighty against it. As this Epistle is come to my hands, so I wish the Answer of it may come to the hands of him that occasioned it. Entreating the Christian Reader, in the Name of the Lord, unpartially to behold, without either prejudice of cause or respect of person, what is written on both sides; and from the Court of a sound Conscience, to give just judgment.

“AN ANSWER, &c,—THE ‘Crime’ here objected, is ‘Separation:’^c a thing very odious in the eyes of all them from whom it is made; as evermore casting upon them the imputation of evil, whereof all men are impatient. And hence it cometh to pass that the Church of England can better brook the vilest persons’ continuing communion with it, than any whomsoever separating from it, though upon never so just and well-grounded reasons. And yet separation from the world, and so from the men of the world, and so from the Prince of the world that reigneth in them, and so from whatsoever is contrary to God, is

charge: and, certainly, had he folded his Epistle, with a superscription, to be delivered to that female figure, by any post or carrier who were not a ubiquitous, it had been a most miraculous greeting!” *Apol. for Smectymnuus*, p. 77. Previously to this, Milton had, in “*Animadversions upon the Remonstrant’s [Hall’s] ‘Defence’ against Smectymnuus*,” 1641, written thus, “Mark, Readers, the crafty scope of these Prelates; they endeavour to impress deeply into weak and superstitious fancies, the awful notion of a ‘Mother;’ that, hereby, they might cheat them into a blind and implicit obedience to whatsoever they shall decree or think fit! And, if we come to ask a reason of aught from our ‘Dear Mother,’ she is invisible, under the book and key of the Prelates, her spiritual adulterers. They only, are the Internuncios, or the go-betweens, of this trim devised mummery. Whatsoever they say, she says must be a deadly sin of disobedience not to believe. So that we, who, by God’s special grace, have shaken off the servitude of a great male tyrant, our pretended Father, the Pope, should now, if we be not betimes aware of these wily teachers, sink under the slavery of a female notion; the cloudy conception of a demy-island ‘Mother;’ and, while we think to be obedient sons, should make ourselves rather the bastards, or the centaurs, of their spiritual fornications.” *Edit. sup.* p. 72.

^a “Would God, overliness and contempt were not yours.” Hall, p. 4.

^b “The ‘discourse’ that I rolled down upon you, was ‘weak and weightless:’ you shall find this was my lenity, not my impotence.”—“I was not enough your enemy: forgive me this error, and you shall smart more!” Hall, p. 4, 5.

^c “To you not so extreme as your answer bewrays: a late Separation, not the first.” Hall, p. 7.

the first step to our communion with God and angels and good men, as the first step to a ladder is to leave the earth!^a

"The 'Separation' we have made, in respect of our knowledge and obedience, is indeed 'late' and new; yet is it, in the nature and causes thereof, as ancient as the Gospel, which was first founded in the 'enmity'^b which God himself put betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent; which 'enmity' hath not only been successively continued, but also visibly manifested by the actual 'Separation' of all true Churches from the world, in their collection and constitution, before the Law, under the Law, and under the Gospel.^c Which Separation the Church of England neither hath made nor doth make, but stands actually one with all that part of the world within the Kingdom, without separation: for which cause, amongst others, we have chosen, by the grace of God, rather to separate ourselves to the Lord from it, than with it from Him; in the visible constitution^d of it.

"To the title of 'Ringleader,' wherewith it pleaseth this 'Pistler to style me, I answer, That if the thing I have be good, it is good and commendable to have been forward in it; if it be evil, let it be reproved by the light of God's Word; and that God to whom I have done that I have done, will, I doubt not, give me both to see and to heal my error, by speedy repentance: if I have fled away on foot, I shall return on horseback. But as I durst never set foot into this way, but upon a most sound and irresistible conviction of conscience by the Word of God, as I was persuaded, so must my retiring be wrought by more solid reasons, from the same Word, than are to be found in a thousand such pretty pamphlets and formal flourishes as this is.^e

^a "Your Doctor [Ainsworth] would persuade us, you separate from 'nothing' but our 'corruptions' [Counterpoison, p. 2]: you are honest, and grant it from our Church. It were happy for you, if he lied not; who, in the next page [5,] confutes himself; showing that you separate from us as Christ from the Samaritans, namely, from the Church, not the corruptions only; and not as he did from the Jews, namely, from their corruptions, not from their Church. His memory saves our labour, and mars his Discourse!" Hall, p. 11.

^b Gen. iii. 15.

^c Gen. iv. 13, 14, 16. vi. 1, 2. vii. 1, with 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. Gen. xii. 2. Lev. xx. 24, 26. Neh. ix. 2. John xvii. 14, 16. Acts ii. 40. xix. 9. 1 Cor. vi. 17.—"You quote Scriptures, though—to your praise—more dainty indeed than your fellows." Hall, p. 13.

^d "The Separatists' idol, 'visible constitution,' will prove but an appendage of an external form; no part of the essence of a 'true Church.'"—If our baptism be good, then is our 'constitution' good. Thus your own 'Principles' teach. (Principl. and Infer. p. 11.) The outward part of the true visible Church is a vow, promise, oath or covenant betwixt God and the saints: now, I ask, is this made by us in baptism, or no? If it be, then we have, by your confession,—for so much as is outwardly required—a true visible Church: so your Separation is unjust." Hall, p. 20, 31.

^e "As for the title of 'Ringleader' wherewith I styled this pamphleteer; if I have given him too much honour in his sect, I am sorry. Perhaps, I should have put him—pardon a homely but, in this sense, not unusual word—in the tail of this Train. Perhaps, I should have endorsed my Letter, To Master Smyth, and his Shadow; so I perceive he was. Whatsoever; whether he lead or follow, God meets with him: if he lead, 'Behold, I will come against them

"Your pitying of us, and sorrowing for us, especially for the wrong done by us, were, in you, commendable affections; if by us justly occasioned; but if your Church be deeply drenched in Apostacy,^a and you cry 'peace, peace,' when sudden and certain desolation is at hand, it is you that do the wrong, though you make the complaint. And so, being cruel towards yourselves, and your own whom you flatter, you cannot be truly pitiful towards others whom you bewail. But I will not discourage you in this affection, lest we find few in the same fault: the most, instead of 'pity' and compassion, affording nothing but fury and indignation.^b

"The first action laid against us is of 'unnaturalness,' and ingratitude, towards our 'Mother,' the Church of England, for our *causeless* 'Separation' from her. To which unjust accusation, and trivial querimony, our most just defence hath been, and is, That, to our knowledge, we have done her no wrong. We do freely, and with all thankfulness, acknowledge every good thing she hath, and which ourselves have there received.^c The superabundant grace of God covering, and passing by, the manifold enormities in that Church, wherewith these good things are inseparably commingled; and wherein we also, through ignorance and infirmity, were inwrapped. But what then? Should we still have continued in sin, that grace might have abounded? If God have caused a further truth, like a light in a dark place, to shine in our hearts, should we still have mingled that light with darkness, contrary to the Lord's own practice, Gen. i. 4; and, express precept, 2 Cor. vi. 14?

"But, the Church of England, say you, is our 'Mother,' and so

that prophesy false dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause my people to err by their lies.' Jer. xxiii. 32.: if he come behind, 'Thou shalt not follow a multitude in evil,' saith God, Exod. xxiii. 2.: if either, or both, or neither; if he will go alone, 'Woe unto the foolish prophets,' saith the Lord, 'which follow their own spirits, and have seen nothing!' Ezek. xiii. 3. Howsoever, your 'evil' shall 'be reproved by the light of God's Word.' Your 'conviction' I cannot promise; your reproof I dare; if thereupon, you shall find grace 'to see and heal' your errors, we should, with all brotherly humbleness, attend 'on foot' upon your 'return on horseback:' but if the sway of your misresolved 'conscience' be heady and 'unresistible, and your 'retiring' hopeless, these not 'solid reasons,' these 'pretty pamphlets,' these 'formal flourishes,' shall, one day, be fearful and material evidences against you before that awful Judge, which hath already said, that 'judgments are prepared for the scornors, and stripes for the back of fools.' Prov. xix. 29." Hall, p. 31.

^a "Was your Church, before this 'Apostacy'? Show us your ancestors in opinion!.. But you leap back—if I urge you far—from hence to the Apostles' times, to fetch our once true Church from far, that it might be dear. You shall not carve for us. We like not these bold overleaps of so many centuries. I speak boldly, you dare not stand to the trial of any Church, since theirs." Hall, p. 33, 34.

^b How can you expect 'compassion,' when you breathe fire and write gall? Never mention the 'fury' of others' 'indignation,' till the venomous and desperate writings of Barrowe and Greenwood be either worn out with time, or, by the thunderbolts of your, not rare, Censures, be struck down to hell, whence their maliciousness came." Hall, p. 38.

^c "Whatsoever you do to us, I will not, any more, in favour of you, wilfully wrong myself. You have bidden me now, to take you as a *complete* Separatist; and speak this for yourself and yours." Hall, p. 39.

ought not to be avoided. But, say I, we must not so cleave to 'Holy Mother' Church as [that] we neglect our Heavenly Father and his Commandments: which, we know, in that estate, we could not but transgress; and that, heinously,^a and against our consciences; not only in the want of many Christian Ordinances,^b to which we were most straitly bound, both by God's Word and our own necessities;^c but also in our most sinful subjection to Antichristian Enormities,^d which we are bound to eschew as Hell. She is our 'Mother;' so may she be, and yet not the Lord's Wife! Every mother of children is not a wife. 'Ammi and Ruhamah' were bidden^e to 'plead' with their 'mother, apostate Israel; and 'plead' that she was 'not' the Lord's 'wife,' nor he her 'husband.'^f And though you forbid us a thousand times, yet must we 'plead.' Not to 'excuse' our 'fault,' but to justify our innocency: and that not only, nor so much, in respect of ourselves, as of the Truth which, without sacrilege, we may not suffer to be condemned unheard. And if you yet hear her not, rather blame yourselves as deaf than as dumb.^g Is not 'Babylon' the Mother of God's 'people;' whom He, therefore, commandeth to 'depart out' of her, lest, being 'partakers of her sins,' they also partake of her 'plagues?'^h And, to conclude, What say you more against us, for your 'Mother,' the Church of England; than the Papists do for their Mother, and your Mother's Mother, the Church of Rome, against you whom they condemn as unnatural bastards, and in pious matricides, in your separations from her?ⁱ And were not Luther, Zuinglius, Cranmer,

^a "I dare take it upon my soul, that all your transgression which you should, necessarily, have incurred by her obedience, is nothing so heinous as your uncharitableness in your censures and disobedience." Hall, p. 47.

^b "The question is not, whether we should ask leave of Princes to be Christians; but, whether, of Christian Princes, we should ask leave to *establish* circumstances of government." Hall, p. 49.

^c "Say, that your Church should employ you back to this our 'Babylon,' for the calling out of more Proselytes; [and that] you are intercepted, [and] imprisoned! Shall it be sin, in you, not to hear the prophecies at Amsterdam? The Clink [prison,] is a *lawful* excuse! If your feet be bound, your 'conscience' is not 'bound.' In these negatives, outward force takes away both sin and blame; and alters them from the patient to the actor: so that, now, you see your 'strait bonds,' if they were such, loosed by obedience, and overruling power." Hall, p. 50.

^d "If she have 'enormities,' yet not so many: or if many, not 'Antichristian.' Your Ham [Fr. Johnson,] hath espied ninety-one nakednesses in this his Mother, and glories to show them. [See back, p. 103, note ^a] All his malice cannot show one fundamental error. And when the foul mouth of your false 'martyr' [Barrowe,] hath said all, they are but some spots and blemishes; not the old running issues, and incurable botches of Egypt." Hall, p. 55.

^e "God's command, shields them from the note of ungracious." Hall, p. 56.

^f "Hos. ii. 1, 2.

^g "The noise of your contentions is so great, that your 'truth' cannot be heard. Learned Junius, and our learnedst Divines, and neighbour Churches, have oft heard your clamours, never your 'truth:' so little have you of this, and so much of the other, that we are ready to wish, as he of old, either ourselves 'deaf' or you dumb!" Hall, p. 57.

^h Rev. xviii. 2, 4.

ⁱ "We were Nephews to that Church, never Sons; unless as Rome was mother-city of the World, so by human institution, we suffered ourselves to be ranged under her Patriarchal authority, as being the most famous Church

Latimer, and the rest, begot to the Lord in the womb of the Romish Church? Did they not receive the knowledge of his truth when they stood actual members of it? Whom, notwithstanding, afterwards, they forsook; and that justly, for her fornications! But here, in the name of the Church of England, you wash your hands of all Babylonish abominations; which you pretend you have forsaken, and her, for and with them. And, in this regard, you [we] speak thus, 'The Reformation you have made of the many and main corruptions of the Romish Church we do ingenuously acknowledge and do, withal, embrace with you, all the truths which, to our knowledge, you have received instead of them: but Rome was not built all in a day.'^a

"The 'mystery of iniquity' did advance itself by degrees; and as the rise was, so must the fall be. That 'man of sin,' and lawless man, must languish and die away of a consumption.^b And what though many of the highest towers of Babel, and of the strongest pillars also, be demolished and pulled down; yet may the building stand still, though tottering to and fro, as it doth, and only underpropped with the shoulder and arm of flesh; without which, in a very moment, it would fall flat upon and be level with the earth.^c You have renounced many false doctrines in Popery, and, in their places, embraced the truth. But what, if this truth be taught under the same hateful Prelacy; in the same devised office of ministry;^d and confused com-

of the West; a matter of courtesy, and pretended Order; no necessity, no Spiritual obligation... Would God, this point were thoroughly known and well weighed, on all parts. The neglect, or ignorance whereof hath both bred and nursed your Separation; and driven the weak and inconsiderate into strange extremities. This say we, for ourselves, in no more charity than truth. But, for you, how dare you make this shameless comparison? Can your heart suffer your tongue to say that there is no more difference betwixt Rome and us, than there is betwixt us and you?.. Though their corruptions be incomparably more, we have not dared to separate so far from them, as you have done from us for less: still we hold them even, a 'visible church,' but unsound, sick, dying; sick, not of a consumption only, but of a leprosy or plague—so is the Papacy to the Church,—diseases, not more deadly than infectious." Hall, p. 58, 60, 61.

^a "So you have forsaken a Church of a foul skin but of a sound heart, for want of beauty, not of truth!" Hall, p. 63.

^b 2 Thess. ii. 8.

^c "Your strife goes about to build again that her tower of confusion. God divides your languages. It will be well if yet you build not more than we have reserved." Hall, p. 65.

^d "What if this truth were taught under a 'hateful Prelacy'?.. What are other persons to my profession? If I may be freely allowed to be a true professed Christian, what care I under whose hands?... It were happy if you hated your own sins more, and peace less; our Prelacy would trouble you less, and you the Church."—"Who 'devised' your Office of Ministry?... What Church ever in the world can be produced—unless in case of extremity for one turn—whose conspiring multitude made themselves Ministers at pleasure? What rule of Christ prescribes it? What Reformed Church ever did, or doth practise it? what example warrants it? where have the inferiors laid hands upon their superiors?" Hall, p. 65, 66, 70.—A later opponent of Hall, than Robinson, has furnished so apposite a reply to these queries, that the interests of true religion must be promoted by bringing the one and the other into contact. "As for Ordination, what is it, but the laying on of hands; an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing,

munion of the profane multitude ; and that mingled with many grievous errors ? Shall some general truths—yea, though few of them, in the particulars, may be soundly practised—sweeten and sanctify the other errors ? Doth not one heresy make a heretic ? And doth not ‘ a little leaven,’ whether in doctrine or manners, ‘ leaven the whole lump ?’^a If antichrist held not many truths, wherewith should he countenance so many forgeries ? Or, how could his work be a ‘ mystery of iniquity ;’ which, in Rome is more gross and palpable, but in England is spun with a finer thread, and so more hardly discovered ?^b But to wade no further in universalities, we will take a little time to examine such particulars as you yourself have picked out for your most advantage, to see whether you be so clear of Babel’s towers in your own evidence, as you bear the world in hand.

“ ‘ Where,’ say you, ‘ are those proud towers of their universal Hierarchy ?’ One in Lambeth ; another in Fulham ; and wheresoever a pontifical Prelate is, or his Chancellor, Commissary, or other subordinate, there is a tower of Babel unruinated ! To this end I desire to know of you, whether the office of Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of that rank, were not parts of that accursed Hierarchy, in Queen Mary’s days ; and members of that ‘ man of sin ?’ If they were, then as shoulders and arms under that head, the Pope ; and over the inferior members ; and have now, the same Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction derived and continued upon them, whereof they were possessed in the time of Popery—as it is plain they have, by the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth—Why are they not still members of that body, though the head, the Pope, be cut off ?^c And so do all the Reformed Churches in the world—of whose testimony you boast so loud—renounce the

it is the inward calling of God that makes a Minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many, before ever they had received Ordination from the Apostles, had done the church noble service ; as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge : the employment of preaching is as holy, and far more excellent ; the care also and judgment to be used in the winning of souls, which is thought to be sufficient in every worthy Minister, is an ability above that which is required in Ordination : for many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister, that would not be found fit to be made ministers themselves ; as it will not be denied that he may be the competent judge of a neat picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limn the like. Why, therefore, we should constitute a superior order in the church to perform an office which is not only every Minister’s function, but inferior also to that which he has a confessed right to ; and, why this superiority should remain thus usurped, some wise Epimenides tell us ?” *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant’s [Hall’s] Defence against Smectymnuus. 1641.—Milton’s Prose Works, edit. 1833. imp. 8vo. p. 68.*

^a 1 Cor. v. 6. Gal. v. 9. Hag. ii. 13.

^b “ As soon shall you find charity and peace in your English Church, as ‘ heresy’ in our Church of England.” Hall, p. 74.

^c “ Ignorance of Church-story ; and, not distinguishing betwixt substances and appendances, personal abuses and callings, hath led you to this error. . . If princes have pleased to annex either large maintenances, or styles of higher dignity and respect unto these, do their additions annihilate them ? Hath their ‘ double honour’ made void their callings ? . . If your Elders grow rich and noble, do they cease to be, or begin to be unlawful ?” Hall, p. 75, 76.

Prelacy of England, as part of that Pseudo-Clergy and Antichristian Hierarchy derived from Rome.^a

"Infallibility of Judgment:^b It seems the Sacred,^c so called, Synod, assumeth little less unto herself in her determinations. Otherwise, how durst she decree so absolutely, as she doth, touching things reputed 'indifferent;' namely, 'That all men, in all places, must submit unto them, without exception or limitation?' Except she could infallibly determine that these her Ceremonies, thus absolutely imposed, should edify all men at all times, how durst she thus impose them? To exact obedience in and unto them, whether they offend or offend not; whether they edify or destroy; were intolerable presumption.

"Dispensations with the Laws of God, and Sins of Men: To let pass your Ecclesiastical Consistories, wherein sins, and absolutions from them, are as venal and saleable as at Rome,—is it not a Law of the Eternal God, that the Ministers of the Gospel, the bishops or elders, should be 'apt' and 'able' to 'teach?'^d And, is it not their grievous sin to be unapt hereunto?^e And yet, who knoweth not that the Patrons amongst you present, that the Bishops institute, the Archdeacons induct, the Churches receive; and the Laws, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, allow and justify Ministers unapt and unable to 'teach?'^f

"Insufficiency and non-residency of Ministers, &c.: Is it not a Law of the Eternal God, that the 'Elders' should 'feed the flock' over which they are set, labouring amongst them in the Word and doctrine?^g And is it not sin to omit this duty?^h Plead not for Baal. Your dispensations for non-residency and Pluralities of Benefices, as for two, three, or more; yea, *tot quot*, as many as a man will have, or can get, are so many dispensations of the Laws of God and sins of men. These things are too impious to be defended, and too manifest to be denied.ⁱ

"Disposition of Kingdoms, and deposition of Princes: You are wiser, and I hope honester than thus to attempt,^k though that received

^a "And if therefore, they have so renounced it, because their practice receives it not; why, like a true makebate, do you not say, that our Churches have so renounced their government? . . . But what do I oppose any to his nameless 'all?' His own silence confutes him enough in my silence." Hall, p. 77, 78.

^b We have retained these headings of the several paragraphs, though they might have been prefixed there only by Hall.

^c "What do these idle exceptions argue, but want of greater?" Hall, p. 80.

^d 1 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. i. 9.

^e Isai. lvi. 10, 11.

^f "As if we liked the abuses in Courts; as if corrupt executions of wholesome laws must be imputed to the Church, whose wrongs they are! No less heinous, nor more true, is that which followeth. True Elders,—not yours,—should be indeed *διδασκικοι* this we call for as vehemently, not so tumultuously, as yourselves." Hall, p. 81.

^g Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2.

^h "That Patrons present; Bishops institute; Archdeacons induct, some which are 'unable,' we grant and bewail. But that our Church-laws 'justify' them, we deny, and you slander." Hall, p. 82.

ⁱ "Why look you not to your own Elders at home? Even your handful hath not avoided this crime of 'Non-residency.' What wonder is it, if our world of men have not escaped?" Hall, p. 83.

^k "How much more than credible is it, that some of your assemblies, in queen Elizabeth's days, concluded that she was not, even in our sense, 'supreme

maxim amongst you, 'No ceremony, no bishop; no bishop, no king;' savours too strongly of that weed.^a But what though you be loyal to earthly kings, and their crowns and kingdoms, yet if you be traitors and rebels against the King of his Church, Jesus Christ, and the sceptre of his Kingdom, not suffering Him, by his Laws and Officers, to reign over you; but, instead of them, do stoop to Antichrist in his offices and ordinances; shall your loyalty towards men excuse your treason against the Lord! Though you now cry never so loud, 'We have no king but Cæsar,'^b yet is there 'another king, one Jesus,'^c which shall return and pass a heavy doom upon the rebellious—'These mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring them, and slay them before me.'^d

"Parting stakes with God in Conversion: Not to speak of the error of universal grace, and consequently of free-will, that groweth on apace amongst you;^e what do you else but put in for a part with God in Conversion, though not through freedom of will, yet in a devised Ministry, the means of Conversion. It being the Lord's peculiar as well to appoint the outward ministry of conversion, as to give the inward grace.^f

"Kneeling at the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: 'Where, say you, 'are those rotten heaps of Transubstantiating of Bread?' And where, say I, learned you your devout kneeling to or before the Bread, but, from that error of Transubstantiation? Yea, what less can it insinuate than either that or some other the like idolatrous conceit! If there were not something more in the bread and wine than in the water at baptism, or in the Word read or preached, why should such solemn kneeling be so severely pressed at that time, rather than upon the other occasions? And well and truly have your own men affirmed, that it were far less sin and appearance of an idolatry that is nothing so gross, to tie men, in their prayers, to kneel before a crucifix, than before the bread and wine: and the reason followeth, For that Papists commit an idolatry far more gross and odious in worshipping the bread, than in worshipping any other of their images or idols whatsoever.^g

head of the Church,' neither had 'authority to make laws ecclesiastical in the Church.' It is well if you will disclaim it; but you know your received position, That no one Church is superior to other. No authority, therefore, can reverse this decree; your will may do it." Hall, p. 84.

^a "Whose is that so unsavoury 'weed,' No bishop, no king? . . . Let me show you your adversary; it is King James himself, in his Hampton Conference! Is there not now suspicion in the word? Surely you had cause to fear that the king would prove no good subject—belike, not to Christ! What do you else, in the next, but proclaim his opposition to the King of kings; or ours, in not opposing his?" Hall, p. 85.

^b John xix. 15.

^c Acts xvii. 7.

^d Luke xix. 27.

^e "Is she [the Church] guilty even of that which she condemns? If some few private judgments shall conceive or bring forth an error, shall the whole Church do penance? Would God, that wicked and heretical Anabaptism did not more grow upon you than those errors upon us." Hall, p. 86.

^f Θεοῦ γὰρ ἐσμεν συνεργοί 1 Cor. iii. 9.—"But hath not God given 'inward grace' by our 'outward ministry?' Your hearts shall be our witnesses. What will follow, therefore, but that our ministry is his peculiar appointment." Hall, p. 86.

^g Apol. of the Min. of Lincoln Dioc. Pt. i. p. 66.—"If the King should offer us his hand to kiss, we take it upon our knees; how much more, when the

"Adoring of Images: To let pass your devout kneeling unto your Ordinary, when you take the oath of canonical obedience, or receive absolution at his hands, which, as the main actions are religious, must needs be religious adoration!^a what is the adoring of your truly human, though called 'Divine,' Service Book, in and by which you worship God, as the Papists do by their Images? If the Lord Jesus, in his Testament, have not commanded any such Book, it is accursed and abominable. If you think he have, show us the place where; that we may know it with you: or manifest unto us, that ever the Apostles used themselves, or commended to the churches after them, any such Service Book! Was not the Lord, in the Apostles' time, and Apostolic Churches, purely and perfectly worshipped, when the officers of the Church, in their ministration, manifested the spirit of prayer which they had received according to the present necessities and occasions of the Church; before the least parcel of this Patchery came into the world? And might not the Lord now be also purely and perfectly worshipped, though this Printed Image, with the painted and carved images, were sent back to Rome; yea, or cast to hell, from whence both they and it came? Speak, in yourself, might not the Lord be entirely worshipped with pure and holy worship, though none other Book but the Holy Scriptures were brought into the Church: if yea,—as who can deny it, that knows what the worship of God meaneth,—what, then, doth your Service Book there? The Word of God is perfect, and admitteth of none addition. Cursed be he that addeth to the Word of the Lord; and cursed be that which is added; and so be your great Idol, the Communion Book, though, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, some part of the matter be gold and silver, which is also so much the more detestable by how much it is the more highly advanced amongst you.^b

"Multitudes of Sacraments: The number of Sacraments seems greater amongst you, by one at the least, than Christ hath left in his Testament; and that is Marriage, which, howsoever, you do not, in express terms, call a sacrament,—no more did Christ and the Apostles call Baptism and the Supper 'sacraments,'—yet do you, in truth, create it a sacrament, in the administration and use of it. There are the parties to be married, and their marriage, representing 'Christ and his Church,' and their 'spiritual' union; to which 'mystery,' saith the oracle of your Service Book expressly, God hath 'consecrated' them. There is the Ring, hallowed by the said Service Book, whereon it must be laid, for the element; there are the words of consecration, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;'

King of Heaven gives us his Son in these pledges?.. How glad you are to take all scraps that fall from any of ours for your advantage! Would to God, this observation of your malicious gatherings would make all our Reverend Brethren weary of their censures!.. If there be a galled place, you will be sure to light upon that: your charity is good, whatsoever your wisdom be!" Hall, p. 87, 88.

^a "You have twice kneeled to our Vice Chancellor, when you were admitted to your degree!" Hall, p. 90.

^b "Do we offer to make our Prayers Canonical? Do we obtrude them as parts of God's Word?" Hall, p. 94. (What is implied in Canon VIII. 1603?)

there is the place, the Church ; the time, usually the Lord's day ; the minister, the Parish priest. And being made, as it is, a part of God's worship, and of the minister's office, what is it, if it be not a sacrament ? It is no part of prayer, or preaching ; and with a sacrament it hath the greatest consimilitude ; but an Idol I am sure it is, in the celebration of it ; being made a ministerial duty,^a and part of God's worship, without warrant, call it by what name you will.

"Power of Indulgences : Your Court of Faculties, from whence your dispensations and tolerations for Nonresidency, and plurality of Benefices, are had ; together with your commuting of Penances, and absolving^b one man from another : take away this power from the Prelates, and you maim the 'Beast' in a limb.^c

"Necessity of Confessions : In your High Commission Court very absolute ; where, by the oath *Ex Officio*, men are constrained to accuse themselves of such things as whereof no man will or can accuse them : what necessity is laid upon them in this case, let your prisons witness.

"Profit of Pilgrimages : Though you have lost the Shrines of Saints, yet you retain their days,^d and those holy as the Lord's day ; and that with good profit to your spiritual, carnal Courts, from such as profane them with the least and most lawful labour, notwithstanding the liberty of the six days' labour which the Lord hath given. And as much would the Masters of these Courts be stirred at the casting of these saints'-days out of the Calendar, as were the 'masters' of the possessed maid, when 'the spirit of divination' was cast out of her : Acts xvi. 19.

"Constrained and approved Ignorance : If an ignorant and unpreaching Ministry be approved amongst you, and the People constrained, by all kind of violence, to submit unto it, and therewith to rest,—as what is more usual throughout the whole kingdom,—then let no modest man once open his mouth to deny that 'ignorance' is 'constrained and approved' amongst you.^e

"Unknown Devotions : If the Service, said or sung, in the Parish Church, may be called 'devotion,' then sure there is good store of unknown devotion ; the greatest part, in most Parishes, neither knowing nor regarding what is said, nor wherefore.^f

"Penances Enjoined : What are your Sheet Penances for adultery,

^a "This is a mixt action ; therefore compounded of Ecclesiastical and Civil : imposed on the minister, not upon necessity, but expedience ; neither essential to him, but accidentally annexed, for greater convenience." Hall, p. 98.

^b "As for Absolution, you have a spight at it ; because you sought it, and were repulsed." Hall, p. 98.

^c "Our Prelacy holds itself no more St. John's 'beast,' than it holds you St. Paul's beast, Phil. iii. 2." Hall, p. 99.

^d "Their days we 'retain,' . . . partly for commemoration of their high deserts and excellent examples ; partly for distinction : . . . show us where we implore them ; where we consecrate days to their service ? . . . We come to the Church, and worship the God of the Martyrs and Saints. . . . We abstain from our 'most lawful labour' in them, . . . not in consequence of the day, but in obedience to the Church." Hall, p. 100, 101.

^e "Our Dread Sovereign hath promised a medicine for this disease : but withal, tells you that Jerusalem was not built all on a day." Hall, p. 102.

^f "We envy you not ; some knowledge is no better than some ignorance, and carelessness is no worse than misregard !" Hall, p. 103.

and all your Purse Penances for all * other sins ? Than which, though some wise in Popery, yet none more common.

“ Touching Purgatory : Though you deny the doctrine of it, and teach the contrary, yet how well your practice suits with it, let it be considered in these particulars : Your absolving of men dying excommunicate, after they be dead, and before they may have Christian-burial : your Christian-burial in holy ground, if the party will be at the charges : your ringing of hallowed bells for the soul : your singing the corpse to the grave from the Church stile : your praying over, or for the dead ; especially in these words, ‘ That God would hasten his kingdom, that we with this our brother,’ though his life were never so wretched and death desperate, ‘ and all other departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation both in body and soul.’ Your general doctrines, and your particular practices, agree in this, as in the most other things, like ‘ harp and harrow !’ In word you profess many truths, which in deed you deny. These and many more Popish devices,—by others, at large, discovered to the world,—both for pomp and profit, are not only not rased, and buried in the dust, but are advanced amongst you, above all that is called God.

“ The Churches still retained, in England : You are far from doing to the Romish idols as was done to the Egyptian idols ‘ Mithra and Serapis,’ whose priests were expelled their ministry, and monuments exposed to utter scorn and desolation ; their temples demolished and rased to the very foundation.^b

“ The Founders, and Furnitures of your Churches : But your Temples, especially your Cathedrals and Mother-Churches, stand, still, in their proud majesty, possessed by Archbishops and Lord Bishops, like the Flamens and Archflamens amongst the Gentiles, from whom they were derived and furnished with all manner of pompous and superstitious monuments ; as carved and painted images, massing copes and surplices ; chanting and organ music, and many other glorious ornaments of the Romish Harlot, by which her majesty is commended to and admired by the vulgar ; so far are you in these respects, from being gone, or fled, yea, or crept either, out of Babylon ! Now, if you be thus Babylonish where you repute yourselves most Sion-like, and thus confounded in your own evidence ; what defence could you make in the things whereof an adversary would challenge you ? If your light be darkness, how great is your darkness !^c

“ On what ground Separation, or Ceremonies, was objected : But for that, not the Separation, but the cause, makes the Schismatic ; and lest you should seem to speak evil of the thing you know not, and to condemn a cause unheard, you lay down, in the next place, the supposed cause of our Separation ;^d against which, you deal as insufficiently :

* “ Not ‘ all ;’ you foully slander us.” Hall, p. 104.

^b “ The ancient Christians, with us, loved to have God’s house stately ; as appears by the example of that worthy bishop of Alexandria, and that gracious Constantine ; in whose days these sacred piles began to lift up their heads unto this envied height.” Hall, p. 109.

^c “ We may be faulty, but we are true. And if the ‘ darkness’ you find in us be ‘ light,’ how great is our light !” Hall, p. 111.

^d “ I knew the cause of Brownism : but I knew not you ! For, to say inge-

and that you pretend to be, none other than your 'consorting' with the Papists in certain 'Ceremonies:' touching which, and our Separation in regard of them, thus you write. Master Hall; If you have taken but the least knowledge of the grounds of our judgment and practice, how dare you thus abuse both us and the reader, as if the only or chief ground of our Separation were your Popish Ceremonies? But if you go only by guess, having never so much as read over our treatise published in our defence, and yet stick not to pass this your censorious doom both upon us and it; I leave it to the reader to judge whether you have been more lavish of your censure or credit! Most unjust is the censure of a cause unknown; though in itself never so blameworthy; which, nevertheless, may be praiseworthy for aught he knows that censures it.

"Estimation of Ceremonies, and Subjection to the Prelates: And touching the 'Ceremonies' here spoken of, howsoever we have formerly refused them, submitting, as all others did and do, to the Prelates' Spiritual Jurisdiction—herein, through ignorance, straining at 'gnats,' and swallowing 'camels,'^a—yet, are we verily persuaded of them, and so were before we separated,^b That they are but as leaves of that tree, and as badges of that 'man of sin,' whereof the Pope is head, and the Prelates' shoulders! And so we, for our parts, see no reason why any of the Bishops' sworn servants, as all the Ministers, of the Church of England are canonically, should make nice to wear their Lords' liveries. Which 'Ceremonies,' notwithstanding, we know well enough, howsoever you, for advantage, extenuate and debase them unto us,—to be advanced and preferred, in your Church, before the Preaching of the Gospel. It is much that they, being 'not so much as reed,' nor any

nuously, I had heard and hoped, that your case had been less desperate: my intelligence was, that in dislike of these Ceremonies obtruded, and an hopelessness of future liberty, you and your fellows had made a Secession, rather than a Separation, from our Church, to a place where you might have scope to profess, and opportunity to enjoy your own conceits. Whence it was, that I termed you Ringleaders of the 'late' Separation; not followers of the first; and made your plea against our Church, imperfection, not falsehood. I hoped you, as not ours, so not theirs: not ours in place, so not quite theirs in peevish opinion. . . I knew the former Separation, and hated it; I hoped better of the latter Separation, and pitied it. . . I knew why a Brownist is a true Schismatic: I knew not you were so true a Brownist. . . I knew that this Separation, which now I know yours, stands upon four grounds; as some beasts upon four feet: first, God worshipped, after a false manner; secondly, Profane multitude received; thirdly, Antichristian Ministry imposed; fourthly, Subjection to Antichristian Government:—Bar. and Greenw. *passim*; Pen. Exam. The Ceremonies are but as some one paw in every foot; yet if we extend the word to the largest use, dividing all Religion into Ceremony and Substance, I may yet, and do, aver, that your Separation is merely grounded upon Ceremonies." Hall, p. 112—114.

^a "But refusing them, you submitted to the Prelates' Spiritual Jurisdiction; there was your crime: this was your 'camel,' the other your 'gnats.' Did ever any Prelate challenge Spiritual rule over your Conscience?" Hall, p. 114.

^b "Tell us, how long was it after your Suspension, and before your departure, that you could have been content, upon condition, to have worn this linen badge of your 'man of sin?' Was not this your resolution when you went from Norwich to Lincolnshire, after your Suspension? Deny it not, my witnesses are too strong." Hall, p. 115.

part of the building,—as you pretend,—should overturn the best builders amongst you as they do. The proportion betwixt ‘Zoar’ and them, holds well: Zoar was a neighbour unto Sodom both in place and sin, and obnoxious to the same destruction with it; and it was Lot’s error to desire to have it spared,^a and so he never found rest nor peace in it, but forsook it for fear of the same just judgment which had overtaken the rest of the cities.^b The application of this to your ‘Ceremonies,’ I leave to yourself; and them, to that destruction to which they are devoted by the Lord.^c

“The state of the Temple, and the Church of England in resemblance: How we would have behaved ourselves ‘in the Temple,’ where ‘the money-changers’ were, and they that ‘sold doves,’ we shall answer you when you prove your Church to be the ‘Temple of God,’ compiled and built of spiritually ‘hewn’ and ‘lively stones;’^d and of the ‘cedars, firs,’^e and ‘thyme,’^f trees of Lebanon, framed and set together in that comely order which ‘a greater than Solomon’ hath prescribed; unto which God hath promised his presence.^g But whilst we take it to be, as it is, a confused heap of dead and defiled, and polluted stones, and of all rubbish of briars and brambles of the wilderness, for the most part, fitter for burning than building; we take ourselves rather bound to show our obedience in departing from it, than our valour in purging it; and to follow the Prophet’s counsel in flying out of Babylon, ‘as the he-goats before the flock.’^h

“Whether Ministers should endure themselves Silenced: And what, I pray you, is the valour which the best hearted and most zealous Reformers amongst you, have manifested in driving out ‘the money-changers?’ⁱ Doth it not appear in this, that they suffer themselves to be driven out with the two-stringed whip of Ceremonies and Subscription, by ‘the money-changers’ the Chancellors and Officials which sell sins like ‘doves;’ and by the chief-priests, the Bishops, which set them on work?^k So far are the most zealous amongst you, from driving out the ‘money-changers,’ as [that] they themselves are driven out by them; because they will not change with them to the utmost farthing!

^a Gen. xix. 15, 18, 19, 20.

^b Ver. 30.

^c “For your retortion upon my ‘Zoar and Sodom,’ I can give you leave to be witty, you use it so seldom.” Hall, p. 116.

^d 1 Kings v. 17, 18. vi. 7. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

^e 2 Chron. ii. 8.

^f Rev. xviii. 12.

^g “We overthrow not the Foundation by any consequence, therefore whatever is wanting to us, whatever is superfluous, in spite of all the gates of Hell, we are the true Church of God.” Hall, p. 118.

^h Jer. l. 8.—“Can your charity find nothing but rubbish? Not one square stone, not one ‘living?’ You will be judging till God judge you; if you take not heed of these courses, you will so run with the ‘he-goats,’ that you will stand with the ‘goats’ on the ‘left-hand.’” Hall, p. 118.

ⁱ “However the Apostles, which had not their calling from men, would not be silenced by men, yet we find that all their Successors held that those hands which were laid upon their heads, might be laid upon their mouths.” Hall, p. 120.

^k “As for our Church officers, you may rail upon them with a lawless safety: there is a great ditch betwixt you and them; else you might pay dear for this sin of slandering them with their cheap penny-worths!” Hall, p. 121.

"Power of Reforming Abuses : For the 'wafers,' in Geneva ; and disorders, in Corinth ; they were Corruptions which may and do, or the like unto them, creep into the purest Churches in the world : for the Reformation whereof, Christ hath given his power unto his Church, that such evils as are brought in by human frailty may, by Divine authority, be purged out. This power and presence of Christ, you want ;^a holding all by homage, or rather by villanage, under the Prelates ; unto whose sinful yoke you stoop, in more than Babylonish bondage, bearing, and approving, by personal communion, infinite abominations. And in these last two respects principally ; your Babylonish confusion of all sorts of people in the body of your Church, without separation : and, your Babylonish bondage under your spiritual Lords, the Prelates ; we account you Babylon, and fly from you.^b

"The view of the Sins and Disorders of others, whereupon objected : Master Hall having formerly expostulated with us our supposed Impiety, in forsaking a 'Ceremonious' Babylon in England, proceeds, in the next place, to lay down our Madness, in choosing a 'substantial' Babylon in 'Amsterdam.' And if it be so found, by due trial, as he suggesteth, it is hard to say, whether our Impiety or Madness be the greater !^c Belike Master Hall thinks we gather Churches here, by town-rows, as they do in England ; and that all within the Parish Procession are of the same Church. Wherefore else, tells he us of Jews, Arians, and Anabaptists ; with whom we have nothing common but the streets and market-place ? It is the condition of the Church, to live in the world, and to have civil society with the men of the world.^d But what is this, to that spiritual communion of the saints in the fellowship of the Gospel, wherein they are separated, and sanctified, from the world unto the Lord ?"

"The Nearness of the State and Church : We, indeed, have much wickedness in the City where we live ; you, in the Church : but in earnest, do you imagine we account the Kingdom of England 'Babylon,' or the City of Amsterdam 'Sion ?' It is the Church of England, or State-Ecclesiastical, which we account Babylon ; and from which we withdraw in spiritual communion. But for the Common-wealth or Kingdom, as we honour it above all the States in the world, so would we thankfully embrace the meanest corner in it, at the extremest con-

^a "Would God, we had as much execution as 'power ;' our Church should be as clean as yours is schismatical !. . . This 'power' of ours is not dead, but sleepeth, when it awaketh unto more frequent use,—which we earnestly pray for,—look you for the first handsel of it !" Hall, p. 122.

^b "Any railer may term us, but no Separatist shall prove us, Babylon, You may fly whither you list : would God, yet further ; unless you had more love." Hall, p. 124.

^c "Hearing, both at Middleburgh and here, that certain companies from the parts of Nottingham and Leicester,—whose harbingers had been newly in Zealand before me,—meant to retire themselves to Amsterdam for their full liberty, not for the full approbation of your Church : not favouring your main opinions, but emulating your freedom in too much hate of our ceremonies, and too much accordance to some grounds of your hatred ; I hoped you had been one of their Guides, both because Lincolnshire was your country, and Master Smyth your Oracle and General." Hall, p. 124.

^d 1 Cor. v. 10. John xvii. 18. ^e John xvii. 16. 1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18.

ditions of any people in the kingdom.^a The hellish impieties in the city of 'Amsterdam' do no more prejudice our heavenly communion in the Church of Christ, than the frogs, lice, flies, murrain, and other plagues overspreading Egypt, did the Israelites, when Goshen, the portion of their inheritance, was free;^b nor than the deluge, wherewith the whole world was covered, did Noah, when he and his family were safe in the ark;^c nor than 'Satan's throne' did the Church of Pergamos, being established in the same city with it.^d

"Conversation with the World: It is the will of God and of Christ, that his Church should abide in the World, and converse with it in the affairs thereof, which are common to both. But it is the apostacy of Antichrist to have communion with the world in the holy things of God, which are the peculiars of the Church, and cannot, without great sacrilege, be so prostituted and profaned.

"The Impure Mixtures of the Church of England: The air of the Gospel which you draw in, is nothing so free and clear as you make show. It is only because you are used to it, that makes you so judge. The thick smoke of your *Canons*, especially of such as are planted against the Kingdom of Christ, the visible church and the administration of it, do both obscure and poison the air which you all draw in, and wherein you breathe. The plaguy spiritual leprosy of sin rising up in the foreheads of so many thousands in the Church, unshut up, uncovered, infects all, both persons and things, amongst you.^e The blasting Hierarchy suffers no good thing to grow or prosper, but withers all, both bud and branch. The daily sacrifice of the Service Book, which,—instead of spiritual prayer sweet as incense,—you offer up, morning and evening, smells so strong of the Pope's *portuis*, as it makes many hundreds, amongst yourselves, stop their noses at it; and yet you boast of 'the free and clear air of the Gospel' wherein you breathe!

"The Judgment of the Church of England by Herself and her Neighbours: That 'all Christendom should so magnify' your 'happiness,' as you say, is much; and yet yourselves, and the best amongst you, complain so much, both in word and writing, of your miserable condition under the imperious and superstitious Impositions of the Prelates; yea, and suffer so much also, under them, as at this day you do, for seeking the same Church Government and Ministry which is in use in all other churches, save your own! The truth is, you are best liked where you are worst known. Your next neighbours of Scotland know your Bishops' Government so well as they rather choose to undergo all the misery of bonds and banishment, than to partake with you in your 'happiness' this way: so highly do they 'magnify'

^a "The Church and State, if they be two, yet they are twins; and that so as either's evil proves mutual. The sins of the city not reformed blemish the Church; where the Church hath power, and, in a sort, comprehends the State, she cannot wash her hands of tolerated disorders in the commonwealth. Hence is my comparison of the Church—if you could have seen it, not the kingdom—of England, with that of Amsterdam." Hall, p. 127.

^b Exod. viii. 22.

^c Gen. vii.

^d Rev. ii. 13.

^e Lev. xiii. 45—47. 2 Cor. vi. 17.

and 'applaud' the same!^a Which choice, I doubt not, other Churches also, would make, if the same Necessity were laid upon them! And for your 'graces,' we 'despise' them not, nor any good thing amongst you; no more than you do such graces and good things as are to be found in the Church of Rome, from which you separate notwithstanding. We have, by God's mercy, the pure and right use of the good gifts and graces of God in Christ's Ordinance, which you want. Neither the Lord's people, nor the holy vessels, could make Babylon Sion; though both the one and the other were captived for a time.

"The Issue of Separation: Where the Truth is a gainer, the Lord,—which is TRUTH,—cannot be 'a loser.' Neither is 'the thanks' of ancient 'favours lost,' amongst them which still press on towards new mercies. Unthankful are they unto the blessed Majesty of God, and unfaithful also,^b which, knowing the will of their Master, do it *not*, but go on presumptuously, in disobedience to many—the holy ordinances of the Lord and of his Christ—which they know, and in word also acknowledge, he hath given to his Church to be observed; and not for idle speculation, and disputation, without obedience. It is not by our 'sequestration,' but by your confusion, that 'Rome and Hell gains.' Your odious commixture of all sorts of people in the body of your Church, in whose lap the vilest miscreants are dandled; sucking her breasts, as her natural children; and are be-blest by her—as having right thereunto—with all her holy things, as prayer, sacraments, and other ceremonies; is that which advantageth 'Hell,' in the final obduration and perdition of the wicked, whom, by these means, you flatter and deceive. The Romish Prelacy and Priesthood amongst you, with the appurtenances for their maintenance and ministrations, are Rome's advantage: which, therefore, she challengeth as her own; and by which, she also still holds possession amongst you, under the hope of regaining her full inheritance, at one time or other. And, if the Papists take 'advantage' at our condemnation of you, and separation from you; it concerns you, well to see where the blame is, and there to lay it;^c lest, through light and inconsiderate judgment, you justify the wicked, and condemn the righteous. And, for the suspicion of the 'rude multitude,' you need not much fear it. They will suspect nothing that comes under the King's Broad Seal: they are ignorant of this fault! Though it were the Mass that came with authority of the Magistrate, they, for the most part, would be without suspicion of it; so ignorant and profane are they, in the most places. It is the wise-hearted, amongst you, that suspect your dealings; who will also suspect you yet more, as your unsound dealing shall be further discovered.

"The conclusion: Lastly; The terrible threat you utter against us,

^a "Yet even this Government, which you would have them resist to 'bonds and banishment,'—who knows not?—*begins* to find both favour and place!" Hall, p. 138.

^b "They are 'unfaithful' to God and his Deputy, which, knowing themselves made to obey, presume to overrule; and, upon their Private Authority, obtrude, to the Church, those ordinances to be observed, which never had being but in their own idle speculation." Hall, p. 140.

^c "We know well, where the 'blame' is; our deservings can be no protection to you; you went from us, not we from you." Hall, p. 142.

'That even whoredoms and murders shall abide an easier answer, than Separation,' would certainly fall heavy upon us, if this answer were to be made in your Consistory Courts, or before any of your Ecclesiastical Judges; but because we know that not Antichrist, but Christ, shall be our Judge, we are bold upon the Warrant of His Word and Testament—which being sealed with His blood, may not be altered—to proclaim to all the world, Separation from whatsoever riseth up rebelliously against the sceptre of His Kingdom; as we are undoubtedly persuaded the Communion, Government, Ministry, and Worship of the Church of England do!"*

* "Before that God, and his blessed Angels and Saints, we fear not to protest, that 'we are undoubtedly persuaded,' that whosoever wilfully forsakes 'the Communion, Government, Ministry, or Worship of the Church of England,' are enemies to 'the sceptre' of Christ, and rebels against His Church and Anointed! Neither doubt we to say, that a Mastership of the Hospital at Norwich; or, a Lease from that City,—sued for with repulse,—might have procured that this Separation from 'the Communion, Government, and Worship of the Church of England,' should not have been made by John Robinson!" Hall, p. *ult.*

[In p. 154, we have introduced a portion of Ben Jonson; here we present another. While the former, exposes one manner in which facts are treated, it gives historical information of the ordinary way, with an idea of the expense, of obtaining intelligence in that age, when no public journals existed; this latter extract, affords an opportunity of exposing alike play-wrights and their annotators. We gather from Jonson's admirers, that the object of their adoration was, from his early life to its close, a reveller in jakes and stews. This man, gifted as he was, perverted his intellects under the patronage of "the most learned fool in Europe;" said to be so called, by the accomplished Sully. And what this pedant-father bestowed to pension the minion, his *martyr*-son increased. What, too, Jonson's genius had thus extorted from *love*, vice, to which he was addicted, prompted him to extort from several of the nobility and gentry what they gave from *fear*. He had been a soldier in the Low Countries, was afterwards matriculated at Cambridge, frequented play-houses, killed an opponent in a duel, and, while in prison, was converted to the Papists, but after twelve years, was *reconciled* to the Church of England! The noblest effort of Jonson's genius, says his latest editor, who acknowledges his obligation to The Very Reverend the Dean of Westminster, without whose "anxious revision," he adds, "*no part* of the present work has passed the press," was the Alchemist, first acted in 1610; but which, we are told, by another, "could not secure him the general applauses of the people," though he had racked his wits to ridicule such as "rail against plays!" The exhibition of this disgusting olio was, however, permitted by Authority; ribaldry and obscenity being of no consideration, when the object was to stimulate vicious propensities,—

"Rhymed in rules of stewish ribaldry,
Teaching experimental bawdery!"

(*Hall's Satires*, 1597. *Bk. I. Sat. ix.*)

—and to defame whoever would not be allowed, had their principles warranted it, to retaliate by availing themselves of the thousandfold follies peculiar to their filthy assailants: a resort which was thus amply in the power of those who were uppermost when the scene had changed, and plays and their licensers were alike dispensed with; but for which exemplary abstinence no meed of praise has ever been awarded by advocates of histrionic exhibitions; who, on the contrary, revile their contemners, and argue the propriety of those exhibitions as main props of their respective causes. We copy from the piece last named, as follows:—

Act iii. Scene 2.

"*Subtle.* Nor shall you need to libel 'gainst the Prelates,
And shorten so your ears against the hearing
Of the next wire-drawn grace. Nor of necessity
Rail against plays, to please the Alderman

Whose daily custard you devour : nor lie
 With zealous rage till you are hoarse. Not one
 Of these so singular arts. Nor call yourselves
 By names of Tribulation, Persecution,
 Restraint, Long-patience, and such-like, affected
 By the whole family or wood of you,
 Only for glory, and to catch the ear
 Of the disciple.

Tribulation. Truly, sir, they are
 Ways that the godly brethren have invented
 For propagation of the glorious cause,
 As very notable means, and whereby also
 Themselves grow soon, and profitably famous."

The term "wood," annotators say, signifies any miscellaneous collection: of the "names," Camden, the learned antiquary, in his "Remains," 1605, chap. ii., having remarked on some who named *their* children after another way, continues, "I know some will think it more than a vanity; as they do but little better of the *new* names, 'Free-gift, Reformation, Earth, Dust, Ashes, Delivery, More-fruit, Tribulation, The-Lord-is-near, More-trials, Discipline, Joy-again, From-above;' which have lately been given by some to their children with no evil meaning, but upon some singular and *precise* conceit." It might be that this class of names had been "lately" introduced from the Continent, where they were, long before, in common use: 'Deodatus,' for instance, being found in records of most parts of Europe; and 'Grace, Mercy, Peace, Charity, Faith, Prudence,' &c. are common household appellations at home and abroad. Now, as if a fair representation of facts could not serve their purpose, what must be thought of such prominent annotators as Dr. Z. Grey, who, in his Exam. of the Third Vol. of Neal's Hist. p. 285, copies as genuine from another divine, in 1707, a list purporting to be the names of a Jury, which, with another similar list, is shown to have been invented designedly to impose upon weakness? See the first gravely adopted also by Hume, Hist. of Eng. chap. lxi. an. 1653; but satisfactorily exposed in Godwin's Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. iii. chap. xxx. p. 525, 526. These particulars concerning Jonson, are gathered from Whalley's Life of him, prefixed to the Dramatic Works. edit. 1811, 8vo. p. xxxix., vii., xxvi., xxvii., xxxii.; and Gifford's edition, 1816, 8vo. vol. i. p. xcvi., cclxviii. "At his first communion," he told Drummond of Hawthornden, "in token of his true *reconciliation*, he drank out the full cup of wine!" Quoted in Chalmers' Gen. Biog. Dict. 1815. 8vo. vol. xix. p. 154.]

CHAP. XII.

ROBINSON AND BERNARD OPPONENTS.—JOHNSON.

SUCH was the impression produced by the relapsed Bernard's attack upon the exiles, that they made it the occasion of defending their principles with renewed vigour and in various ways. Soon after his arrival at Amsterdam, Robinson must have commenced his bulky treatise of four hundred and seventy-nine pages, bearing the title of "A Justification of Separation from the Church of England. Against Mr. Richard Bernard, his invective, intituled 'The Separatists' Schism.' By JOHN ROBINSON. Gen. i. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 14.—Anno D. 1610." 4to.

He begins by telling the Christian Reader, that though two treatises had been published in answer to Bernard,* "Yet have I thought it meet

* Ainsworth's Counterpoison, *sup.*, and Smyth's "Parallels, Censures, and Observations, in a Letter written to R. Bernard," &c. 1609. 4to.

to add a third; not as able to speak more than they, but intending something further; namely, an examination of the particulars one by one, that so in all points the salve might be answerable unto the sore; applying myself therein to such a familiar and popular kind of defence as Mr. Bernard hath chosen for his accusations." And he writes below, "For myself, as I could much rather have desired to have built up myself, and that poor flock over which the Holy Ghost hath set me, in holy peace,—as becometh the house of God, wherein no sound of axe, or hammer, or other tool of iron, is to be heard, 1 Kings vi. 7,—than thus to enter the lists of contention; so being justly called to contend for the defence of that truth upon which this man, amongst others, lays violent hands, I will endeavour in all good conscience, as before God, so to free the same, as I will be nothing less than contentious in contention, but will count it a victory to be overcome in odious provocations and reproaches, both by him and others.^a . . . It were no hard thing for our adversaries to oppress us with the multitude of books; considering both how few and how feeble we are in comparison, besides other outward difficulties; if the truth we hold, which is stronger than all, did not support itself."^b

Touching "the proper subject" of the power of Christ, he tells Bernard, "Where the Papists plant it in 'the Pope;' the Protestants in 'the Bishops;' the Puritans, as you term the reformed churches and those of their mind, in 'the Presbytery;' we, whom you name 'Brownists,' put it in 'the body of the congregation,—the multitude called the Church;' odiously insinuating against us, that we do exclude the Elders in the case of government, where, on the contrary, we profess the Bishops or Elders to be the only ordinary governors in the church, as in all other actions of the church's communion, so, also, in the censures. Only *we* may not acknowledge them for 'lords over God's heritage,' 1 Pet. v. 3, as *you* would make them,—'controlling all, but to be controlled by none;' much less essential unto the church, as though it could not be without them; least of all, the church itself, as *you* would expound Matt. xviii. But *we* hold the Eldership, as other ordinances, given unto the church for her service; and so, the Elders or Officers, the 'servants and ministers' of the church, 2 Cor. iv. 5. Col. i. 25; the wife, under Christ her husband. . . And where, further, you advise the reader to take from 'the jay other birds' feathers,' that is, as you expound yourself, to set us before him as we 'differ from all other churches;' therein you make a most inconsiderate and unseasonable motion. If a man should set the Church of England before his eyes, as it differeth but from the Reformed Churches, it would be no very beautiful bird! Yea, what could it in that colour afford but Egyptian bondage, Babylonish confusion, carnal pomp, and a company of Jewish, heathenish, and popish ceremonies? Whatsoever truth is in the world, it is from God; and from Him *we* have it, by what hand soever it be reached unto us. 'Came the word of God unto you only?' 1 Cor. xiv. 36. And, unto it, we have good right, as the Israel of God, unto whom he hath 'committed' his 'oracles.' Rom. iii. 2."^c

^a P. 6.^b P. 8.^c P. 8.

Bernard having assigned "two reasons" for his procedure; "confidence" in his cause, and "the spiritual injury which some of late" had done him, "in taking away part of the seal of the ministry;" Robinson remarks, "As it is to us that know you well, no new thing to see you *confident* in all enterprises, so doth it much behove you to consider how long, and by what means, you have been possessed of this your confident persuasion. I could name the person of great credit and note to whom, upon occasion, you confessed, and that since you spake the same things which here you write, as confidently as now you write them, 'that you had much ado to keep a good conscience in dealing against this cause as you did.' But a speech of your own, uttered to myself, ever to be remembered with fear and trembling, cannot I forget; when, after the conference passing betwixt Mr. H. and me, you uttered these words, 'Well, I will return home, and preach as I have done; and I must say, as Naaman did, 'The Lord be merciful unto me in this thing;' and thereupon you further promised without any provocation by me or any other, that 'you would never deal against this cause, nor withhold any from it,' though the very next Lord's day, or next but one, you taught publicly against it, and so broke your vow; the Lord grant, not your conscience. And for 'the seal of your ministry,' deceive not yourself and others. If you had not a more authentic 'seal' in your blank box to show for 'your ministry' at your bishop's visitation, than the converting of men to God, which is the 'seal' you mean, this seal would stand you in as little stead as it doth many others, which can show as fair this way as you, and yet are put from their 'ministry' notwithstanding. And will you charge your bishops and church representative, to deal so treacherously with the Lord as to put down His ministers and officers which have his *broad seal* to show for their office and ministry? What greater contumely do these 'vipers'—these 'schismatical Brownists'—lay upon your church than you do herein? The Church of England acknowledgeth no such 'seal' as this. The bishops' ordination and licence, conformity unto their ceremonies, subscription to their articles, devout 'singing and saying' their service-book, is that which will bear a man out, though he be far enough either from converting, or from preaching conversion unto any. And here I desire the reader to observe this one thing with me,—When the ministers are called in question by the bishops, they allege unto them their former subscription—conformity in some measure, at least their peaceable carriage in their places; but when they would justify their ministry against us, then their usual plea is, 'They have converted men to God;' herein acknowledging, to let pass their usual dealing, that we respect the work of God's grace in any, at which, they know, the bishops and their substitutes, if they should plead the same with them, would make a mock, for the most part."^a

Arrived at Bernard's "Christian Advertisements, and Counsels of Peace," Robinson takes occasion to say—"I doubt not but Mr. Bernard and a thousand more ministers in the land; were they secure of the magistrate's sword, and might they go on with his good licence;

^a P. 9.

would wholly shake off their canonical obedience to their Ordinaries, and neglect their citations and censures, and refuse to sue in their courts, for all 'the peace of the church' which they commend to us for so sacred a thing! Could they but obtain license from the magistrate to use the 'liberty' which they are persuaded Christ hath given them, they would soon shake off the prelates' yoke, and draw no longer, under the same, in spiritual communion with all the profane in the land; but would break those bonds of iniquity, as easily as Sampson did the cords wherewith Dalilah tied him, and give good reasons also, from the Word of God for their so doing. And yet the approbation of men and angels makes the ways of God, and works of religion, never a whit the more lawful, but only the more free from bodily danger. Whereupon we, the weakest of all others, have been persuaded to embrace this truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, though in great and manifold afflictions, and to hold out His testimony as we do, though without approbation of our Sovereign, knowing that as his approbation, in such points of God's worship, as his Word warranteth not, cannot make them lawful; so neither can his disallowance make unlawful such duties of religion as the Word of God approveth; nor can he give dispensation to any person to forbear the same. Dan. iii. 18. Acts v. 29."^a

Feeling that he could not stand in his old course, without submitting his will to human authority, Bernard found it needful to give as one of his Counsels, "Omit no evident and certain commandment imposed of God. If there be nothing but *probability* of sinning, in obeying the precepts of men, set not opinion before judgment." Robinson answers, "Woful counsel, God knoweth; and indeed such as directs a course to harden the heart of him that follows it, in all impiety. For he that will, at the first, do that by man's precept, which is *like*, or which he *thinks* to be sin, will, in time, do that upon the like regard which he *knows* to be sin; and so fall into all presumption against God!"^b

Another phrase borrowed from the enemies of reform, and one whose echo truculent time-serving dependants have never ceased to reverberate, is, "Never presume to reform others, before thou hast well-ordered thyself."—"There is nothing more true or necessary to be considered;" but continues Robinson, "that is not all, for if, by God's commandment, we ought to 'bring back our enemy's ox or ass that strayeth,' Exod. xxiii. 4, how much more to bring into order our brother's soul and body wandering in by-paths? And here Mr. Bernard brings to mind a practice usual with many of the preachers in their sermons. They will advance prayer, namely, their service-book, that they may extenuate preaching; commend peace, that they may smother truth; plead much for Cæsar's due to be given him, that they may detain from God his due; and *everywhere send men back into themselves, that they may keep them from looking upon others*, and so make them careless of such duties towards their brethren, as God's word binds them unto. Lev. xix. 17. 1 Thess v. 14.: as though the commandments of God were opposite one to another, and could not stand

^a P. 14.^b P. 19.

together; whereas they are all most holy and good, and all helpful one to another, and all to be practised in their places; whether they concern ourselves or our brethren; they of the one sort ought to be done, and they of the other not to be left undone."^a

On Bernard claiming for his party "Godliness of life, and truth of doctrine," Robinson writes, "I do indeed confess, to the glory of God and my own shame, that a long time before I entered this way I took some taste of the truth in it, by some treatises published in justification of it, which, the Lord knoweth, were sweet as honey unto my mouth; and the very principal thing which for a time quenched all further appetite in me, was the over-valuation which I made of the learning and holiness of these and the like persons; blushing in myself to have a thought of pressing one hairbreadth before them in this thing, behind whom I know myself to come so many miles in all other things; yea, and even of late times, when I had entered into a more serious consideration of these things, and, according to the measure of grace received, 'searched the Scriptures' whether they were so or not; and by searching found much light of truth, yet was the same so dimmed and over-clouded with the contradictions of these men, and others of the like note, that had not the truth been 'in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones,' Jer. xx. 9, I had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood wherein I was so straitly tied, but had suffered the light of God to have been put out, in my own unthankful heart, by other men's darkness. This reverence every man stands bound to give to the graces of God in other men, that in his differences from them he be not suddenly nor easily persuaded; but that being jealous of his own heart, he undertake the examination of things, and so proceed with fear and trembling; and so having tried 'all things, keep that which is good,' 1 Thess. v. 21. So shall he neither wrong the graces of God in himself, nor in others. But on the other side, for a man so far to suffer his thoughts to be conjured into the circle of any mortal man's judgment as either to fear to 'try' what is offered to the contrary, in the balance of the sanctuary, or finding it to bear weight, to fear so give sentence on the Lord's side, yea, though it be against the mighty,—this is to honour men above God, and to advance a throne above the throne of Christ, who is Lord and King for ever. . . To your marginal note, namely, that 'none of us,' whom you call 'guides,' did fall to this course 'before we were in trouble and could not enjoy our liberty, as we desired;' I only answer this one thing, that all and every one of us might have enjoyed both our liberty and peace, at the same woful rate with you and your fellows."^b

Concerning "dissensions," Robinson instances the "stir about moonshine in water, as we speak, betwixt the east and west churches," respecting the time of keeping Easter; the bitterness between the Lutherans and others; and the case of the exiled church at Franckfort, "the very height of human frailty this way;" besides "the state of the Reformed churches amongst which we live, *whose violent oppositions and fiery contentions do far exceed all ours* : but I take," he

^a P. 24.^b P. 48. 50.

adds, "no delight in writing these things; neither do I think the needless dissensions which have been amongst us, the less evil because they are so common to us with others; but these things I have laid down, to make it appear that Mr. Bernard here useth none other weapon against us than Jews and pagans might have done against Christians, and papists against such as held the truth against them; yea, and than atheists... might take up against all the professions and religions in the world... Touching the 'heavy sentence' of excommunication by which 'the father and brother were delivered up to the devil,' as Mr. Bernard speaketh, I desire the reader to consider... the Church of England is in heavy case, which plays with excommunications as children do with rattles. And to allude to the word Mr. Bernard useth, in what a 'devilish' case are either the prelates and convocation-house which have *ipso facto* excommunicated all that speak or deal against their state, ceremonies, and service-book, since the curse causeless falls upon the head of him from whom it comes; or the Reformists, whereof Mr. Bernard would be one by fits, and such as seek for and enterprise reformation?"^a

"For Mr. Smyth, as his instability and wantonness of wit is his sin and our cross, so let Mr. Bernard, and all others, take heed that it be not their hardening in evil. Mr. Bernard, in proceeding to point out the hand of God writing heavy things against us, chargeth us, by Mr. White's testimony, with 'such notable crimes, and detestable uncleannesses, as from which they in the Church of England, either truly fearing God, or but making an apparent show thereof, are so preserved by God as they cannot be tainted with such evils as some of us oftentimes fall into.' As the witness well fits the cause and person alleging him, who, according to the proverb, 'may ask his fellow, &c.,' so have his slanders been answered, as Mr. Bernard knows; whereof it seems the party himself is ashamed, and so might Mr. Bernard have been, had he not been shameless in accusing the brethren."^b

In allusion to Bernard's seventh Likelihood, "The ill success" the Separatists' way "hath had," Robinson writes, "He spares no ungodly means in this his book, and otherways, by slandering our persons; by falsifying our opinions; by exaggerating our infirmities; by incensing the magistrate against us to suppress us; and yet, reproacheth us because we grow no faster! Dealing with us much as the Jews did with Christ when they blindfolded him first, and then bade him prophesy who smote him. Luke xxii. 64. But let it be, as Mr. Bernard would have it, that the cause of religion is to be measured by the multitude of them that profess it, yet must it further be considered, that religion is not always sown and reaped in one age. 'One soweth and another reapeth.' John iv. 37... The many that are already gathered, by the mercy of God, into the kingdom of his son Jesus, and the nearness of many more through the whole land, for 'the regions are white unto the harvest,' do promise *within less than a hundred years*, if our sins and theirs make not us and them unworthy of this mercy, a very plenteous harvest!"^c... "There is no truth of doctrine, nor ordi-

^a P. 56.^b P. 58. See back, p. 99, note (^d)^c P. 61, 62.

nance of God, taught or practised in the Church of England, which we enjoy not with far more liberty, better right, and greater purity, than any person in England doth or can." ^a "Let Mr. Bernard, or any other man on earth, show unto us, by the Word of God, that a church gathered and consisting of persons for the most part defiled with all manner of impiety, is cleansed by God; or that the daily sacrifice, the service-book, is as a lamb without spot; or that the spiritual courts, so miscalled, are sanctified of God for the government of his kingdom on earth; or that the court keepers, the arch-flamens, and flamens—the provincial and diocesan bishops, with their chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and other officers, are his holy ones, upon whom he hath put his Urim and Thummim; and then let us bear our rebuke, if we do not return to the Church of England." ^b

At another page, Robinson closes in with his antagonist, telling him, "Because you are come to this height of boldness and depth of dissembling, I will here insert, briefly, certain reasons which I received from yourself, in writing, to prove the bishops antichristian; and that word for word as I have reserved them by me to this day: 1. 'The fruits of the *Hierarchy* are contrary to Christ. 2. It forbids many good means of religion, as prophesying, &c. 3. It keeps in, and nourisheth, offenders, against painful labourers. 4. It excommunicates the godly; yea, for a word, and that *ipso facto*. 5. It is lordly and tyrannous; contrary to 1 Pet. v. 1—3. Luke xxii. 25. 6. It rules by popish laws, and by the power of man; which are carnal weapons. 7. It remits the offender for money, though he repent not. 8. It establisheth a universal bishop as well as a diocesan or provincial bishop.' . . These reasons I thought good to set down, not because they are all, or some of them of the best that can be brought, but because they are yours! which, notwithstanding, I am persuaded neither you nor any other can satisfy. And if Mr. Bernard himself thus write and speak in private, why blames he us for our public testimony?" ^c

"You lay to our charge, that though 'we like it well that you should call us Brethren, yet we will not so acknowledge you!' . . We cannot acknowledge some of you Brethren, but we must acknowledge all amongst you for such; for there is but 'one brotherhood' of all amongst you. . . Now, by the Scriptures, we have not learnt to enter any such fraternity, where we must acknowledge brother priest, brother half-priest, brother dumb-priest, brother, atheist, brother epicure, brother drunkard, brother blasphemers, brother wizard, brother conjurer; and lastly, brother recusant-papist, if not living yet dead, for so you bury him, as your 'dear brother,' committing his 'soul' to God, and his 'body' to the earth. . . But disclaim you the fatherhood of the prelates, the 'brotherhood' of the unhallowed multitude, and feast yourselves in the family and household of God, and we will acknowledge you in word and deed." ^d

"All persons baptized, neither do in truth, nor are, by us, to be judged to have 'put on Christ,' to have 'remission of sins,' &c. Gal. iii. 27. Acts ii. 39; but only such as to whom, by virtue of the

^a P. 64.^b P. 68.^c P. 84.^d P. 104, 105.

covenant of grace, baptism appertaineth. We must not conceive of baptism, as of a charm; or think it effectual to all it is put upon; but must judge it available and of use according to the covenant of promise which God hath made to the faithful and to their seed, and none otherwise. Gen. xvii. 7. xxvi. 4. Acts ii. 38, 39. iii. 25. 1 Cor. vii. 14. And baptism administered to any others, is so far from investing them with any saintship in that estate, as it makes guilty, both the giver and receiver, of sacrilege, and is the taking of God's name in vain."^a

"Wise men, having written of this subject, have approved as good and lawful, three kinds of polities,—monarchical, where supreme authority is in the hands of one; aristocratical, when it is in the hands of some few select persons; and democratical, in the whole body or multitude. And all these three forms have their places in the Church of Christ. In respect of Him, the HEAD, it is a monarchy; in respect of the Eldership, an aristocracy; in respect of the Body, a popular state."^b

"Ministers and church-governors have no such authority tied to their office [as civil magistrates have], but merely to the Word of God. And as the People's *obedience* stands not in making the Elders their lords, sovereigns, and judges, but in listening to their godly counsels; in following their wise directions; in receiving their holy instructions, exhortations, consolations, and admonitions; and in using their faithful service and ministry; so neither stands the Elders' *government* in erecting any tribunal-seat or throne of judgment over the People, but in exhorting, instructing, comforting, and improving them by the Word of God, 1 Tim. iii. 16.; and in affording the Lord and them their best service. But here it will be demanded of me, If the Elders be not set over the Church for her guidance and government? Yes, certainly, as the physician is set over the body, for his skill and faithfulness to minister unto it, to whom the patient, yea, though his lord or master, is to submit;—the lawyer over his cause, to attend unto it;—the steward over his family, even his wife and children, to make provision for them;—yea, the watchmen over the whole city, for the sake of safe-keeping thereof. Such and none other, is the Elders,' or Bishops,' government."^c

"The Scriptures record, that after Stephen's death, 'all' the church at Jerusalem was 'dispersed' save the apostles; and that they which were dispersed, 'went to and fro preaching the word,' Acts viii. 1—4; the effect of whose preaching amongst the Gentiles was the faith and conversion of 'a great number' unto the Lord. Acts xi. 20, 21. Here were not only church-matters, but even churches begun, 'preaching to and fro;' 'turning and joining of multitudes to the Lord, and that, where neither apostles, nor other officers, were present; for this is too gross to affirm, That during all the apostles' days, nothing was begun but by them! And what if the Lord should now raise up a company of faithful men and women in Barbary, or America, by the reading of the Scriptures, or by the writings, conferences, or sufferings of some godly men, must they not separate themselves from the filthiness of

^a P. 110.^b P. 132.^c P. 137.

the heathen to the Lord ; nor turn from idols to the true God ; nor join themselves unto Him in the ' fellowship ' of the gospel ; nor have any communion together for their mutual edification and comfort, till some vagrant priest from Rome, or England, be sent unto them, to begin their church-matters with his service-book ? And yet this would not serve the turn either, for he would be unto them ' a barbarian,' and they barbarians unto him. 1 Cor. xiv. 11. Some years must be spent before each could understand the other's language. Nay, if this were a true ground, That church-matters might not be begun without officers, — it were impossible that such a people should ever either enjoy officers, or become a church ; yea, I may safely add, that ever there should be in the world, after the universal visible apostacy of Antichrist, any true either church or officers. . . ' No man takes his honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as Aaron.' Heb. v. 4. Now, God calls no man, ordinarily, but by the church ; for I suppose you will not deny but that the choice of officers is a church-matter, and not a matter of the world. And the church must choose none but such as of whose ' knowledge, zeal, and utterance, they have taken trial by the exercise of his gifts,' as you truly affirm elsewhere ; and you will not say but this exercise of his gifts, after this manner and for this end, is a church-matter. Whence it followeth, that both church-matters, yea, and churches also, may, and in cases, must be begun without officers. Yea, even where officers are, if they fail in their duties, the people may enterprise matters needful, howsoever you will have the minister the only *primum movens*, and will tie all to his fingers !"^a

One of Bernard's " Reasons " against " Popularity," but as is remarked, " in truth against Christian liberty," is — " It is most apparent that Christ ascending up, ' gave gifts ' for preaching, administration of sacraments, and government, unto sorts of men, who are set out there, Eph. iv. 11, 12, and plainly distinguished from the other saints, *the body* of the church." Robinson answers at large, " Against this, hitherto, I take no great exception ; though the apostle's meaning may be better laid down thus, That Christ Jesus, the King and Lord of his Church, hath set in it certain sorts and orders of officers, rightly fitted, and furnished with graces, for the reparation of the saints, and edification of his body, to the world's end.—This we affirm as loud as you, and with more comfort. . . You, in bringing it, have only lighted a candle whereby to discover your own nakedness.—You would conclude, . . That therefore no brethren out of office, may meddle with the reparation and edification of the saints, or church. I do acknowledge that only apostles, prophets, &c. by office, and as works of their ministry, are to look to the reparation and edification of the body ; but, that the brethren, out of office, are discharged of those duties, I deny, any more than the rest of the ' servants ' were of watching, though out of office, because ' the Porter ' alone was, by office, ' to watch,' Mark xiii. 34, 37. Yea look, what is laid upon the officers in this place ; after a more special manner, by virtue of their office,—that also is laid upon the rest of the brethren elsewhere, in the same words, to be performed in their places as a duty of love, for which they have not only liberty, but charge

^a P. 139.

from the Lord. The officers are here charged with the reparation or knitting together of the saints: the same duty, in the same words, is imposed upon every 'brother spiritual,' Gal. vi. 1, (*καταρτίζω*): and I hope you, the ministers, will not be the only spiritual men in the church. Secondly, the officers are here given to 'edify' the body; the same duty, in the same terms, is laid upon every one of the 'brethren' in their places, 1 Thess. v. 11; and unto these few might be added a hundred places of the same nature. Why, then, should the ministers of the Lord, or any other for their 'sake,' *envy* unto 'the Lord's people,' (Num. xi. 29. 1 Kings, xxii. 2, 4.) either their graces or liberty; or thus arrogate all unto themselves, as though all knowledge were treasured up in their breasts, all power given into their hands; and as though no drop of grace, for edification or comfort of the church, could fall from elsewhere than from their lips? Moses wished that 'all the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them;' and Paul gives liberty to 'the whole church,' and to 'all' in it, women excepted, to 'prophecy one by one,' for the instruction, edification, and comfort of 'all.' 1 Cor. xiv. 3, 23, 26, 31, 34; but, with Mr. Bernard, and his church, I perceive neither Moses' prayer, nor Paul's grant, nor God's Spirit, must be available, or find acceptance for edification by any save the ministers. The subjects of kings use to complain of monopolies, but the subjects of the Lord Jesus have greater cause of complaint that He himself, his power, presence, and graces, wherewith he honoureth 'all' his saints, are thus monopolized and engrossed."^a

"Dare you say, as you have, that the Officers are absolutely to the church, as the eyes to the body; and, that there is no spiritual light, in the rest of the members, save only in them; and, that all the body besides, and without them, is darkness? Indeed, such blind beetles, *your* spiritual lords, and you, make your churches; and so you lead them. But, O you, the People of God, yet in Babylon, 'partakers of the heavenly illumination,' trust not these your seers too much. They would be thought all eye, from top to bottom; and would make you believe that you 'the multitude,' are stone blind, and cannot possibly, without them, see one step before you; that so they might lead you by the lip whither they list. But open your eyes more and more, and you shall see more and more clearly, that the ways of your National Church are not the ways which Christ hath left for his Visible Churches to walk in, but a very by-path; and take heed that these men, which would be thought all and only light, cause not a fog of earthly ordinances to rise upon you, and a dark mist to cover you!"^a

"In the church, all and every ordinance concerns every person, as a part of their communion,—without the dispensation of necessity,—for their use and edification, 1 Cor. iii. 22. xiv. 26; all the Officers to be chosen by suffrages and consent of 'the multitude,' Acts i. 15, 23, 26. vi. 1—3, 5. xiv. 23. xv. 2, 3. 2 Cor. viii. 19, 23. The Brethren are to admonish their brethren of every violation of God's commandment; and so, in order, to 'tell the church,' Matt. xviii. 15, 17, 18, and to see the parties reformed: to observe and to take notice of the Officers'

^a P. 158.^b P. 161.

carriage and ministration ; and to 'say to Archippus,' as there is need, 'Take heed to thy ministry that thou hast received of the Lord, that thou fulfil it,' Col. iv. 17 ; and if the Ministers will deal corruptly, and so persevere in the spirit of profaneness, heresy, idolatry, or atheism, to censure, depose, reject, or avoid them, Matt. xviii. 17. Rom. xvi. 17, 18. Gal. v. 12. 1 Tim. vi. 3—5. 2 Tim. iii. 1—5. Tit. iii. 10, 11 ; otherwise they betray their own souls, and salvation "a

"The *order* of the Old Testament was the order of a National Church ; but the order of the New Testament is the order of a Particular Church, wherein there needs no such subordination of Ministries as in the other which was National. The eye of common sense sees this difference."b

"Women are debarred by their sex, as from ordinary prophesying, so from any other dealing wherein they take authority over the man, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, yet not simply from speaking. They may make profession of faith or confession of sin ; say amen to the church's prayers ; sing psalms vocally ; accuse a brother of sin ; witness an accusation, or defend themselves, being accused ; yea, in a case extraordinary, namely, where no man will, I see not but a woman may reprove the church, rather than suffer it to go on in apparent wickedness, and communicate with it therein. Now for children, and such as are not of years of discretion, God and nature dispenseth with them, as for not communicating in the Lord's supper now, so under the Law for not offering sacrifices, from which none of years were exempted : neither is there respect of persons with God, in the common duties of Christianity."c

"And for the *gathering of a church*, I do tell you, That in what place soever, by what means soever ; whether by preaching the Gospel by a true Minister, by a false Minister, by no Minister,—or by reading, conference, or any other means of publishing it,—two or three faithful People do arise, separating themselves from the world into the fellowship of the Gospel and covenant of Abraham, *they* are a Church, truly gathered, though never so weak ; a house and temple of God, rightly *founded* upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, 'Christ himself being the corner-stone,' Eph. ii. 20, against which, 'the gates of hell shall not prevail,' Matt. xvi. 18, nor your disgraceful invectives either."d

"If the officers be the church, I would know, if one of them fall into scandalous sin and will not be reclaimed, what must then be done ? It will be answered, that the rest [of the officers] must censure him. But what if there be but two in all, must the one excommunicate the other ? The ruling Elder, it may be, the Pastor ? If the rest of the Elders, being many, may displace the Pastor by their authority, they may also place him, and set him up by their authority ; and so the poor Laity is stript of all liberty or power of choosing their officers ; contrary to the Scriptures."e

"The *bond* between the Minister and people, is the most strait and near religious bond that may be ; and, therefore, not to be entered but with *mutual* consent . . . It makes much, both for the provocation of the Minister unto all diligence and faithfulness ; and also, for his

a P. 165. b P. 174. c P. 206. d P. 221. e P. 227.

comfort in all the trials and temptations which befall him in his ministry, when he considereth how the People unto whom he ministereth have committed that most rich treasure of their souls, in the Lord—yea, I may say, of their very 'faith' and 'joy,' to be *helped* forward unto salvation—to his care and charge, by their free and voluntary choice of him... Acts xx. 28, 29. John x. 9, 12, 13. Acts vi. 1—5. 2 Cor. i. 24. It much furthers the love of the People to the person of their minister, and so, consequently, their obedience unto his doctrine and government, when he is such a one, as *themselves*, in duty unto God and love of their own salvation, *have made choice of*; as, on the contrary, it leaves them without excuse if they either perfidiously forsake or unprofitably use such a man's holy service and ministrations. Lastly, it is agreeable to all equity and reason that all free persons and estates should choose their own servants, and them unto whom they give wages and maintenance for their labour and service. But so it is betwixt the People and Ministers: the People a free people, and the Church a free estate spiritual, under Christ the King; the Ministers, the Church's, as Christ's, 'servants;' and so by the Church's provision to 'live,' and of her, as 'labourers' to receive wages. Rom. xv. 31. 2 Cor. iv. 5. 1 Cor. ix. 14. 1 Tim. v. 18."^a

"I will here interpose some few things touching 'succession,' and 'ordination' accordingly. First, then, We acknowledge, that in the right and orderly state of things, no ministers are to be ordained but by ministers, the latter by the former in the churches where they are, and over which the Holy Ghost hath set them.^b... The Prelates, and those which level by their line, do highly advance Ordination, and far above the administration of the word, sacraments, and prayer; making it, and the power of excommunication, the two incommunicable prerogatives of a *bishop*, in their understanding, above an ordinary minister. But surely, herein *these* chief ministers do not succeed the chief ministers, the apostles, except as darkness succeeds light; and Antichrist's confusion, Christ's order. Where the apostles were sent out by Christ, there was no mention of Ordination; their charge was to 'go, teach all nations, and baptize them;' and that the apostles accounted Preaching their principal work, and after it, baptism and prayer, the Scriptures manifest. Acts vi. 4. 1 Cor. i. 17. And if Ordination had been, in those days, so prime a work, surely Paul would rather have tarried in Crete himself, to have ordained Elders there, and have sent Titus, an inferior officer, about that inferior work of Preaching, than have gone himself about that, leaving Titus for the other! Tit. i. 5."^c

Before the above work had passed through the press, Robinson and those attached to him, had found a shelter in Leyden. There the most of them engaged in such occupations as their necessities compelled them to submit to; and their principles and consistent conduct ingratiated them with the authorities. Happily, they preserved their unanimity with as little interruption as can ordinarily subsist along with human frailty: a circumstance which tended much to oblite-

^a P. 375^b P. 406.^c P. 412.

rate the stigma affixed to them by the unprincipled advocates^a of national churches, whose own entire history presents, notwithstanding all their anathemas against seceders, an unbroken series of internal dissensions, with unceasing exhibitions of the impracticability of state establishments for accomplishing the diffusion throughout the world of pure and undefiled Christianity.

In what state the question of the Eldership was, among some of those who had fled from the oppressions of Hierarchical "governance,"^b may be inferred in part from "A Short Treatise Concerning the Exposition of those words of Christ 'Tell the Church, &c.' Matt. xviii. 17.—Written by Francis Johnson, Pastor of the English Exiled Church at Amsterdam in the Low Countries.—Psal. cxix. 59.—Printed in the year of our Lord 1611." 4to. pp. [26.]

Nothing more can be gathered from the contents of this book, respecting its origin, than what the following extracts convey. In his address to the Reader, Johnson writes, "The occasions that have moved me hereunto, are not unknown to many others besides myself;.. only two things there are which for some causes I think needful to be mentioned and observed. The first is, That as the Papists, by insisting upon the letter of the Scripture, have misunderstood and perverted the meaning of those words of Christ, 'This is my body, &c.' Matt. xxvi. 26; and, as the Anabaptists, pressing the letter, have erred in like manner, about other words of Christ recorded by the same Evangelist, where it is said 'Teach all nations, and baptize them,' 'Swear not at all,' 'Resist not evil,' &c. Matt. xxviii. 19., v. 34. 39; so have many of us done likewise about these words of Christ, 'Tell the church, &c.' Matt. xviii. 17. The other is, That the misunderstanding hereof, and the practice ensuing thereupon, have been a great means and special occasion of strange opinions and aberrations,^c of lamentable contentions and divisions, of opposing and despising the Elders' Government, of emulation and debate among the people; with sundry other evils arising and spreading themselves daily, to the great dishonour of God, and our own continual grief and trouble, and much reproach from others abroad. Whereupon I was drawn and bound by duty to God and his Church, both to consider with myself, and to manifest to others what I could, as it pleased the Lord by his Word to show unto me hereabout. Which, while I have endeavoured to do, there are that know what opposition and dealing I have found, and what things further are befallen us, which I had rather should be buried and amended, than published by me, or continued and increased by any. My care and desire, I thank God, have been, and, I trust, shall be alway, to receive and follow the Truth in love, with peace and holiness; and to that end,—as our age and times occasion us,—to search out, and discover to others, what in me is, both the apostacy of Antichrist on the one hand, and the erroneous confused courses of the Anabaptists on the other hand; that we may, by the mercy of God, stand free and

^a See particularly Baillie's Dissuasive, 1646, p. 54, where an impression is endeavoured to be made, at variance with known facts. ^b 2 Esd. xi. 32.

^c "For which, see Master Smyth's 'Differences;' 'Parallels;' 'Characters,' &c."

safe from both, and grow up daily in the sound knowledge and holy obedience of the truth of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. This, indeed, I have done with much weakness; and have, in some things, been overtaken, both in my writings and in our practice, divers ways: but my righteousness and salvation are of the Lord, whose grace is sufficient for me."

The leaf following, in Johnson, contains "The allegation of Matt. xviii. 17, in our 'Apology' against the D[octors of Oxford], p. 63." And, on the next page the Treatise is commenced with this heading, "The Examination and Further Consideration of the alleging and exposition of Matt. xviii. 17, which is in the 'Apology,' p. 63," and referring immediately to those words, the first sentence of the first paragraph runs thus, "Where it is said, that by those words 'Tell the Church,' Christ meant not the 'Presbytery,'^a—that is, the Congregation of Elders,—it is unsound, and cannot be warranted by the Scriptures."

For this change of sentiment, Johnson assigns five reasons: "First, because sundry times in the Scriptures . . . this word 'Church,' or 'Congregation,' is used for the Assembly of Elders: . . . consider, and compare together, Psal. lxxxii. 1, Josh. xx. 4—6; and Num. xxxv. 12, 24, 25, 29, with Deut. xix. 11, 12, 16, 17; 1 Sam. ii. 25, Matt. xviii. 17, with v. 22: as also, Deut. xxxi. 28, 30, 1 Chron. xxix. 1, 6, with xxviii. 1, 2, Prov. xxvi. 26, comparing the Septuagint with the original. Secondly, because Christ now spake to such as were Jews, and according to their phrase and manner of speech and dealing; as may appear by all the circumstances of the place. . . The 'Church,' or 'Congregation,' Matt. xviii. 17; the 'Synedron, or sitting of Elders,' v. 22, must be all one, . . . or else, how should his hearers then understand him. . . Thirdly, . . . the Scripture still layeth it upon the Governors, as a duty of their office, and not upon the private members, to hear the causes between the brethren, and to judge between a man and his brother. To what end God . . . requireth, that choice be made of such as are qualified; . . . and that they be hearkened unto, and obeyed of all, in the Lord; [consult] Matt. v. 22, and xviii. 17, with 1 Sam. ii. 25; Psal. lxxxii. 1; Num. xxxv. 12, 24, 25; Deut. xix. 11, 12; Exod. xviii. 13—26; Deut. i. 9, 13, 16, 17; and xvi. 18; xix. 16—18; xxi. 18, 19; and xxii. 13—21; and xxv. 7—9; with Ruth iv. 1, 2, &c.; 2 Chron. xix. 5—11; where note also, that the 'church' spoken of Matt. xviii. 17, is such an assembly where women may speak and be heard, in their cases and pleas, as well as men. And this they may do in the congregation of Elders, sitting to hear and judge the causes of the people, Deut. xxi. 19, 20; and xxii. 13—27; and xxv. 7—9; 1 Kings iii. 16, 17, &c.: whereas, by the Apostle's doctrine from the Law, it is not permitted to women to speak in the churches of the saints, where the whole church cometh together

^a "Else, by the Church, in the speech of Christ concerning it, Matt. xviii. 17, should not be understood the body of the Church, but only some members thereof, as the Presbytery, or Bishop, &c. Now that Christ doth not there so mean, but speaketh of the body of the Church, may thus be gathered: First, &c." *Apol. Poss. VIII. Reus. 6. p. 63.* See back, p. 114.

for the worship of God, and edifying of themselves by doctrine and exhortation, &c.; 1 Cor. xiv. 23, 23—35; 1 Tim. ii. 11, 14; with Gen. iii. 16. Fourthly; because, if the multitude of men, women, and children of years, be here understood, . . then . . the Master should be brought and complained of to his servants; the Father, to his children; the Husband, to his wife; yea, Rulers and Governors, to such as have no authority or government committed unto them by the Lord. . . [Compare Matt. xviii. 17, with 2 Chron. xix. 10; 1 Thess. v. 12.] Moreover, according to that understanding, in all cases of question and difference, the judgment should go out, and matters be ended by the more voices of the People,—as being the voice of the ‘church,’—though without and against the Elders and other Brethren, being fewer in number. . . Fifthly; because the Exposition of the precepts and rules mentioned in the New Testament; which accordeth not with the doctrine and rules given in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but is strange, and such as departeth therefrom; that is an erroneous Exposition, not to be admitted. And, therefore, the Exposition of Matt. xviii. 15—17, which maketh it a rule, which the Jews could not keep in Israel when Christ spake it, and teacheth that the words of ‘telling the church,’ or ‘congregation,’ are not to be understood of the Assembly of Elders, but of all the people and whole church of saints—as some do urge it—must be held erroneous: . . unless it could be showed to accord with the doctrine and rules given in the Scripture of the Old Testament, and not to be strange or departing therefrom.

“Albeit, therefore, the Positions touching the Church’s rights and power, spoken of in the ‘Apology,’ pp. 43, 44, 46, 60, &c., be true, according to that which is written, both of the ‘Israelites,’ that theirs was ‘the law-giving’ and ‘service,’ &c., Rom. ix. 4, and of us now, under the Gospel, that ‘all things’ are ours, 1 Cor. iii. 21—23; as also may appear by divers reasons and the grounds of them, mentioned in the same ‘Apology;’ yet will it not, thereupon, follow, that Christ’s speech, of ‘telling the church,’ or ‘congregation,’ may not be understood of the Presbytery and Assembly of Elders: as by these reasons here before set down may be observed. And, seeing it is undeniable that it did not, any way, hinder the right and power of the Church heretofore; when, in Israel, by this word ‘church,’ or ‘congregation,’ was understood ‘the Assembly of Elders,’ in speeches concerning question and controversy, about sin, obtaining of right, &c. why should we now, think it any hinderance thereunto so to understand it still; according to the Scriptures hereafter noted, and other the like?” We pass over, of necessity, several pages, where Johnson speaks “some-what more concerning those reasons severally;” and proceed with his remark, “That if Christ now had given a new rule of government that Israel had not, the disciples to whom it was spoken, could not have understood it by these words, which were according to the Jews’ received phrase and practice: and the Pharisees, and other adversaries of Christ, would have been glad if they could have had such an exception against Christ, That he had taught contrary to Moses! . .

"I might also," he says, "note here, touching ourselves, that otherwise, as our estate is, we could hear no matters of controversy between the Brethren but on the Lord's day; and, that we have done amiss in that very practice—which is still, by some, so much approved—when we heard matters on the Week day, as we have been wont: at which time, there was seldom half the Church together. For, by the reason aforesaid, there may be a further proceeding beyond it; when the whole church is met together, as on the Lord's day. But who can show such an Ordinance of God, That the Church should meet together on the Lord's day, to hear the Brethren's controversies that they have one with another? Find we such a course of dealing and proceeding under Israel on the Sabbath day? . . . And, did not the Elders of old sit in the gates, and afterward [under the Romans] in the synagogues, on the week days, to hear their Brethren's controversies?" . . .

Coming, at length, to distinguish between "a public judgment and a private," Johnson writes, "The public judgment cometh out from the Lord, or from his Ministers; . . . and when there is such a ministerial judgment, we must alway remember, that the sovereign authority thereof resteth in God and his Word. . . . The private judgment is to every particular person, touching their discerning, assenting, or dissenting, to or from the things spoken and done, according as every one is persuaded. And if this their judgment agree with the public, it is already signified by the officers; and so is one and the same with the public. If some disagree, it is the dissent of such particular persons' judgment from the public—of what sex or condition soever they be that so are diversely-minded,—and is to be regarded as there shall be cause; for which, see the Scriptures before alleged, and 1 Cor. x. 15, and xi. 13, and xiv. 37, 38, with ii. 15, Rom. xiv. 5."

Objections pressing themselves upon his mind, Johnson proceeds to say, under another section, "Here also it would be known, 'How a Church, consisting of two or three Brethren,' as we understood it, 'could observe that rule: for, when one of them hath dealt with another in the first place, and taken the third for a witness, in the second place, where, then, is the Church; and, who are they to whom the offender is to be brought, in the third place; according to that Scripture? Nay, when they are very many, being all yet private people; which of them have authority over the whole, and over the particular persons among them? Or, if they be all Women; have they the like power among themselves also? Or, have private persons more authority in the public censures, than particular Churches have, one toward another? Either, may particular Churches excommunicate one another; or, but mutually exhort, admonish, and—after all means used—separate one from another, if at any time there be just and needful occasion so to do?' If here it be asked, How then they may keep themselves from being leavened and corrupted by the other? It may be answered, That this may be done by Separation from such, though that Excommunication of them be not used: for thus, Separation from such implieth the power we have over ourselves; whereas excommunication implieth power and authority over others! . . . But these things, and any other the like, concerning People without Offi-

cers, and their estate and walking; as when they first came out of Apostacy, or in other such cases; they have been left to further consideration among us. . .

"Some while since, when Thomas White objected, 'That we had altered many things which we held in our constitution;' this answer, among other things, was given, 'That we acknowledge and profess, before all men, that divers things heretofore observed among us at the first, we have since altered, and do from time to time alter and amend, as God giveth us by his Word to discern better therein: yet, that this is the alteration—but of our judgment and practice, not of the Church's Constitution. Yea, that hereunto we are bound, and have power in Christ, even by the Constitution of our Church—which, by the calling of Christ and the Church's Covenant and Communion, requireth, at our hands, to walk together in the Truth of the Gospel, in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord: and, therefore, to forsake and avoid whatsoever is anyway repugnant thereunto. So free from all false ways is the Constitution itself; and we, that are in it, subject to err notwithstanding, many ways. So far are we also from the strange opinion and impiety of them that having, in this latter age of the world, disclaimed the Pope's person, and received some truths of the Gospel, yet retaining many abominations of Antichrist withal, would now stand still, and admit of no further proceeding or alteration among them: as if they had, at the first, seen and received the whole truth and all the ordinances of Christ.'^a Thus have we written, professed, and practised heretofore. And if any shall show better hereabout, by the Word of God; I hope I shall, by His grace, hearken thereunto.—1610."

CHAP. XIII.

JACOB JOINS THE SEPARATISTS.—AINSWORTH.

WE turn here, to enlarge our account of him, relating to whom we have held our readers in suspense till the change in his personal history should have arrived when he appears no longer as the defender of "The Churches and Ministry of England,"^b but like another Paul, the warm and successful advocate of those whom he had formerly despised: for producing which event, some credit must be attributed to Francis Johnson's "Answer."

The sentiments and practice of HENRY JACOB, the Puritan, whose writings "speak him learned,"^c had certainly suffered a transition, anterior to the date of his conference at Leyden with the judicious Robinson.^d His progress is apparent from the titles of successive fruits of his pen, as follow.^e

^a Ans. to T. White, p. 34, 36, with p. 13, 39.

^b See back p. 102. ^c Wood, Ath. Ox. ed. Bliss, vol. ii. col. 308.

^d We have not found the authority for this "conference," but it may be inferred from the imprint to his "Divine Beginning, &c." and from John Paget's Defence of Church Government, 1641. p. 105.

^e Though what we give here as a Note were not written when its author thought favourably of the Separatists, yet as it serves somewhat to develope his

“Reasons taken out of God’s Word and the best human Testimonies: Proving a necessity of Reforming our Churches in England. Framed and applied to Four Assertions wherein the aforesaid purpose is con-

character, and is otherwise deserving of notice, we could not pass it over. “A Defence of ‘A Treatise touching the Sufferings and Victory of Christ in the Work of our Redemption.’ [1598.] Wherein is confirmed, 1. That Christ suffered for us, not only Bodily Grief, but also, in his Soul, an impression of the proper Wrath of God, which may be called, The pains of Hell. 2. That after his death on the Cross, he went not down into Hell. For Answer to the late writings of Mr. Bilson, L. Bishop of Winchester, which he intituleth ‘The effect of certain Sermons, &c.’: wherein he striveth mightily against the doctrine aforesaid. By Henry Jacob, Minister of the Word of God. 1600.” 4to. pp. 211. Jacob complains with much feeling, in the Dedication, of the Bishop’s “unseemly” abusive treatment towards him; he so strongly traduceth and accuseth me in his book as is almost incredible.” He says, in the Preface, “It hath pleased Mr. Bilson, the now Lord Bishop of Winchester, to begin among us a new matter of Faith, never heard of before in England but only in the days of popery, touching the all-sufficiency of the mere Bodily Sufferings of Christ; and to maintain another, which was near worn out, of His going down into Hell in Soul. In both which, because my conscience assured me that he was much mistaken, and laboured hard that others should mistake also, I thought it not besides my duty, the Lord offering me opportunity, to maintain the truth, and that in all plainness and evidence of the Scripture, as God enabled me. . . Wonderful his Answer is, and altogether extraordinary, considering that such incomparable bitterness, disdain, scoffing, reproach, and furious rage, doth so abundantly come from him therein against my poor self, being yet by the mercy of God a true Christian; a minister of the Gospel; and one, I praise the Lord, which ever have been careful to be free from the scandals of the world. . . Verily this I have learned by his writing, better than ever I conceived before, namely, what great odds he maketh and desireth to be made between himself a Lord Bishop, and another, being but a Preacher of God’s most holy Word.” Alluding, p. 33, to those who with Bilson, “delight to vaunt of the Fathers,” Jacob remarks, that such as urge them cannot but be absurd and strange teachers, who, having in our time, “so many helps and means to discern where the Fathers mistook, which they utterly wanted, and we abound withal, yet do so little profit by them, that even great ‘Doctors’ as they desire to be thought, see not so much in the truth of the Gospel as many younger men now perceive; and in the Fathers they make themselves so cunning, that commonly their sound doctrine they little regard, their faults only they admire.” See back, p. 162. Jacob resumed this subject in 1604, in “A Survey of Christ’s Sufferings for Man’s Redemption: and of His descent to Hades, or Hell, for our deliverance.”

Jacob is the person meant in the Preface to the Lords of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council, before “The Answer” of the Vice Chancellor, &c. to the millenary “Petition,” 1603, (See back, p. 118.) where the Oxford divines speak of “H. I. a man that was of ordinary parts, and of as ordinary place, when he lived among us,” and in continuation they say, he “is now, it seems, become principal agent, and special procurator of the public cause among the factious. He, much mistaking in his strong conceit, that to insinuate with a man of wisdom, would be sufficient to fetch him over to that side,—writes unto one of eminent sort among us, after this fashion: . . . ‘It is not intended that your Names shall be rashly showed, to any man’s prejudice, but be reserved to a fit opportunity; if we shall perceive that they all together being brought forth will further our designs and suit. Of the good success whereof, we conceive good hope, thanks be to God. . . Wood-street, in London, the 30th of June, 1603. Yours to his power H. I.—Postscript. ‘I could wish you to confer with, D. A. about this matter.’” See this alluded to again, in Oliver Ormerod’s “Picture of a Puritan, &c.” 1605. 4to. where he asks, P. (7.) “Was not the ‘voice’ of Jacob’s own; and the hands, the ‘hands of Esau?’”

tained. The Four Assertions are set down in the Page next following. Psal. cxvi. 10. Luke x. 42.—1604." 4to. pp. 83.

"The Four Assertions.—1. It is necessary to reform the Churches of England, their ministry, and ceremonies. 2. For the space of two hundred years after Christ, the Visible Churches using Government were not Diocesan Churches, but Particular Ordinary Congregations: and the Bishops, as they were peculiarly called after the Apostles, were only Parishional, not Diocesan, Bishops; ^a differing from other Pastors only in priority of order, not in majority of rule. 3. The Scriptures of the New Testament do contain and set forth unto us,—besides the Government by extraordinary offices, apostles, prophets, evangelists, an ordinary Form of Church-government used therein. 4. The ordinary Form of Church-government set forth unto us in the New Testament, ought necessarily to be kept still by us; it is not changeable by men, and therefore it only is lawful."

The work is dedicated to King James, whom, it says, "we acknowledge to be the noblest pillar of the Gospel, and the greatest hope for the propagation and establishing thereof, that is in all Christendom;"^b and it is subscribed, "Your Majesty's humble, obedient, and faithful Subject, Henry Jacob, a Minister of God's Word."

In the seventeenth page, he has stated in form, that "Every Visible Church of Christ,—truly and properly so called,—ought by God's express Word, Matt. xviii. 17, to have and use the ecclesiastical government of itself: But every Particular Congregation of Christians is a Visible Church of Christ truly and properly: Therefore, every Particular Congregation of Christians, by God's express Word, ought to have and use the ecclesiastical government of itself; namely, according to the order set down for a Visible Church, in God's Word." He illustrates this; and in page twenty-two says, "Whence now it followeth, by a necessary and undeniable consequence, that these three conclusions ensuing are likewise certain and true: 1. Every Particular Ordinary Congregation of Faithful People, in England, is a true or proper Visible Church: *Jure Divino*; by right from God. 2. Every such Congregation here, and everywhere, is endued with power immediately from Christ, to govern itself ecclesiastically, or spiritually. 3. Every true and proper Visible Church, everywhere, is but one ordinary or constant Congregation only: And then, no one Church consisteth, neither can consist, of many ordinary distinct congregations."

Three pages onward, he writes, "I cannot forget, how some, thinking themselves deep politicians, do imagine that they see our grounds to be directly against a monarchy, or kingly state: 'For this ecclesiastical government being Popular,' say they, 'it will require the civil government also to become conformed to it.' Also, they think, 'it can never be managed, without trouble and tumult.' This is a most false conceit. The bounds of either government are distinct, and clearly severed the

^a "Howbeit I will not stick to acknowledge Julianus to have been such a Diocesan Bishop as I said,—namely, 'in some measure,'—near upon two hundred years after Christ." Jacob's "Attestation." p. 92. (*Infra*.)

^b On this, Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 566, remarks, "Thinking, perhaps, to move him much by these flattering compliments!"

one from the other ; albeit each doth aid and succour the other. . . This their insimulation is against none other than Christ himself and his blessed Word. . . Shall we accuse Christ himself, and his Gospel, that herein he yieldeth us not the true, right, or best form of a church ? And, therefore, we will, of our own heads, devise and constitute a better !”

On the point of his second “ Assertion,” Jacob remarks, “ If any say, ‘ The troublesomeness of those times, or the young age of the churches who are not yet grown up to perfection, caused that there were no Diocesan Churches with government ; nor Diocesan ruling Bishops then :’ and, ‘ We take advantage of the special state of those times ; urging it to our purpose generally :’ I answer, We urge, from the state of the apostolic churches, nothing but what is genuine in them, and ought to be perpetual with us. So that neither the ‘ troublesomeness’ of those times, nor the ‘ young age’ of the churches then, do give us our advantage. For notwithstanding these special circumstances, the Visible Churches using government, and the Bishops, then, might have been very well Diocesan and Provincial, if Christ had so instituted, and the apostles had so framed and left them : Nothing in the world hindered, but they might easily have been such even in those times. But the world knew none such then, as I have said. And it is impiety to say Christ’s Churches were ‘ imperfect then, as touching their Visible Form and Constitution, their Ministry, and the lawful order of worshipping God in them.’ Or, that the times since, have made them more perfect than they were as the apostles left them ! Wherefore, this advantage do we stand upon, and this do we urge, namely, The same Pattern and Form of Visible Churches using government, that was then universally practised and received from Christ and the apostles ;—which was Parishional, not Diocesan, as hath been declared.”^a

On his fourth “ Assertion,” he tells us, “ The very Papists do see and acknowledge this that I say, namely, both that these grounds of the Scriptures’ absolute perfection in all ecclesiastical matters, whereon we exactly do stand, are the true and right principles of the ‘ Protestants’ Religion ;’ and also, that the Diocesan Lord-Bishops do, and must, needs turn away from these principles, and deny them when they deal with us ; and must join plainly with the Catholics in their answers, if they will maintain themselves. Thus, they say, when one objected that ‘ The Puritans,’ as they foolishly and maliciously call us, ‘ would certainly be extinguished, if the queen should live any number of years.’^b ‘ Tush,’ saith another, ‘ You are deceived. Nay, much more possible and likely it is, that the Puritan shall overcome the Protestant, than the contrary. For that, the Puritan buildeth directly upon the Protestants’ first grounds in Religion, and deduceth thereof clearly, and by ordinary consequence, all his conclusions : what the Protestant cannot deny by Divinity ; but only by policy and human ordination, or by turning to Catholic answers, contrary to their own principles. And it is hard for any man sincerely to be a Protestant, but that he will easily pass also on, inore or less, to be a Puritan. And only they, in effect, will be

^a P. 66.

^b “ News from Spain and Holland.” 1593, 12mo.

against them, who are interested in the other side; as archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, canons, notaries, registers, civil lawyers [civilians], and the like.^a This do the very Papists discern and confess! Where-withal they prophesy also, as it were, If the Protestants' Religion be not rooted out, that the Puritans' Profession will finally prevail against the common Protestants and the Catholics also."^b

Jacob concludes his "Reasons" by saying, they had "*long since* persuaded me, in this cause. Wherefore, I was moved in conscience, to communicate them to God's people now in this seasonable and necessary time."^c In the next page we find "An Exhortation to all the godly, learned, and faithful Pastors of the several Churches in England; Henry Jacob, Minister of God's Word, wisheth grace and peace to be multiplied in Christ Jesus." It is an affectionate and earnest appeal to them on the "due execution of the whole . . . Pastoral office, sanctified or set by Christ himself in his Churches to this purpose." But fearing that they will raise objections, as he says, "too many will," he adds, "Them I desire to be as willing, as we are, christianly to discuss these questions. Wherein humbly we desire that the King himself would judge; who is *wise as an angel of God*, to understand and determine this whole cause by the trial and evidence of God's written Word. Which is, and must be, among Christians, the end of all Religious Controversies."^d

Though it does not appear, from the preceding production, that Jacob had arrived at all the consequences of his present perception of Truth, yet the darkness which had obstructed his progress was fast yielding to the beamings of the just and simple grounds and practice of church-government displayed in the New Testament. Hence he published, in the same year, "A Position against Vain-glorious, and that which is falsely called, Learned, Preaching." And, the "Offer of a Conference,"^e two years later, is said to have been drawn up by him. And that was followed, after a longer interval, if we be not in error, by a production of another kind.

We shall not hesitate, however, in attributing to Jacob's pen what constitutes the boast and glory of our denomination, as Independents,—the very first composition ever addressed to Authority restricted to the particularly interesting object expressed in its title, in these terms,—*"To the Right High and Mighty Prince, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britannie, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.—An Humble Supplication for Toleration, and Liberty to enjoy and observe the Ordinances of Jesus Christ in the administration of His Churches in lieu of human Constitutions. 1609."* 4to. pp. 48. No imprint of place, or printer.^f

^a "The Catholics' 'Supplication, *an.* 1604,' hath the like; p. 17."

^b P. 73. ^c P. 78. ^d P. 83. ^e See back, p. 125.

^f The work which followed next, on this subject, was "Religion's Peace; or a Plea for Liberty of Conscience," by Leonard Busher, a citizen of London, and a Baptist, 1614; reprinted, 1646, 4to. pp. 38, by H. B. doubtless Henry Burton. But another work appeared in 1615, under the title of "Persecution for Religion judged and condemned." It is anonymous, but the Dedication is subscribed, "By Christ's unworthy Witnesses, his Majesty's faithful Subjects, commonly, but falsely, called "Anabaptists." On this it is that some modern

The grievances under which the parties interested were suffering are fearlessly stated, and at length the Supplicants, or rather Jacob for them, beseech his Majesty that he "would be pleased, that we, the said Ministers and others, may, for the considerations hereinafter mentioned, have allowed unto us, by way of Toleration,—First, The liberty of enjoying and practising the holy ordinances enacted and left by the Lord, for the perpetual direction and guiding of His churches: Secondly, An entire exemption from the jurisdiction of the said Prelates and their Officers: And, Lastly, This happiness, to live under the command and charge of any your subordinate Civil Magistrates; and so to be, for our actions and carriage in the Ministry, accountable unto them; and likewise liable unto all such duties and taxations as are by the Law and Custom of this Land, in any way, chargeable upon subjects of our calling and condition."^a

"We acknowledge," they tell his Majesty, "no other power and authority for the overseeing, ruling, and censuring of Particular Churches,—how many soever in number,—in the case of their misgovernment, than that which is originally invested in your Royal Person, and from it derived to such of your Laity, as you shall judge worthy to be deputed to the execution of the same under you. So as

Baptists found their boast of *priority* on the subject of Toleration; attributing it to Helwisse, and his Church in London: See Crosby's Hist. of Bapt. 1738. vol. i. p. 269; and Supp. to Neal's Puritans, vol. v. p. 142, ed. 1822, 8vo., imputed to William Jones. And they are not a little pleased at the inadvertence of Mr. Charles Butler, where he writes, "It is observable, that this denomination of Christians, now truly respectable, but in their origin as little intellectual as any, first propagated the principles of religious liberty." Hist. Memoirs of the English Catholics, Ed. 1819, ch. xxix—3. p. 367. It was reserved for a later period still, when a member of the Episcopal Church of England! should put in a claim for the high honour of "the first public defence of the principles of Religious Toleration," on behalf of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophecy: showing the Unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's Faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting differing Opinions. 1647." Life, by Bp. Heber, 1822. Pref. p. ii. We might leave facts to speak for themselves, but if there be any one subject on which it is commendable to strive for the preeminence of human glory, not to be relinquished to any rival, how honourable soever, it is surely this of priority in publicly advocating the full enjoyment of mutual Toleration among all Christians. Let the reader judge, then, of the equity of the claim reasserted by Dr. Thomas Price, author of the admirably digested "History of Protestant Nonconformity in England." 1836. 2 vols. 8vo. Treating of "Persecution for Religion judged, &c." he writes of it as "fully" intituling its authors "to be regarded as the *first* expounders and most enlightened advocates of this best inheritance of man. Other writers," he remarks, "of more distinguished name, *succeeded*, and robbed them of their honour." "It belonged," he adds, "to the members of a calumniated and despised sect, few in number and poor in circumstances, to bring forth to the *public view*, in their simplicity and omnipotence, those immortal principles which are now universally recognised as of Divine authority and universal obligation." Vol. i. p. 522, 523. It is admitted by us that Jacob did not, on his side, dissert upon, or argue for Religious Liberty, in the entire breadth of it; the plea which he set up so courageously is, however, the ground on which all that has ever followed, is rested; and the limitation against the Papal Supremacy "over free countries and kingdoms," is but a consistent restraining of that sinful dominancy which would debar all else from the exercising of their privileges under the Gospel dispensation. *Palmam qui meruit, ferat.*

^a P. 7.

the favour humbly solicited, is, That whereas our Lord Jesus hath given to each Particular Church, or ordinary Congregation, this right and privilege, namely, to elect, ordain, and deprive her own Ministers; and, to exercise all the other parts of lawful ecclesiastical jurisdiction under Him, your Majesty would be pleased to order, as well, That each Particular Church that shall be allowed to partake in the benefit of the said Toleration, may have, enjoy, and put in execution and practice this her said right and privilege: as that some, your subaltern Civil Officers, may be appointed by you to demand and receive of each church, a due and just account of their proceedings. Here we do humbly entreat that we may not be so interpreted as if we disclaimed all sorts of Synods. It is the Ruling, and not the Deliberative and Persuasive Synod, which we except against. That a Synod should enjoin us to receive and entertain a constitution enacted by themselves, we hold it unlawful: to be moved thereto by way of persuasion, grounded upon a clear demonstration of utility and advantage growing thereby to the Members, we do in no sort dislike."^a

They tell his Majesty also, That they "neither hold in opinion, nor entertain in practice, any matter, . . . partaking of Confusion growing from the root of that accursed Parity which encountereth the subordination of Officers, which we, agreeably to the Word of Truth, do maintain to be of as necessary and worthy use in the Body of Christ, as in the body natural; in which, all Members are not eyes, or heads, or hands, but one is a head, another is a hand, &c.; so, in the Body of Christ, one is Pastor, another Teacher, others Elders, others Deacons, &c. And yet we disclaim not such equality as, betwixt distinct and separate churches, the Spirit of all Wisdom hath instituted and recommended; it being in them, as they are with respect of the one to the other considered, no more an incongenity or disproportion, than parity in eminency and power betwixt the several kings and kingdoms of Europe."^b

"We do humbly beseech your Majesty not to think that by our Suit for the said Toleration, we make an overture and way for Toleration unto Papists; our Suit being of a different nature from theirs, and the inducements thereof such as cannot conclude aught in favour of them, whose head is Antichrist, whose worship is Idolatry, whose doctrine is Heresy, and a Profession directly contrary to the lawful state and government of free countries and kingdoms, as your Majesty hath truly and judiciously observed. As we do not herein give advantage unto Papists, so do we not by way of Separation disclaim communion with such churches amongst us, as in opinion of Ecclesiastical Regiment, differ from us; being ready to communicate with them in the Lord's worship, when without personal and voluntary participation in sin, we may do the same."^c

"We are not ignorant that it is suggested to your Majesty, that for silencing of dissensions in the church, the silencing of Inconformitans is an admirable and present mean. But the observed experience of sundry years under your Majesty, and your predecessor queen Elizabeth, doth witness and proclaim to the world, that for freeing the

^a P. 13.^b P. 18.^c P. 20.

church from the sickness of division and faction, the urging of the said Conformity is no receipt of any sovereign virtue in that behalf! It hath, we see, been often administered by the Prelates and their serviceable *Apothecaries*; but ever with no better success than an unseasonable medicine, which doth exasperate and not temper the humours.^a . . . The admonition of Mæcenas to Augustus is worthy of drawing into practice: It is, saith he to the Emperor, a point of special wisdom, not to suffer *new names*, as aught from whence discord may arise."^b

"To be wronged in our souls, in our callings, in our bodies, is a matter of surpassing indignity and grief; considering the nature of the cause for which we suffer: and especially considering there hath been not long since published for trial of these controversies a most equal 'Offer of Disputation,'^c which is no more answered by them, [the Prelates], than sundry other our writings, which they pass over with silence.^d . . . They cast not on us some light aspersion and blemish, but heap upon us the greatest imputations. To censure and reproach us for arrogancy and pride, 'for want of all good literature and knowledge, for men of factious and turbulent spirits, for 'Schismatics' and 'Puritans,' is an ordinary charity we receive from them!"^e

The Supplicants conclude—"Now the God of heaven give us favour in your eyes this day. The Lord multiply upon your Royal Self, and your most noble Issue, all honourable felicities. The Lord disappoint the projects and attempts of your enemies. Amen.

"Your Majesty's most loyal, faithful, and obedient Subjects, some of the late silenced and deprived Ministers, and people consenting in judgment with them."

This is evidently not a petition emanating from "Puritans," so distinguished; therefore it is that we consider Strype mistook the Petition, of which he says, after the Oxonians, Jacob "was a principal agent, and a special procurator;" and of the panegyric of James, with which it opens, he has this remark, already quoted, "thinking, perhaps, to move him much by these flattering compliments"^f

If this were not, however, drawn up by Jacob, then the piece we must record next after the "Offer of Conference,"^g was published in 1610, under the title of "A Plain and Clear Exposition of the Second Commandment." But our attention is attracted to another treatise, of the same year, dated in the Dedication, Dec. 20th, and intitled, "The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's True Visible or Ministerial Church. Also, The Unchangeableness of the same by Men;—viz. In the Term and essential Constitution thereof. Written by Henry Jacob. Imprinted at Leyden." 12mo. pp. 118.

He begins by stating two adverse opinions on church-government, held by those who, notwithstanding, coalesce in submission to the same ritual duly or perfunctorily performed, as it may chance to be, by the same kind of administrators. The first sort, he says, hold that the form of church-government is left "arbitrary and free to the discretion of men in authority," and consequently, that Christ, "in respect of

^a P. 32. ^b P. 33. ^c In the margin, "Mr. Jacob's Book." See back, p. 125.

^d P. 43. ^e P. 45. ^f See back, p. 227. ^g See back, p. 125.

His church and government, as it is visible and outward, is not King, or Lord, or Lawgiver." The second sort hold the contrary. These two sorts occasioned the writing of this little treatise. Against the former, "a direct course of argumentation" is pursued; the latter are placed in the category of "necessary and infallible consequence:" they will not, "in obedience to Christ, use and practise that which they profess to be from Heaven!"

The treatise comprises thirty-one arguments, in the "form of reasoning by syllogism," because the writer desired to prove "the more exactly" the "main" proposition—"Christ is the only author, institutor, and framer of His Visible or Ministerial Church; touching the constitution, essence, nature, and form thereof; everywhere and for ever. And in this respect, we likewise affirm, that He is the only Lord, and King, and Lawgiver of the same." A true, visible, and ministerial church of Christ, Jacob defines to be, "a number of faithful people joined by their *willing consent* in a spiritual outward Society, or body-politic, ordinarily coming together into one place; instituted by Christ in his New Testament, and having the power to exercise ecclesiastical government, and all God's other spiritual ordinances,—the means of salvation,—in and for itself immediately from Christ." It has in it "a power of spiritual policy not compounded, but such as is single; that is to say, over persons not of *many* ordinary congregations, but of *one* ordinary congregation only."

"The Church's true and right government, in this regard, that the whole company of the People do give their free consent herein, is a certain democracy."—"It hath been showed,^a that such a popular government as this is, being limited within the bounds of one particular congregation, neither is, nor ever hath been, nor can be in the least sort dangerous to any Civil State whatsoever, but may easily, yea with violence be resisted, and punished by any the meanest next-dwelling officer of justice, if any person or persons in the church become seditious and refractory. Beside, this government is to be informed, directed, and guided by the Pastor chiefly, and also by the grave assistant Elders: and therefore this government is not simply and plainly democratical, but partly aristocratical, and partly monarchical: and so, it is that mixt government which the learned do judge to be the best government of all.—The point to our purpose here, is this, We see hereby, that the divers sorts and kinds of church-government do not differ among themselves in accidents only, but even in essence and substance."

"Our purpose is not to intitle Christ to be the special author, and institutor, always, and necessarily, of things accidental and mutable in the church; but only of things concurring to the essence, nature, and constitution thereof; that is, of things which make the matter and form of the same. And so, consequently, . . we must hold the same in that respect, to be ordinary, perpetual, and unchangeable by men, everywhere and for ever."—"That Christ hath no visible and ministerial church in the world, no Christian will say; or, that Christ hath no such church as is a spiritual body-politic. . . For every true visible and

^a In his "Reasons" for Reformation, p. 28.

ministerial church is either a body-politic or an anarchy; . . howbeit, it is a spiritual body-politic, not a civil;—because it hath a special power from Christ to dispense spiritual things unto men here on earth.”

“ Christ teacheth, yea and requireth, in Matt. xviii. 17, that this visible and ministerial church shall be ever of one entire outward form; namely, of this special form of a particular ordinary congregation, and of none other.—And the very word itself, *ἐκκλησία*, doth properly signify so, as I have said. I am not ignorant, that against this sense of this place, there are many objections made by sundry gainsayers of the Truth; but all in vain! . . This speech [or word] must needs be meant of the whole *assembly* of the People, considering, that never in any author, nor use of speech (meaning, ecclesiastically) for the space of two hundred years after Christ, this word *ecclesia* was taken but only for the *whole assembly* of the church. . . If we may imagine that this text is meant of the Civil Magistrate, and not of Christ’s ministerial church, then for fifteen hundred years after Christ this text was never understood, for any thing we can learn: for before Erastus, no man ever did so understand it. . . Christ enjoineth and commandeth, no man to prosecute his brother *civilly* offending him, before the civil magistrate. He commandeth to forgive him, and to take another injury rather than in law to pursue one. Matt. v. 40. . . Therefore ‘tell the church,’ is not a civil action; it must needs be a spiritual duty, whereby the offender’s soul abiding in sin, (*ἀμαρτία*, Matt. xviii. 15,) and so in peril to be lost, is to be recovered, if it may be. . . Surely the twenty-second verse maketh directly against bringing our brother into the law, first before the Jewish magistrates; then, before the infidels; as the Jews used to do in those days, to heathen and publicans: seeing these are small fruits of forgiving our ‘brother, seventy times seven times,’ as Christ commandeth us. . . Nowhere can we find any ministerial church constituted and compounded of many ordinary, distinct, and set congregations; as diocesan and provincial churches are, and the universal church also is. Wherefore Christ’s Kingly Office doth appear in that He there setteth down, yea commandeth, the precise form and manner of His visible and ministerial church.”

“ Christ is a King to us in outward matters, inferior and less than his visible church. Baptism, the Lord’s-table, the Ministry, the Government; whereto we may add the Ceremony used about the ordaining of Ministers, namely, laying on of hands; these are but appurtenances and dependants; and the things which serve but to the visible church’s use, are special institutions of Christ; therefore, out of question, the visible and ministerial church is, and must be of necessity, Christ’s own special institution, in the nature and form of it, and not any man’s ordinance.”

“ Christ’s Prophetical and Kingly Offices are of the ‘foundation;’ whether we understand the *foundation* of Christ’s church, or the *foundation* of every true christian man’s faith; for we doubt not but those words touching Christ the ‘foundation,’ in 1 Cor. iii. 11, are to be understood in either of these respects, and in both. And so, thus, and none otherwise, is Christ our Mediator and Saviour ordinarily.

These two Offices of Christ, as well as his Priesthood, must our faith (which saveth us) embrace, and absolutely rest on and be content with. And therefore also, . . . it is apparent to all men who do not wilfully shut their eyes, that it is absolutely unlawful, yea, a desperate robbing of Christ of his glory, when any magistrate, or church, or men whatsoever, do institute or command out of their own reason and will, the special constitution and form of any visible church pretending to be Christ's. Verily, such a one may *pretend* to be Christ's church, but it is not."

Such are some of the conclusions which Jacob took upon himself to avow. That he should escape from the scrutiny of opponents, or the misapprehensions of former friends, is more than could have been hoped for. Finding, accordingly, that "divers points and passages are doubtfully taken; that is, some of them are not well conceived, some misliked, by divers godly, wise, and well-affected," he judged it fit to employ his "second thoughts upon this business," in "A Declaration and Plainer Opening of certain Points, with a sound Confirmation of some other, contained in a Treatise intituled, 'The Divine Beginning, &c.' Written in a Letter by the Author of the said Treatise, out of the Low Countries, to a Friend of his in England. 1612." 12mo. pp. 45. Dated at the end, "Middleborough, the 4th of Sept. An. 1611."

His moderation, and yet his firmness, are displayed simultaneously in the first paragraph. "Whereas some have an imagination that I am one of the Separation, and am separated from all communion with the public congregations of England. To them, my answer is, that touching this point they err in their imagination. Although I know the Separation to be very far off from being so evil as commonly they are held to be, yet I deny not but that in some matters they are straiter than I wish they were. Howsoever, as to the point of Separation, for my part I never was, nor am, separated from all public communion with the congregations of England. I acknowledge, therefore, that in England are true visible churches, and ministers, (though *accidentally*, yet) such as I refuse not to communicate with."^a

"There is no visible, ministerial, or political church, if it be of Christ, but it hath power and right from him to administer even the whole ecclesiastical government, as well as any part. What church soever hath right to one part; the same hath power and right to the whole. Nevertheless, I doubt not a true church may be abridged in the actual execution of the government, as also of some other of God's ordinances; but not in the right and power to execute them wholly."^b

"No church consisteth of *many* ordinary, and constantly set, con-

^a P. 1.—"My meaning is, that as those particular congregations have in them godly and holy Christians consociated together to serve God, so far as they see, agreeable to his Word, so they are in right from Christ essentially true churches of God, and as such to be acknowledged by us, and in public not to be absolutely separated from. But in respect as those congregations are parts of proper Diocesan and Provincial churches, so they are true churches of Christ *accidentally*. For proper Diocesan and Provincial churches being not in the New Testament, have in them by *accident* the true essential form of Christ's Visible Churches."—"An Attestation," p. 305. *infra*. ^b P. 9.

gregations: every one hath but such congregation only, although, occasionally, a church may have in it many uncertain and changeable meetings. . . The proof whereof is easy, short, and fully sufficient: namely, thus, In Christ's and the apostles' institution and practice, all ministerial churches were but one ordinary congregation only. Therefore it followeth necessarily, that all Christ's true ministerial churches now, still and for ever are so, and must be so: that is, each of them consisteth, and ought to consist, of people belonging to no more ordinary congregations, but to one only."^a

"Diocesan and provincial churches have never admitted, nor do admit, the People's free consent in their ordinary government, neither indeed can they admit it orderly: it would be in them too troublesome, confused, and impossible. Yea, where each ordinary congregation giveth their free consent in their own government, there certainly each congregation is an entire and INDEPENDENT body-politic, and indued with power immediately under and from Christ, as every proper church is, and ought to be!"^b

Jacob repeats and confirms, in this way, all his former positions, pursuing still the syllogistic method, and guarding his premises against false or wrested conclusions. But, unremitting in his labours, and resolved to establish his positions, this impartial advocate of scriptural truth, strengthened his cause under the title of, "An Attestation of many Learned, Godly, and Famous Divines, Lights of Religion, and Pillars of the Gospel; Justifying this Doctrine, viz., 'That the Church-Government ought to be always with the People's Free Consent.' Also 'this, 'That a True Church under the Gospel, containeth no more Ordinary Congregations but one.' In the discourse whereof, specially Dr. Downam's and also Dr. Bilson's chief matters in their writings against the same, are answered." 12mo. pp, 323, "A. D. 1613;" but dated July 18, 1612.

The author dedicated this work to his "Christian and beloved Friends in London and elsewhere." We give the introductory sentences only: "The great and long afflictions which it hath pleased God to call me unto, only for testifying his heavenly truth against the grievous corruptions of the Church in our land, are well known unto you all, my most dear and loving friends. In the midst of which my troubles, what comfort I have received from you, though I publish not, yet both a most thankful remembrance thereof remaineth in my heart, and with God a most precious recompense is laid up for you at the last day." He laments that he has not "escaped the bitings of false brethren;" but had resolved, in the name of God, still to bear witness to his truth, and does "now take in hand to intreat here concerning the Christian People's power and right of *free consent* in their outward spiritual government given them by Christ Jesus in the Gospel." He undertakes to show this not of himself alone, but by "an *Attestation* of faithful and worthy witnesses" with him, in this "our greatest controversy touching church government." He deals most particularly with Dr. Downam, bishop of Derry, whose "Defence of A Sermon on

^a P. 10. ^b P. 13. See also his "Attestation," p. 86, where the word "spiritual" is added immediately after "body-politic."

Apocalypse i. 20," had made its appearance in 1611, and who "of a friend is not long since turned from us, and become our adversary;" the manner of whose writings is with "such an insolent conceit of himself, and with such contempt, indignation, and despite against us, as commonly is not seen in any but those who slide back from the truth which they had once tasted of.* . . And in many passages he very sharply provoketh me in particular, besides other wrongs that he hath done me, well known."

His method led him to begin with his "Attestations," first from the latest writers; and next, he rehearses the practice of the nearest after the apostles; whence he turns to the admissions of "our very adversaries." That done, he shows what good consequences necessarily follow "this doctrine," and what inconveniences arise from rejecting it. He also answers objections, and notices "immodest and unchristian reproaches;" winding up the whole in "a brief advertisement," committing his work to "the upright-hearted and discreet Christian reader."

Alluding, in his first class, to Beza, Jacob charges Downam with misunderstanding a quotation concerning Marcellus, who, Jacob says, "sought in churches perfectly established to bring all things in particular, and ordinarily, to the People's hearing, examining, judging, and voice-giving. But neither Beza nor we," he adds, "intend so. We acknowledge that the ordinary sway of all ecclesiastical authority ought to be in the true Bishop or Pastor of the church." He adduces Calvin, Viret, with Zuinglius, and Luther, "pillars of the Gospel," and descends to Bucer and Peter Martyr, Musculus, Bullinger, Gualter, Ursinus, Danæus, Tilenus, Junius, Piscator, Chemnicus, and lastly our countryman, Whitaker, who taught this concise and weighty maxim, "Quod omnes attingit, ab omnibus approbari debet.—What toucheth all, ought to be approved of all."

Afterward, he adduces the Confessions of Bohemia, Helvetia, Geneva, Savoy, and France; the Scottish, Belgic, Nassovian, that of the Palatinate, and of "other churches." "Verily," he says, "now it appeareth, I hope, that we need not be ashamed either of these noble lights of religion, or of this doctrine which manifestly we have learned from such worthies."b

Concerning "the best antiquity," Jacob says Eusebius records, "After James was dead, it is reported that the apostles and disciples out of all places, near about Jerusalem, came together into one, and took counsel together who might be judged worthy to succeed in James's place. Therefore all with one consent did think Simeon, the son of Cleopas, meet and able to have the government of the church there."c And again, he says, out of Egesippus, "After that James was slain, Simeon the son of Cleopas was made bishop; whom in the second place all the disciples appointed by voices to that government."d Various other instances are gathered from the Fathers and Councils, down to A.D. 682, when Jacob continues, "It is to no purpose here to inquire when or by whom this wrong first entered,—I mean, this withholding from the People of God their free consent in spiritual government."e

* P. 24. b P. 52. c Bk. iii. c. 10. d Bk. iv. c. 21. e P. 53, 67.

Availing himself of the controversy between the papists and "our very adversaries," Jacob produces such of their admissions as must astonish any who are not accustomed to the practice of double-dealing; and first of all he shows that bishops Bilson and Downam could advocate the truth of our cause when it was needful to prop their own. Bilson wrote thus, in his Answer to the Apology of the Seminary Priests and Jesuits, "We have the words and warrant of the Holy Ghost for that which we say, namely, that the People can and ought to discern and try the doctrine and spirits of the Teachers, and so to choose and refuse them as they by the Word should see good."^a Then why, as Jacob asks, are they not allowed so to do in England? what are they that revile and persecute this way?—In p. 355, Bilson affirms that the People "have skill and leave to discern both," the teachers and their doctrine. Where also he discourseth much, Jacob says, upon this right of the People, as being Christ's ordinance. In his "Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, 1593," where "he pleadeth to the contrary purpose against us," yet Bilson writes thus, "The apostles left Elections indifferently to the People and Clergy of Jerusalem. The People had as much right to choose their Pastor, as the Clergy that had more skill to judge:" p. 300. And, "Well may the People's interest stand upon the ground of reason and nature, and be derived from the rules of Christian equity:" p. 339. "I acknowledge, each church and people stand free, by God's law, to admit, maintain, and obey no man as the Pastor, without their liking:" *ibid.* Where, Jacob remarks, he addeth, "unless by law, custom, or consent, they restrain themselves:" but this he himself, elsewhere, answereth roundly: "What authority had others, after the apostles' deaths, to change the apostolic government?" p. 221. "It was not so from the beginning! Matt. xix. 8; p. 359." Also, where he calleth *men's* ordinances in church-government, "corruptions of times; inventions of *men*; and a transgression of the commandment of God for the traditions of *men*," p. 19: and, where he calleth such ordinances "intrusion and presumption," p. 111. After these, Jacob quotes some irreconcilable sentences in this book, and remarks upon them, "Wherefore, what to reckon of his sayings and speeches, we know not; only his foresaid agreement with us, in words, is manifest."^b

Next to him, we—says Jacob—will consider of Dr. Downam. He, in a certain place, though it seemeth full sore against his will, yet, through the force of truth, being compelled, yieldeth unto us, that "The power of ordination or jurisdiction, by right is seated in the whole church or congregation, in case of necessity: wherein both the succession of their own clergy failing, and the help of others wanting, the right is devolved to the whole body of the church."^c That which here he saith, continues Jacob, and which necessarily followeth from these words, is all that we desire. Seven consequents Jacob makes to follow from them, which, he says, "cannot be denied by any honest and true-hearted Christian."^d

Jacob proceeds to show the rise and nature of Dioceses: "Reason

^a Bk. ii. p. 353, 356. ^b P. 70—73. ^c Defence, iv. p. 99. ^d P. 74.

requireth that in great cities, when Christians multiplied, first there should be such precincts and quarters designed, (belonging only to one entire congregation and ordinary assembly); before many ordinary churches were divided and constantly set in them. The French and Dutch churches in London^a have such precincts and quarters, yet they have each but one ordinary congregation."^b

Having treated of the question of Councils and Synods, Jacob comes to say, "Hitherto I have showed our reasons and witnesses against Synods exercising absolute power spiritual over Christian people. . . To which business I have been forced by Dr. Downam's importunate slanders, both generally against us, and against myself in particular; who herein upbraideth us that we will not be ruled by Synods. I answer, We submit ourselves to be ruled spiritually by Christ's true visible church instituted in his Word. And what would he have more?"^c

"He goeth about to deny that we subject ourselves to the King's Supremacy. Whether he doth this with more malice or foolishness, I know not. For he cannot be ignorant that though we affirm the church-government is *independent*, and immediately derived from Christ, yet we affirm also,—and it standeth with good reason,—that the Civil Magistrate is even therein supreme governor *civilly*. And though nothing may be imposed on the Christian People of a congregation against their wills by any [alleged] Spiritual Authority, for so only we intend, yet we affirm withal, that the civil magistrate may impose on them spiritual matters by civil power; yea, whether they like or dislike, if he see it good. This we all gladly acknowledge. Wherein we refer ourselves to that which we have publicly written and protested in this behalf: in An Humble Supplication, or Petition for Toleration, 1609; and Offer of Conference, 1606."^d

Jacob takes up, next, the subjects of Diocesan, Provincial, and Universal Churches; these occupy a great number of pages; but as the discussion affects the very existence of the Reformed Churches at large, and does not concern those for which Jacob pleads more than it does others, we content ourselves with extracting this passage only,—
"If unity, concord, and peace-making, be a reason for diocesan and provincial churches, it is much better for a universal church. For it is true, a universal church may cause in Christendom a kind of unity and peace; but diocesan and provincial churches can never. For among these there may be easily so many opinions as there be provinces; these being *ἀντοκέφαλοι*, heads by themselves. Where the Doctor saith, 'The church was freer from schisms before the papacy, than under it;' it is most untrue, and it bewrayeth in him much ignorance."^e

Touching upon the making "the Bishops' power more than the

^a These churches exist still; the French, in Threadneedle-street; and the Dutch, in Austin Friars.

^b P. 93.—The modern "Christian Instruction Society" acts nearly upon this plan.

^c P. 114. ^d P. 115.—The phrase above, "we have publicly written," seems to establish what we have advanced unhesitatingly in p. 224. ^e P. 188.

apostolical," Jacob reverts to the point of "popular government," and takes occasion to say, "Some of the Separation, I grant, are too offensive this way; which I am heartily sorry for. They take the words on Matt. xviii. 17, 'Tell the church,' more popularly than there is need, or than reason or good order would. Howbeit, in this, yet they hold the substance of the true church-government. They err but in the circumstance of order. That is, they will examine all scandals, &c. whatsoever, in the presence and under the judgment of the whole multitude perpetually and necessarily. I say perpetually and necessarily. Wherein I wonder they see not the many ill consequences which will and must ensue many times." ^a Reverting also to Erastus, ^b that 'Tell the church' has reference to a senate or bench of Jewish civil magistrates, which Bilson greatly enlarged upon, Jacob informs us, that Francis Johnson himself had turned his opinion on this point "upside down," affirming, in his "Treatise of the Exposition of Matt. xviii. 17, 1611," that these words signify that the Jewish form of government is, by Christ, ordained in the Gospel. . . I grant Calvin and Beza think that Christ here alludeth to the Jewish church-government in their particular synagogues; but verily I cannot conceive why, or how it should be so: be it spoken with reverence to these rare servants of Christ. Howbeit, this nevertheless they hold from this place of Matthew, That the People have right so far that nothing in church-government be obtruded on them, by any ecclesiastical monarchy, or oligarchy, against their wills. Now this is the truth, and we willingly agree unto it. Yielding the sway of all government to the Pastor with his assistants, in ordinary cases; yet reserving still a power to the People to consent. . . Concerning all Jewish ordinances, the apostle teacheth and confirmeth unto us, that all those 'old things are passed away,' and that 'all things,' of such nature, under the Gospel, 'are made new,' and that the same things are 'shaken' and changed, and remain not now unto us, 2 Cor. v. 17. Heb. xii. 27. . . Dr. Bilson himself once taught soundly, saying, 'In Matt. xviii. 17, the whole multitude of the Faithful, where he and they,' the offender, and the offended, 'live,' are signified. And, 'In Acts xx. 28, the church is taken for the People.' Yea, 'the church is never taken, in the New or Old Testament, for the Priests alone, but generally for the whole Congregation of the Faithful.' ^c Let me ask a question, Was Dr. Bilson a Brownist, was he an Anabaptist, when he wrote thus? ^d

Near the close of his book, Jacob states his reason for being so particular in answering Downam, who had traduced and calumniated him; but professes that his purpose is "hereafter to cease this manner of dealing in this matter" unless he might do it "upon more equal conditions."—"The Lord, I doubt not, will raise up others that shall more effectually bear witness unto this Truth in due time. Even until the *Toleration* hereof in England, which hath been most Christianly *Supplicated* for, shall find grace and favour in his Majesty's eyes."—"Being with much vehemency charged, that for no just cause

^a P. 248, 249. ^b See back, p. 229. ^c Against the "Seminary Priests," bk. iii. p. 70; and bk. ii. p. 170. ^d P. 276—279.

I have refused to conform to the church order in England, I could therefore do no less but give out, yea, unto posterity, the true and most important *Reasons* of my dissenting herein."^a

Dispensing with Jacob, for awhile, we turn our attention, notwithstanding its dissimilarity of subject, to Ainsworth's work intituled "An Arrow against Idolatry; Taken out of the Quiver of the Lord of Hosts." This is a refined and exquisite piece of irony, directed against the Church of Rome.^b

Its execution and general merit are of the very first order; proving that the author could adapt his talents to every species of literary labour, and that his intellectual stores were inexhaustible. It is remarkable that the date of the first edition of this work is not known. His latest editor^c could not trace it earlier than 1624,^d but we have ascertained that it existed previously to 1612, that being the date of Clyfton's "Advertisement," noticed, hereafter, in its place, where this production of Ainsworth's pen is, more than once or twice, referred to, in the text and in the margin, though without its date being added.

The subject is comprised in six chapters. "Of the nature and beginning of Idolatry: How fast the sin of Idolatry cleaves to all flesh: Of Jeroboam's Idolatry, that infected Israel; and of the pretences he might make for his sin: A conviction of Jeroboam's impiety: Of the Idolatry of these times, far exceeding Jeroboam's: A conclusion, dehortatory from this sin." The author's object and success are very happily described in these words;—"In the prosecution of this design, he traces the superstition and idolatry of the Church of Rome to their source, in the notions and inclinations natural to all men; and applies his dissuasives to every kind and degree of the same iniquity. The whole discovers great abilities in the writer; but the parallel which he has drawn between the antichristian idolatry and that of Jeroboam, is peculiarly ingenious, and equally solid; and the pleas which he supposes him to have used in its defence, together with his replies to them, manifest no common degree of invention and judgment." When it is considered that Ainsworth wrote at a period in which the art of composition was almost unknown, the force and eloquence of this performance show him to have possessed very singular talents. He appears, indeed, to have excelled most of his contemporaries as much in good writing, as in the understanding of the truth."^e This, from a writer holding the sentiments which Dr. Stuart advocated, is no mean praise!

The passage most applicable to our particular purpose, constitutes the latter part of the fifth chapter. "As for Jeroboam, he dares not show his face before this Beast his successor; for his inventions, com-

^a P. 318, 319.

^b "The learning and spirit with which this argument is prosecuted are admirable; and excepting Lord Bacon's paper on 'The Pacification of the Church,' there is not, perhaps, another controversial treatise belonging to the age of James the First, that discovers the same measure of acuteness. It has a section containing the substance of Middleton's celebrated 'Letter' on papal idolatry." Vaughan's Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty. 1831. 8vo. vol. i. ch. xx. p. 319.

^c Edit. 1788. 12mo. pp. 82.

^d Life of Ainsw. p. lvi.

^e *Ibid.* p. lvii.

pared with hers, are not one to a thousand. What were his two calves, to the infinite images of this strumpet? Nay, her lambs of wax are more worth, than his cows of gold;^a for every immaculate 'Agnus Dei,' or Lamb of God, that this witch maketh of virgin wax and holy water, hath the same virtue against all devilish wiles and guiles of the malignant spirit^b with which the innocent Lamb, Jesus Christ, delivered our first father, Adam, from the power of the devil. But Jeroboam, doubtless, had no skill at all to make such idols of proof. Again; he forged but one feast out of his own heart, to make merry with his images once in a year;^c whereas this our purple Queen hath made many more holy days than there be months, that I say not weeks, of the year, in honour of her Lady and all her saints; and these, some of them, correspondent to the pagan festivities; as Christmas, Candlemas, Fasgon or Shrove-tide, according to the times and customs of the gentiles' Saturnal, Februal, and Bacchus' Feasts. For, unless it would be she would imitate heathen, she can hardly show any cause at all why she celebrateth her Christmas in the end of December, and her feasts at answerable times; seeing, in all likelihood, Christ was born in September rather than in December;^d but herein the *Church's* authority, which cannot err! must bear out all lies and forgeries. Unto these, she hath added fair temples, high altars, and other devotions more than can be told, much more effectual than were Jeroboam's: for his chapels and high places were simply to worship God in; but wheresoever any of our Jezebel's churches be, is surely no other than the house of God, and gate of heaven!^e And it must needs be so, seeing it is hallowed with exorcised or conjured salt water, ashes, and wine, which have virtue so to consecrate that church as that it may 'drive away all the devil's temptations; every fancy, wile and wickedness of devilish fraud; every unclean spirit, and power, of the enemy; and to root out the fiend himself, with his apostate angels.'^f And, also, by the merit of the Virgin Mary, and N. the saint unto whose honour and name the church is founded, and of all other saints, God is entreated to visit that place, 'and, by infusion of his grace, to purify it from all pollution, and to conserve it being purified, and that spiritual wickednesses may fly from thence.' Which being granted,—as cannot but be, I think, by so many saints' intercessions!—it is impossible now that any Idolatry should be committed in such a Sanctuary! whose 'first stone is laid by a Bishop, in the faith of Jesus Christ, that the true faith and fear of God, and brotherly love, may there flourish.'^g Such powerful works as these, none of Jeroboam's Bishops could turn their hands unto; for they were but novices in Satan's school, and had not properly learned the art of exorcism or conjuration, which the Sorceress of Rome, by long practice and experience, hath attained; being grown as cunning in these feats, as she that was mistress of her art, and sold the nations through her wickedness.^h For by these, and innumerable more enchantments of Idolatry,—which the

^a Hos. x. v.^b Sacra Cerem. Eccles. Rom. i. tit. 7.^c 1 Kings xii. 32, 33.^d Beroald, Chron. lib. iv. 6. 2.^e Pontific. Ord. de Dedic. et Consec. Eccles. eccl.^f *Ibid.*^g *Ibid.*^h Nahum iii. 4.

day would not be enough to reckon up,—this Circe, this Lady of the Pseudo-Catholics, hath intoxicated the earth, so that the inhabitants thereof are drunken with the wine of her fornication;^a doting upon her reverend clergy, her devout service, her sacred ceremonies, her hallowed churches, her saints' relics, and other like amatory potions, wherein Christianity, Judaism, and Paganism, are tempered and mixed together in the golden Babylonish cup of her abominations.

"Hence it is, that the relics of this Romish Idolatry are so fast retained among *some* which yet hate the whore, and eat her flesh, and burn her with fire.^b Of her, have *they* received their Diocesan, Provincial, and National churches. Of her have *they* learned to make *portuises* of liturgies, reading and singing their prayers upon a book with organs and melody. Of her institution, have *they* their solemn festivities of Christ's, angels,' and saints' days, with their fasting eves. Of her hand, have *they* taken their archbishops, lord-bishops, suffragans, arch-deacons, parsons, vicars, and a great many more of her royal retinue. From her, have had *their* churches, chapels, ministers, baptized bells, hallowed fountains, and holy church-yards; though some of those high places are of more antiquity, as having been built and dedicated to the heathen demons! Finally; from her, have been *received* lands, livings, tithes, offerings, garments, signs, gestures, ceremonies, courts, canons, customs, and many more abominations wherewith have been enriched the merchants of the whore, and all that sail with ships in her sea.^c Thus, with all the evils before mentioned, and others more than can be told, which are very 'Gilluhim,' the loathsome idols and excrements of the Queen of Sodom, and the filthiness of her fornication, hath *she* dishonoured and blasphemed the God of heaven, and all that dwell therein: with them *she* defileth the consciences of men; with them *she* delights and solaces herself in fleshly ease and pleasure, till, in one hour, *she* and all her riches, pleasures, wares, merchandise, shall perish;^d and that be again fulfilled, which was said by the prophet, 'Now shall she and her fornications come to an end.'^e

CHAP. XIV.

CLYFTON.—JOHNSON AND AINSWORTH DIVIDE.

That our narrative may be carried forward in the due progress of a continuous history, we shall record, at this place, such intervening occurrences as may contribute to the main design; in which we are materially assisted by what is suggested and supplied in "An Advertisement concerning a Book lately published by Christopher Lawne and others, against the English exiled Church at Amsterdam, By Richard Clyfton, Teacher of the same Church." 1612. 4to. pp. 128. The title of the Book referred to is "The prophane Schism of the

^a Rev. xvii. 2.

^b Rev. xvii. 16.

^c Rev. xviii. 15, 19.

^d Rev. xviii. 8, 19.

^e Ezek. xxiii. 48.

Brownists or Separatists, with the impiety, dissensions, lewd and abominable vices of that impure Sect; discovered by Christopher Lawne, John Fowler, Clement Sanders, and Robert Bulward, lately returned into the bosom of the Church of England, from the Company of Mr. Johnson." 1612. It occasioned much trouble to the exiles, "that both here, and in our own country, we are greatly abused,"^a and the more so as "being of like matter and argument"^b with that other book, intituled "A Discovery of Brownism:"^c from which, Lawne and his coadjutors had extracted "certain things;"^d though it had been answered by Francis Johnson.

Preliminary to a series of documents composing the bulk of Clyfton's publication, is what he calls "An Advertisement," where we read that "Of late," there is come forth, a pamphlet and scandalous book, full of reproaches, published by one Christopher Lawne, and other his companions. And to these must be added Robert Parker, author of 'A Scholastical Discovery against Symbolizing with Antichrist in Ceremonies, 1607, fo. who "joined" his testimony with the whole book, "which is as barren of warrant from the Scripture for the estate of the Church of England called into question, as Mr. Parker's former book against it, is fruitful therein."^e "As for the personal matters published in the book aforesaid, although we leave the matters concerning others to themselves, and do, for this church, acknowledge that indeed we have had our transgressions and infirmities, like as in the churches of Corinth, Galatia, and others in all ages and at this day, may be seen; for which we are much grieved; yet is it good and needful for the reader, here and always to remember that saying, *Quis erit innocens, si accusare sufficiat?*—If to accuse be sufficient, who can be innocent?"—"Now, touching these men and their dealings, I purpose not in particular, to show how ungodly and unjustly they have dealt against us: not only contrary to all piety, but against all modesty, in laying open the infirmities and transgressions of some whose repentance is known even to these reproachers themselves, as it was to the whole church; also in shameless publishing of some things never heard of in our church, nor so much as known to the parties whom they mention: besides their uttering of some things also, very false and untrue." "Is there any society or company to be found on earth, that if any would make a diary of their lives,—yea, even of them that are religious and godly,—but there would be found many things amiss among them? And yet no grace to any of such a company, especially in such a spiteful manner to commit such personal sins to print!"

"And here, by this occasion, we will speak a little concerning God's work about two others who have heretofore written against this poor church. . . . The one was George Johnson, the pastor's brother, who died at Durham. The manner of whose sickness and death was signified hither to his brother, by writing, from thence. . . . The words uttered by him, and other circumstances mentioned in the letter aforesaid, we spare yet to set down; as we would also still have done the thing itself, but that we are thus continually provoked hereunto, and

^a Clyfton, p. 114.

^d P. 126.

^b Clyfton's Pref.

^c Advert. p. 10.

^e See back, p. 107.

that we hope it will be for the good of others to stay them from such courses. . . And whereas it is often objected by Mr. Bernard, Mr. [Bp.] Hall, Mr. White, Ch. Lawne, and others, that the pastor's brother was excommunicated among us, and his father also, it is to be noticed that yet never a one of them hath undertaken to show the causes to be unjust, or the thing unlawful! . . Besides, seeing the parties here spoken of are now departed this life,* if Mr. Johnson should write any thing about them, by which they should now be found blameworthy, who cannot perceive that this, then also, would be abused against him; and that men would not stick to say, That now he might speak what he would of them, when they were not living to answer for themselves? . . The other that wrote in like sort, as these here have done, was Thomas White, who, after his living here, and writing so ungodly as he did, returned and lived a minister at London, under the prelates; where, when he had, after some while, gotten a benefice in such sort as he did, the Lord soon ended his days."^b

"But now, omitting to write any thing more of them that have thus dealt with us, and leaving them to the Lord, I will proceed to the next and last special matter which, at this time, I propose to speak of. And that is about the persons spoken of in this last book, [The 'Prophane Schism'], who, of late, *divided themselves* from us, and have since that time given forth some exceptions, and Articles of difference both here, at Amsterdam, and elsewhere. Here, they gave out some, which we heard of, but never had copy of them until now that these men have printed them; being taken, as they say, from the original copy. Otherwise also, they have given out the like, in Letters sent into England, as we have heard; and by means of one there, to whom they sent, had certain knowledge thereof, who dealt more godly and indifferently [impartially] thereabout, than any other of them that have, in such sort, been possessed and prejudiced against us. And as that party dealt with us, in acquainting us with those things which thus covertly were written and given out against us; so did we, also, for his better satisfying, write unto him in particular thereabout. The which, both Articles and Answers thereunto, we have thought good to keep them by ourselves hitherto. But seeing that other the like in effect, though increased in number, are thus published to the world, and that therein they have not, as they ought, handled and justified the causes for which they separated from us, but have gone about also to possess the world with other matters than those for which they made their breach; and by these their courses, do infinite blame unto our doctrine, as if we maintained opinions contrary to the truth; labouring, thereby, to set a more glorious show upon their Popular government and pleadings; and that, thereby, we perceive the truth is much hindered, and we injured; and many, by their means and opinions, so deceived, that they despise the holy government of Christ, which he hath set in his church to be administered by the Elders thereof, and refuse to submit thereunto. And, that not only they who have thus written and dealt

* G. Johnson and White.

^b "This Mr. White was my next neighbour minister. Mr. Josiah Shute succeeded him." Pagit's Heresiog. p. 73.

here, but others also in our own country, prejudiced with these matters, and sinisterly possessed with some of their writings against us and our cause, are likewise corrupted, and so have showed it both when, occasionally, some of us have been with them there, and also among themselves, as we hear. We have, therefore, for these and others the like reasons, thought it good not to keep these things any longer private by us."^a

The true cause is now apparent, which created the division in the church over which Johnson was pastor; ending in the total withdrawal of the disaffected, and in the instituting of another church under Ainsworth as its pastor: the societies being denominated respectively Johnsonians and Ainsworthians.^b Clyfton adhered to the former. Both parties were watched with strong interest by their friends in England; of whom, there must have remained a considerable number. Ainsworth, writing to one of them, tells him, "Many days of comfort God gave us here together, whilst, in singleness of heart, we sought him, in the midst of our pilgrimage, with love and peace; but love of *pre-eminence*, which hath always troubled the church of Christ, hath also troubled us; whilst the governors of the church, which should serve it with meekness, would rule it with lordship."^c He then instances six points in which there was formerly an agreement; concerning the power of "the whole body;" the call to the ministry: rebaptizing, or the invalidity of the baptism derived through the Church of Rome; and the counsel of sister churches, instancing the application, on this occasion, to the church at Leyden, and its results. These he calls, summarily, "the fountain of our sorrows."^d

The above is followed by another similar statement, which had been copied into Lawne's "Discovery." And that is succeeded in its turn by "An Answer to the writings and exceptions aforesaid," from the pen of Francis Johnson, occupying seventy pages. But before remarking on it, we notice that this again is succeeded by "A Note" concerning some things "agreed upon by the church," at the instance of the messengers from the church at Leyden. It relates wholly to the question of the Eldership; and is, in fact, an attempt at a compromise of the dispute; reserving to the People "liberty to except against, and evince, wherein the Elders do unjustly, without warrant: as also, in all good order, without disturbance and under correction, they may ask resolution of their doubts. And so, by this means, all popular confusion is avoided, and liberty in the truth retained."^e

Reverting, at this place, to Johnson's "Answer," he says there, "If we should set ourselves to make exceptions against them, as they have done against us, we could send and spread out private Letters, as they do; accompanied with more sound and better observations against them, touching such things as have passed among us. As for example, a little to imitate and resemble their vein of writing, thus, 'Many troublesome days and full of contention hath God exercised us here together withal, while we could not be brought, in singleness of heart, with humility to obey the Governors and observe the Government pre-

^a The Advert. *passim*.

^b Pagit's Heresiog. p. 88.

^c Clyfton, p. 22.

^d *Ibid.* p. 24.

^e P. 95.

scribed in His word, and to seek Him in the midst of our pilgrimage with love and peace. For, love of *preeminence*, which hath always troubled the church, hath also troubled us, while the People that should be under the Governors, would be over and above them; &c.!'^a He then commences remarks upon seven particulars laid down concerning the Eldership, and shows the variation between them and the doctrine "of late delivered and given forth." That done, he discourses, at considerable length, in defence of his treatise on Matthew xviii. 17; asking, "What dealing is this of theirs, that having made such a division as they have done, they leave the Treatise unanswered?"^b Touching on the third of the six points in Ainsworth's Letter to his friend, Johnson says, "Yet thus much I will acquaint you with further, That the like things being objected here against me, and written of unto us from the church at Leyden, I gave this answer unto it, namely, 'That the Church may excommunicate any Officer deserving it, as well as any other Member.' Also, 'That if all the Officers do jointly transgress, and so persist, then the Church which did choose them, may, also, depose and refuse them for being their Officers any longer, and may separate themselves from them. But, that the People may *excommunicate* all their Officers, or whole Eldership, together; I desired to see it showed and warranted from the word of God.'"^c

He says, on the fourth point, "If they would here imply a particular matter concerning one of our Ministers, about Imposition of Hands; that is a point also left to further consideration among us, and therefore pertains not to the plea about their division, which was made before."^d . . Now they do, in particular, express this matter concerning one that was Minister in the Church of England, and is since chosen Teacher of this church, and received among us without any new imposition of hands.^e . . Weighing with ourselves, that one main and special reason against rebaptization is, because baptism is an ordinance of God which was had in the Church of Rome before she fell into apostacy, and hath been there continued ever since the apostles' times,—however it be commingled, among them, with many corruptions and inventions of their own,—we began to consider, whether the like might not be observed and said concerning Imposition of Hands, That it was had from the apostles, in the Church of Rome, before her apostacy; and is there continued to this day, though mixed with many pollutions and devices of their own. And, entering into the consideration thereof, we observed these things, among other, about it, That Imposition of Hands is of God, and not an invention of man, &c.: That Baptism and Imposition of Hands are joined together among the principles of the 'foundation' spoken of Heb. vi. 2. &c.: . . That in the Scriptures, we find, how some Officers were admitted with it, and some without it, &c.: That some Churches hold it not of necessity to be had: that the Church of Scotland, as we hear, doth not use it at all; but, instead thereof, gives 'the right hand of fellowship:' that the first ministers and officers of

^a P. 27.^b P. 31.^c P. 47.^d We infer that this might relate to Clyfton himself; and that, consequently, he was not a "Teacher," before Ainsworth seceded from Johnson's church.^e P. 50.

the Dutch and French Reformed churches had no imposition of hands ; because, at their first coming into order, they had no elders to impose hands : that the ruling elders and deacons, at this day, have no imposition of hands among them, as we understand : That neither the Apostate nor the Reformed churches repeat it to the ministers when they go from one congregation to another among them.—Thus we show the keeping of communion with all other Christians and churches, what in us is ; as we do also by retaining our baptism, and any other truths and ordinances of God had among them ; which still we keep, purging them only from the corruptions wherewith they are defiled among them. . . And observing, withal, such considerations about it, as are herebefore related, we stayed ourselves and rested in this, That the Church did choose him into office ; and that we did by prayer commend him unto God for his grace and assistance in the ministration thereof ; which we did without Imposition of Hands at that time, as both ourselves had done before at our first growing into order, and as the French and Dutch churches also did when they first began reformation among them. Whereabout, if any sounder and better course be hereafter showed at any time, we can then proceed further, as there shall be cause."*

Johnson relates the affair of the application by the Ainsworthians to the church at Leyden, and what passed in consequence up to the return of the messengers, whom himself and his adherents followed by a Letter, dated "Nov. 5, old style, 1610," requesting that church to suspend its judgment on grounds which may be gathered from the reply, dated "Leyden, Nov. 14, 1610 ;" and which, as it shows the sentiments of Robinson and his colleagues, we transcribe :—"Touching the agreement, Brethren, between the churches ; for our mutual peace, and the relief of the consciences of our brethren, we did and do repeat the same, as full and absolute on both sides, except either some better course can be thought on, or this manifested to be evil, and that then it be reversed with the mutual consent of both churches. And for this last motion, about 'a double practice ;' as we are glad of the great and godly desire to continue together in it manifested, so do we not see how it can stand either with our peace or itself ; but that it will not only nourish, but even necessarily beget endless contentions, when men, diversely minded shall have business in the church. If, therefore, it would please the Lord so far as to enlarge your hearts on both sides, Brethren, as that this middle way be held, namely, That the matter of offence might first be brought for order, preparation, and prevention of unnecessary trouble, unto the Elders as the church-governors, (though it is like, we, for our parts, shall not so practise in this particular) ; and after, if things be not there ended, to the Church, of Elders and Brethren, there to be judged on some ordinary known day ordinarily ; the admonition being carried according to the alteration practised and agreed upon by all parties, till it shall please the God of wisdom and Father of lights, by further consideration and discussing of things, either in word or writing, to manifest otherwise for our joint accord :—It would surely make much to the glory of God, and the stopping of

* P. 51—53.

their mouths which are so wide opened upon us in respect of our daily dissipations; and should be to us, matter of great rejoicing, whose souls do long after peace, and abhor the contrary; and that thus walking in peace and holiness, we might all beg, at God's hands, the healing and pardon of all our infirmities, and so be ready to heal and forgive the infirmities one of another, in love. And, with this prayer unto God for you and for ourselves, we re-salute you in the Lord Jesus."^a

When the dissatisfied "left us," Johnson adds, "they went not to Leyden, there to join themselves to that church, according to the agreement before spoken of; but went apart from us here, forsaking the fellowship which they had with us, and met together in another place of this town. . . This is sure, that some have gone from this church and city, to live in the other; in respect of their outward estate, and in hope of bettering it: though none of them did so upon the former agreement and in respect thereof, that I remember."^b

"Now what breaches, contentions, and continual troubles, had been, at that time in this church, among us, they are not ignorant of; besides the exceeding great and heavy one which, about the same time, befell that other *Congregation* of our countrymen here; who, about the question of the churches' government, pleaded also against the Eldership, for their Popular cause, with some of the very same arguments, and other like, as these have done; and ran into sundry Anabaptistical opinions and courses not unknown to them. And the Brethren of Leyden, in their Letter here before, make mention of our 'daily dissipations' which then we had. Which things I note here, by this occasion, that it may the better appear both what great cause we had now to look hereunto, and that these things also befell us while we held that course of government pleaded for by these men; and, afore they made this schismatical departing from us, as now they did, because we would not still continue and hold on the same course as before."^c

"Finally, after a year's dispute publicly had by word of mouth, and all the other means used among us, I offered, in the end, to try out the matter in writing between us; . . yet would they not yield hereunto. . . Neither would they continue any longer with the church; but with great sin and scandal, divided themselves from us, which they professed that day, and parted the next, December 15, and 16, 1610; and so have continued ever since."^d

We have been as minute as we well could, because equity required it, in selecting the most appropriate matter from this long Letter of Johnson's; and we cannot, accordingly, make room for the Agreement, &c. following it; nor for "The Judgment" of Francis Junius concerning the Church of Rome. But we must not dismiss Clyfton's volume, without a single remark respecting "Mr. Studley's Answer to the Accusations and Objections printed against him by Lawne and his fellows;" which, being found there, intimates that Studley remained with Johnson and Clyfton. The charges against him are, on his own admission, founded on "unseemly"^e conduct; but are, in every

^a P. 79. ^b P. 84, 85. ^c P. 90. ^d P. 93. ^e P. 117.

instance, magnified by his traducers into deeds of the greatest criminality. His misconduct induced, however, fifteen persons to act against him, with the design of procuring his dismissal from office. "Here," he says, "was a beginning to tread the pathway unto popular government; the very bane to all good order in church and commonweal."^a In this very sentence lies, perhaps, the real source of all the dispute regarding the Eldership! According, too, to his own statement, he had excited the resentment of some one whom he acknowledges to have said, "That if a scholar had reproved him, as I did,—which was of unsound doctrine of somewhat he spoke in public,—he could well have borne it; but I, that was none, to reprove him that was one, this made him to stomach me."^b Clyfton adds, at the end, "Thus, Christian Reader, I have showed thee Mr. Studley's Answer, drawn by himself. By which thou mayest perceive the ungodly dealing of these men against him. As for others amongst us, whom they have also abused in like sort, see 'The Inquiry and Answer of Thomas White's Book,' . . . who was so plainly convinced of slander and bad dealing therein, as he could never after open his mouth to reply or disprove the Answer given!"^c

The conclusion of the prayer with which Clyfton closes his book, is so much in unison with our own desires, that we adopt it cordially, beseeching fervently, That the Lord would "turn all the enmity and cursing of men into a favour and blessing upon us: increase in us the knowledge and obedience of His will in all godliness: strengthen us in and for His truth unto the end: and, after we have suffered here a while, bring us to His heavenly rest and kingdom for ever. Amen."

Our attention must now be directed to "An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clyfton's 'Advertisement:' who, under pretence of answering to Ch. Lawne's Book, hath published another man's Private Letter, with Mr. Francis Johnson's Answer thereto. Which Letter is here justified; the Answer thereto refuted; and the true Causes of the lamentable Breach that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled Church at Amsterdam manifested. By Henry Ainsworth. Amst., A.D. 1613." 4to. pp. 136.

"What challenges and provocations we have had by others," it is remarked in the Preface, "the world hath seen heretofore, by works published; what now is further come upon us, they may see in part, though not as we have felt. Our adverse brethren, although themselves have not answered the things formerly published against their present errors, yet have not ceased to urge us with boastful speeches, private letters, and public treatises, to come into this field; and while we were otherwise employed, they have much insulted against us; and now, rather than we should be quiet, they take our private letters and print them; so restless is error in itself, so troublesome to others. And whereas Ch. Lawne and others first declined to these our opposites' faction, and afterwards fell from evil to worse, and have set out a 'lewd' pamphlet, to the disgrace of the truth and of sundry men's

^a P. 122.^b P. 123.^c P. 126, 127.—See back, p. 209.

persons.* Mr. Clyfton, who hath printed my Letter with Mr. Johnson's Answer, intituleth his treatise 'An Advertisement' concerning Ch. Lawne's Book; but taking occasion by Articles therein printed, the most that he advertiseth is against me. It was my desire and purpose to have left controversies, and have exercised myself in more quiet and comfortable meditations; but it pleaseth not God as yet, to grant my request therein. My prayer therefore is, that His gracious Spirit may guide me in this conflict for His truth, and gird me with strength unto this battle."

Apart from the general controversy, some information is afforded by this publication. Thus, it contains Ainsworth's own relation connected with particulars, of which an unjustifiable use has been endeavoured to be made by such writers as Pagit, and White in his "Profane Schism of the Brownists;" from p. 21 of which Pagit gives this relation; "The testimony of the magistrates of Amsterdam concerning the Brownists, both of old, in their suit against Master White; and now, in their late suit for their Meeting-house, when they sought to lay their action in the name of a church, they were repelled by the magistrates that are members of the Dutch church, . . . that they held them not as a church, but as a sect." ^b Bearing upon these subjects, Ainsworth writes, "Touching the printed Articles so often spoken of in their 'Advertisement,' . . . First, for the Scornful that printed those Articles, they (Lawne's Book, p. 78, 82) bear the world in hand as if the congregation whereof I am, and myself, had sued others at the law for the Meeting-house; whereas the contrary was publicly agreed in our church, That we would rather bear the wrong, than trouble the magistrate with our controversy: neither have we ever commenced such a suit. Secondly, But whereas two of our brethren, and a widow, were chief owners of the building, they sought first in private friendly manner to come to agreement with their opposite brethren, but could not; then they devised to put it to the arbitrement of indifferent citizens, but the other party refused: whereupon our brethren signified to us that they must seek help of the magistrate, for the estate of some of them was such as they could not bear the loss and damage; and asked us, if the church's right were called in question,—for our adversaries' plea was, the church, the church!—what should be answered before the magistrate? We, with signification as before, that we would rather suffer wrong than sue at law, yet could not hinder them of seeking for their particular right; and if, in so doing, the church's right were called in question, that then some certain appointed, should answer for the same. Thirdly, Those our brethren, before they went to the judges, entreated the help of the burghmasters, the chief of the city; who laboured, by persuasion with our opposites, to put the matter to the arbitrement of good men chosen by both sides, but they still peremptorily refused. Fourthly, When it was brought before the judges, they also at first, both persuaded unto and nominated two indifferent men to hear the case; but when our opponents came before them, they refused to stand to their arbitrement. The judges the second time appointed them, with a mulct, or forfeit, upon those that refused their

* See back, p. 238.

^b Heresiog. p. 76.

arbitrements: but our adverse party persisted in their refusal as before, and urged sentence of the magistrates, and pleaded that 'they which build on another man's ground, are by law to lose their building;' which plea they made because the assurance of the ground was made in the name of one man only, now among them, whose name was used but in trust, for any other might have had the same as well as he; as was proved before the magistrate by sufficient witness. Now, unto these arbiters appointed, did our brethren willingly refer the cause, and to them inquiring of the differences, were those Articles exhibited; which it seemeth those libellers, or their scribe, by some means that we know not of, procured a copy of, and so printed them! What cause now, have these our opposers to find such fault with our giving out those Articles, which we were constrained by them to do, unless we should have suffered the truth to have been trodden down? They, rather, have cause to acknowledge their own stiff and refractory carriage, who would not yield to any good council given them, by our brethren, by arbiters, or by the magistrates, till law forced them thereunto; and so have occasioned, many ways, our common adversaries to rejoice."^a

When the Reformers broke off from the Romish church, it could not be otherwise, but that the question would arise concerning devolution of church-power and its real depositories. It has unhappily been, ever since, a principal source of contention among Protestant churches; and even those of our own order, or that are nearest to it, have continued to hold very discordant sentiments on the subject. In the case before us, we have shown already that it was truly baneful, causing the separation of "chief friends."^b We have seen that Francis Johnson had written on Matt. xviii. 17. Alluding to a 'declaration' in that treatise, Ainsworth tells us in this "Animadversion," that it is "defective;" and, he goes on to say, "the seven points" *articled* against him and his adherents, in the "Advertisement," are "injuriously wrested." The controversy related to "The power of the People in judging sin and sinners." His present opponents, he reminds them, had united with him formerly in professing the church to be the Elders and People *jointly*;^c now, they were "striving that it is not so, but the Elders *only*." But, adds Ainsworth, "we know it must be either the name or the power of the church that they would have. And we never thought them so vain as to make such a stir for a name or title; *we* held therefore to the *power* which Christ hath given to his church for judging of them that are within. 1 Cor. v. 4, 12, 13."^d

The application of the question to themselves, Ainsworth gives in these words;—"If all the power of receiving in and casting out were given to the Elders, then our church, which [when it] was first gathered and constituted, did receive in and cast out members without Elders, was not planted by the power of Christ; neither had they authority to set up Elders, if they could not again upon desert depose them; and if they had not power to judge their brethren, much less could they judge their elders! And here come in, the gathering of the church by virtue of popish baptism; and, of receiving the ministry

^a P. 2.^b Prov. xvi. 28.^c Apology, p. 60. Third Petition, Position viii.: See back, p. 114.^d P. 4.

from Rome as well as the baptism, and the like ; which our opposites were and must necessarily be driven unto for defence of their error. And as for the first gathering of this church ; they said, an error in the doing overthroweth not the action ; for Isaac erred in blessing Jacob instead of Esau, yet the action did stand. To which we answered, That it was done by a person who had power from God to give the blessing ; and the action was also confirmed by the evidence of God's Spirit afterward. But this People, upon our opposites' doctrine, had no authority from God to do as they did ; neither could they show any confirmation of the work by God, if our former grounds fail us."^a

Because the dissentients "always sought to extenuate the controversy, as if it were but strife about words, or about the meaning of Matt. xviii. 17," Ainsworth says, "we purposely prevented it, signifying expressly, before we parted, that we would bear with them," in their understanding of that passage, "so as they would yield the point in controversy, which was about the church's power, from other Scriptures."^b

He says, the causes why he had not answered Johnson's Treatise are "1. When others heretofore, as namely, Mr. Smyth, wrote against the truth which they formerly professed, we all thought best not to answer, till the second or third time we were exceedingly provoked ; for we considered how the common adversary would rejoice at our intestine troubles. The same I minded here ; and these men should, if they were not partial, have done the like. 2. I had experience, in former dealing with Mr. Smyth, of his unstayedness, that would not stand to the things which himself had written. I mind the like in *these* opposites, who are not settled for the constitution of their church and ministry upon any ground, that I know of, unless it be popish succession. . . 3. There are nine 'Reasons' in that our 'Apology,' to confirm the power of the church now in question ;^c the aforesaid treatise dealeth but against one of them, leaving the rest there. . . If they yield us the cause upon the other 'Reasons,' we will not strive about the meaning of one Scripture, as before we showed. The meaning of Matt. xviii. 17, is handled by Mr. Robinson, against Bernard. . . Why do not these men answer the things there written, but still call for more ; as if all men must leave other studies, to follow them in their hunting for preeminence. . . 5. I, for the love and respect that I have always had to these now opposite brethren, have desired their conviction rather by others, than by myself, who are both better able to perform it, and are likely to be more regarded than I, and to do it with less public scandal to the world ; who desire nothing more than to see us, that were so nearly joined, to sharpen our pens one against another. Thus have I been stayed hitherto."^d

^a P. 5.

^b *Ibid.*

^c "That the power of Excommunication, is in the Body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to be cast out are members." Apol. p. 62 ; or Third Petit. Pos. viii.

^d P. 6.—To strengthen himself, Ainsworth appeals in p. 8, to what passed in the "Troubles at Frankfort" on this question of the Eldership ; and he copies from p. 115, &c. of that book, eight articles agreed upon and confirmed by the magistrates after Horn had "usurped authority above the church." We

Taking up the Private Letter, which Clyfton had published, he handles Johnson's Answer, published with the Letter. "Three things he tells us, are to be treated of; The points wherein they are gone from their former profession: The points they now charge us to differ from our former profession: The conditions of peace which they refused." And he remarks, in passing, "If a church have one minister only, he is to teach and govern them by the Word of God; yet is not any one man a church, neither hath the power of a church. Yea, this distinction is in one particular, by themselves acknowledged in the same book: Advertis. p. 46; 'It is undeniable, that to give voices in elections is not a part of government, or a duty peculiar to the governors of the church, but an interest, power, right, and liberty, that the Saints and People out of office have.' Very well said! Whereupon we infer also, That to give voices in deciding of controversies, and judging of sinners, is not a part of government, but a power and right that the Saints out of office have.^a The Elders are to teach, direct, and govern the church in election of officers; they are to do the like in judging and excommunicating wicked persons, and in all other public affairs."^b "There never was such a practice in my days, as whereby the Elders should be esteemed the *Church*, and to have the power of the same."^c "The 'proportion' they speak of is a *disproportion* concluding from magistrates' authority in the commonwealth, to ministers' in the church; which is against Christ's doctrine, Matt. xx. 25, 26. And if they will not learn it of Christ, they may learn it of Cato, who yet said to such, 'It becomes you to be mindful of your condition, that you are not magistrates, but ministers.'^d "Dr. Bilson confesseth, that to reason 'from the magistrate to the minister, from the Sword to the Word, from the Law to the Gospel, &c. the leap is so great that cart ropes will not tie the conclusion to the premises.'^e "Ainsworth follows these, by a concise but very valuable enumeration of the kinds of officers and their courts "in Israel," and then throws out this challenge, "Now they that would proportion their power with Israel, should show whether they mean all these forespoken, or but some. They should tell us to whom the pastor is proportionable, to whom the teacher, to whom the ruling elders."^f "Our opposites tell us of the Elders' power, that 'indeed it is the Church's. . . And it is,' say they, to be ministered by the officers,' but not, say I, by them only; therein is the deceit. The whole church is 'a kingdom of priests, that is, of *ministers*;^g who are to be guided and governed by their officers,^h called also *ministers* in more special manner;ⁱ for the holy and orderly practice of the power. And thus the prophets foretold the state of the Christian church, saying, 'strangers shall stand and feed your sheep, and the sons of strangers shall be your ploughmen and dressers of your vines. But ye shall be named the Priests of the Lord; and men

copy the 65th only; "That the Ministers and Seniors, and every of them, be subject to ecclesiastical discipline and correction, as other,—private members of the church be."

^a Acts xv. 7, 12, 22, 23, 25. 1 Cor. v. 12, 13.

^b P. 10. ^c P. 11.

^d Plutarch in Catone, p. 15.

^e Perpet. Gov. ch. iv.—P. 16.

^f P. 17.

^g Exod. xix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

^h Heb. xiii. 17.

ⁱ Colos. iv. 17.

shall say unto you, The ministers of our God.'^a Where the officers of the church are compared to pastors and husbandmen, as the New Testament also confirmeth, Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. iii. 9; which should be of the converted Gentiles; and the church itself is the Lord's priesthood and his ministers. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Rev. xx. 6."^b

Referring to the exception of these opponents, about women and children; asking, "'If they should, in a controversy, be the greater part, whether then they be the church spoken of?' Also, 'whether in the congregation, and presence of the elders, the women and children have authority, by virtue of that rule, Matt. xviii. 17, to examine, rebuke, admonish their husbands, parents, &c.?' I answer," Ainsworth says, "First, . . . The whole church of men, women, and children, are to be present at ecclesiastical judgments, as at all other public administrations of the church, where whatsoever is performed is done by 'prayer, and the ministration of the Word,' Acts vi. 4, that all may receive instruction by the Word there ministered, and as it is written, 'All Israel may hear and fear, and do no more any such wickedness.' Deut. xiii. 11. xvii. 13. But no other to have voices or suffrages in examinations, &c. than they that have voices or suffrages in election or deposition of officers. And they well know it was never our judgment or practice, that, in elections, women or children should 'give their voices;' the apostle, and nature itself, requiring women to be 'silent' in the church.^c . . . They have seen Mr. Robinson's answer to Mr. Bernard,^d to the same effect."^e

Who is there that has a right conception of what practical Christianity requires, that will not concur in the following sentences? "The Elders, by directing the church in the right way, are as 'eyes' to the body; by administering the sacraments and censures, they are as 'hands;' when they are sent on the church's message, they are as 'feet;' when they reprove sins, they are as the 'mouth;' when they are reproved for their sins, they should be as 'ears;' and so other Christians, in their places and employments. And as God hath bestowed his graces upon any, so is he to be regarded of all, without respect of persons: neither should the Elders be minded like Ahitophel, and take it ill if, at any time, their counsel be not followed. 2 Sam. xvii. A man may see that in the church which Solomon saw in the besieged city, 'a poor wise man,' that delivered the city by his wisdom; though both he and his wisdom were despised. Eccles. ix. 13—16."^f

No one will deny that the path of duty is sometimes not plain before us. In such case the judgment of the wise and experienced becomes a directory. In this view the subjoined extract is presented. "The church-judgments are the Lord's works, not ours, and therefore fittest to be done on the Lord's-day: they belong to Christ's kingly office, and therefore are holy, as the works of His prophetic and priestly office. These our opposites themselves, compare the casting-out by excommunication, with the contrary receiving in by baptism.^g All churches baptize on the Sabbath, and also excommunicate on the Sab-

^a Isai. lxi. 5, 6. ^b P. 27. ^c 1 Cor. xiv. 34. ^d See back, p. 214. ^e P. 41. P. 41.

^f Treat. on Matt. xviii. p. 26.

bath; why should not the cause be heard, as well as the judgment executed on that day? We find ecclesiastical controversies were disputed on the Sabbath-days in Israel, as the apostles' practice sheweth.^a It was lawful on the Sabbath to heal the body;^b and is it unlawful to heal the soul?^c It was lawful to save a sheep from dying in a ditch;^d and is it not lawful to save a soul from death, and cover a multitude of sins?^e Seeing, therefore, the Sabbath is to be sanctified by the Word of God and prayer; and all that the church-ministers are to do belongeth unto these, as the apostles teach us, Acts vi. 4, we think it is too pharisee-like to carp at church-judgments on the Sabbath: and then, *servants*, which are the Lord's freemen,^f and all other, resting from their own works, may attend to the Lord's, without such inconveniences as these would cast in their way."^g

The high claims and prerogatives of the Romish and some other clergy are notorious; it is clear, then, that they would not give an affirmative answer to a query like this: "If the People have power, in the name of Christ, to say to the elected Pastor, Take thou authority to preach the Word, &c.; or in any other terms to give him pastoral office which had none before; I hope they will not deny but if that Pastor afterward prove a wolf,^h the same People may put him out of all his pastoral office. And, if they have that power, why, also, may they not put him quite out of the fold and church by the power of Christ, that is, excommunicate him?"ⁱ

Not less interesting than some other points involving practice, are the passages about to be quoted, the first sentence of which announces their general subject.

"In Israel the whole congregation was assembled at the ordination of their ministers, and the children of Israel imposed hands upon them. Num. viii. 9, 10.

"This rule we follow; but these our opposites will not allow churches, unless they have ministers before, to do thus; they will rather have their ministry from the great antichrist of Rome. . . They object, 'How should so many hundred thousand of Israel, either at once hear, or do the things there spoken of?' I answer, As well as they heard and did other public affairs in the tabernacle;—unless they think that all the people never heard or did any thing there! When the whole congregation of Israel sinned, all the congregation was to bring a sacrifice;^k will they ask, how so many hundred thousand could do it? By this reason [reasoning] nothing at all should ever be done in Israel by the multitude, either for word, prayers, sacrifices, &c. And so, by their 'proportion of the church now,' let the People be exempted from word, prayers, sacraments, as well as from ordination of officers, and cursing of sinners; and let the Eldership be all in all! . . The multitude, and not the elders only, were assembled; the multitude, and not the elders only, gave these Levites to the Lord. . . For the order and manner of giving, Moses governed the action; to him it was said, 'Thou shalt sprinkle the water; . . thou shalt bring them before the

^a Acts xiii. 44—46. xvii. 2, 3. xviii. 4. ^b Luke xiii. 15, 16. ^c Psal. xli. 4.
^d Matt. xii. 11, 12. ^e Jas. v. 20. ^f 1 Cor. vii. 22. ^g P. 44. ^h Acts xx. 29.
ⁱ P. 50. ^k Num. xv. 24—26.

Lord, &c.;' and then 'the children of Israel' imposed hands.^a This I understand not of every particular man, but of some of the chief for the rest; as the elders, heads of tribes, chief fathers of families, &c., as when all the multitude brought an oblation for their sin,^b the 'Elders' put their hand on the head of the sacrifice.^c Accordingly have we practised in our ordination of officers;—some of the chiefest of the church, the ancientest, and fathers of families, imposed hands in name of the rest."^d

"That the ministers of one particular church should ordain officers for another church, is more unorderly than when every church ordaineth them in itself. The apostles and evangelists had their offices in all churches, so have not Pastors."^e

"They say, 'That they find in Scripture some officers admitted with it, some without it,' [imposition of hands]. This I find not. They allege, Acts xiii. 1—3, where Paul and Barnabas had it. It is true; yea, Paul had imposition of hands twice;^f but where is the Scripture that saith 'some had it not?' They say, 'We read not that the other apostles had.' What then? Doth this prove they had it not? So we may also conclude the other apostles were never baptized; for we read not that they were. We read not, say the Anabaptists, that children were baptized in the apostles' days! Will these men now conclude, therefore they were not baptized? But do not they know that arguments thus drawn *negatively* from Scripture, are generally blamed for insufficient? . . . They say, 'That some churches hold it, [imposition of hands], not of necessity to be had, &c.' I answer, That is nothing to such as hold it, and have Elders to do it."^g

Thus we have seen that the questions so much agitated since the Reformation, and which we know greatly perplexed the consciences of the scrupulous yet sincere servants of God, who remained in the Establishment; but which were made a colourable use of to restrain all authority within a certain jurisdiction, devolved, as they say, upon themselves alone, who had acquired the ecclesiastical power at their disruption from the old state of things; were questions not easily disposed of among others who had departed far more widely from the claims and dominancy of Rome. If apostolical succession, which was the most prominent of those questions, were admitted to be in that church, then it must follow, in the view of all who laid a stress on the transmissibility of outward ordinances, that only her baptism and ordination are genuine! The discussion of all this, occupies the larger number of pages in this treatise by Ainsworth; and the argument is conducted with a display of scriptural knowledge, and polemical acumen and research, which fully justifies his fame as a scholar and a divine. Though this work cannot be made popular, it should not be suffered to go into oblivion, nor ever be disregarded when the topics we have named are required to be examined into. We follow these remarks with a single extract, affording a further insight into the nature of the general argument, in less space, than by any other we could make.

"But they plead still, 'In that the Church of Rome hath all the

^a Num. viii. 7, 9, 10. ^b Num. xv. 24, 25. ^c Lev. iv. 14, 15. ^d P. 53—55.
^e P. 58. ^f Acts ix. 17. xiii. 3. ^g P. 63.

divine things in the Scriptures, it is of God, and a church: in that it hath them all corrupt, that is of itself, it is a corrupt church. The church is not taken away by corruption, unless it be total, &c.' I answer, Still they take for granted that which they should prove; and which I have before, again and again, disproved. It is not properly the *old* church of Rome, corrupted; but a *new* church arisen out of the bottomless pit, carrying the show and titles of the old. It is not 'the woman' fled into 'the wilderness;' but another *woman*, or *city*, reigning over the kings of the earth!^a The 'Lamb,' Christ, is not there as on 'mount Sion,' with his 'hundred forty and four thousand, having his Father's Name written on their foreheads;' but the *wolf* Antichrist, with his sheep's skin and lamb's horns, is there, with his army of Canaanites, as on mount Mageddon^b At first those Gentiles invaded the courts of God's temple, and trod down the holy city, as the Babylonians of old dealt with God's sanctuary.^c If that army of Infidels were God's true church, so is the synagogue of antichristians. And the heathen, in their altars, temples, sacrifices, &c. had 'the divine things' of God among them, as well, if not better, than hath the man of sin and his worshippers, in the sacrifice of the mass, and other manifold idolatries.—'The duty of those that are in the Popish church, and see their corruptions, is,' they say, 'such as of those children that dwell with their idolatrous mother; that is, to abhor her sin, with speech and sign to call her back from evil; and abstain themselves from it; and in all things cleave to their father, and betake themselves to his closet, &c.' I answer, Thus it appeareth, that these our opposites are returned to acknowledge the whore of Rome to be their mother; whom they feign to be as a woman which 'hath a deadly sore swollen with waters of dropsy,' or with 'poison,' which 'had long ago given up the ghost; if God, by the interposition of his grace, &c. had not nourished and kept her warm.' Now to leave their mother thus on her sick-bed, as they have done, disclaiming all christian duty unto her which is due to a true church in corruption, is but the part of unnatural children. While God doth nourish and keep her warm, will they quite abandon her? Let *them* return and cherish her also, and all her members, and see if there be any balm to heal her wounds, and to comfort her! As for *us*, we have been taught of God, that in respect of Him, she is dead long ago in her sins,^d having been the marked whore and worshipper of the Beast;^e from which death she is not risen to live and reign with Christ. Although to this world she liveth and reigneth in pleasure, till at one day 'death' otherwise shall come upon her, and she be 'burnt with fire.'^f And then shall we be so far from mourning at her funeral, as we shall 'rejoice' with the heavenly multitude,^g and sing 'Hallelujah,' when God hath given Sodom's judgment to her,^h and we see 'her smoke'ⁱ rise up for evermore."^k

So wide were the differences become, that even the appeal to the

^a Rev. xii. 14. xvii. 1, 18.

^b Rev. xiv. 1. Matt. vii. 15. Rev. xiii. 11. xvi.

16. Judg. v. 19. ^c Rev. xi. 2. Psal. lxxix. 1, &c. Jer. li. 1, 3, &c. Lam. i. 10.

^d Rev. xx. 5, with Eph. ii. 1. ^e Rev. xx. 4. xiii. 4. ^f Rev. xviii. 7, 8.

^g *Ib.* ver. 20. ^h Gen. xix. 28. ⁱ Rev. xix. 1—3. ^k P. 103.

nearest sister church was itself, as we have seen, a cause of increasing the dissension. "We had learned," writes Ainsworth, "that all 'particular congregations' are, 'by all means' convenient, to have the counsel and help one of another in all needful affairs of the church, as members of one body in the common faith.'^a Yet here, when differences had arisen about our 'common faith,' and could not amongst ourselves be composed, they would not desire, nor consent to have desired, the help of our sister church at Leyden."^b It was urged, that the church of Leyden was in the same error with those who desired their help; to which Ainsworth answered, "This might the troublers of the church in Antioch have objected as colourably against the church of Jerusalem, Acts xv.; and it is a bar to cut off all help from other churches. Yea, if any heresy be raised by the officers in a church, contrary to their former faith, they may thus except against all churches, unless they will fall into the same errors with them."^c Ainsworth confesses that he had himself protracted the time for application to the sister church, having desired first to "use all means" among themselves, but finding "the strife" could not be ended, he went alone and "obtained" messengers from that church.^d

Adverting, once more, to what was made the principal subject of dispute on this occasion, Ainsworth explains it thus: "For the People being kings, we neither taught nor do teach otherwise than as we always professed; namely, that they are 'a royal priesthood';^e 'made' by Christ unto God, both 'kings and priests,' and that 'reign on the earth';^f not one *over* another, as they speak, but one *with* another, in the fellowship of the faith of Christ.—That 'every Christian is a king and priest unto God,'^g to spy out, censure, and cut down sin as it ariseth, with that two-edged sword that proceedeth out of Christ's mouth."^h—These things, heretofore, both we and they professed; which, now, *they* would injuriously turn to be against 'Christ the only King,' and against the 'ministerial government' of His officers: such collections, as we think our common adversaries, that make conscience of their words, would be ashamed to make!"ⁱ As Mr. Robinson was implicated, by Johnson's animadversions on his treatise of "Justification," Ainsworth procured a reply, which he has inserted here, and from which we copy the following illustration: "Paul writes to the whole church at Corinth, to excommunicate the incestuous man by 'the power of the Lord Jesus Christ.'^k This 'power' he would have the whole church to use; but yet would not have the whole church to become governors, nor to take upon them government, but the officers only. By which it appeareth, that government and power are divers things."^l

When the messengers arrived from the English Church at Leyden, the Johnsonians themselves "propounded a way of peace," which was agreed to by the sister church and by the Ainsworthians, but it was then endeavoured to be made a condition that the latter should "go

^a Conf. art. xxxviii. See back, p. 97. ^b P. 107. ^c P. 108. ^d P. 109.

^e 1 Pet. ii. 9. ^f Rev. v. 10. ^g Rev. i. 6. ^h Refut. of Giffard, p. 75.

ⁱ P. 110. ^k 1 Cor. v. 4. ^l P. 112.

dwel out of this city." A necessity of remaining was pleaded; and on that the terms of peace were refused to be complied with. The "double practice" then proposed to be adopted in the church, neither the Church at Leyden^a nor Ainsworth and his friends approved, "it being both unlawful for us to practise sin as it were with the right hand, and righteousness with the left; and no likelihood of our peace, but of grief and daily dissensions."^b

A Testimony of the Elders of the Church at Leyden, respecting these matters, and incorporated in this treatise, furnishes the information that their interference was first desired by Ainsworth, and afterward applied for "by some thirty of the brethren," who stated that a reason why they earnestly requested help was because "Mr. Ainsworth was so sparing in opposing of Mr. Johnson's new doctrine, though always misliking it, as they scarce knew how he was minded in the things; so loth was he to come to any professed and public opposition with him." The Elders say, they had good cause to speak reprovngly to one party, "for neither is the same carriage to be used towards men prosecuting their purposes and persuasions with all violence and extremity, and towards them which manifest Christian moderation in the same: neither had we before, nor have we since, found the like peaceable inclination in them [the violent], to that which they [the moderate], then manifested." Having described some subsequent intermediate proceedings, they add, "When one amongst them, I. O., made exception, that we should dismiss them back which came unto us, to live a distinct congregation in the same city with them, it was presently answered both by Mr. Johnson and Mr. Studley, that that concerned not them, but that they would leave it unto us; though that appeared afterwards to be the only thing for which they broke off their purpose and promise. And here, the work of God's providence is to be observed, That they who would have no peace with their brethren abiding in the same city with them, are *about to leave it themselves*, and to settle *their* abode elsewhere! . . . How much better had it been, had they admitted of a peaceable parting, all things considered, than through extreme straitness in themselves, thus to have made their brethren their adversaries; and themselves, yea, and us all, a bye-word to the whole world!"^c Signed, John Robinson; William Brewster.

Ainsworth reminds us, next, that this dispute had lasted "a twelve-months" before this time, but they were further off in the end than at the beginning. The practice of errors was established; the truth in public doctrines, inveighed against; the opposers compared to Korah, &c.; the Lord's Supper of a long time not administered; occasions sought against sundry persons to cast them out of the church; peace offered, and refused; again proposed and confirmed, and again broken: open war proclaimed;—was this a state, Ainsworth might well ask, "for us to continue in together?"

He concludes by cautioning the Christian reader not to be offended because of these "infirmities;" and then desires that his former brethren might return into the right way, "and putting away all love of pre-

^a See back, p. 243.^b P. 126, 127.^c P. 133—136.

eminence, and of their own aberrations, receive again the love of the truth and of brotherly concord; that the name of God be no more evil spoken of by the wicked, and that the hearts which are wounded by these dissensions, may be healed and refreshed."^a

CHAP. XV.

ROBINSON CONFUTES HELWISSE.

THE intimate connexion which subsisted between the respective authors, and the general accordance of their religious feelings and sentiments, lead us to pass, by an easy transition, from Ainsworth's "Animadversion," to a very similar production intituled, "Of Religious Communion: Private and Public. With the silencing of the Clamours raised by Mr. Thomas Helwisse against our retaining the Baptism received in England; and administering of Baptism unto Infants. As also, a Survey of the Confession of Faith, published in certain Conclusions, by the remainders of Mr. Smyth's company. Prov. xiv. 15. By John Robinson, 1614." No imprint of place; 4to. pp. 131.

The accordance of the two friends appears in the introductory paragraphs of their prefaces;^b the present, commencing with these words—"There passed out some while since, a defamatory libel under the names of Charles [Christopher] Lawne, and three others his brethren in evil; but certainly penned by some other persons, whose greater knowledge did arm their cruel hatred the more to hurt; making them fathers of that 'generation whose teeth are as swords and their jaw-teeth as knives, to devour the *afflicted* from the earth, and the *poor* from among men.'^c Against whom and whose friends durst I use the same liberty in publishing to the world their personal corruptions which I know, and could soon learn by the testimony of honest men than these informers, they who have written of others what hath pleased them, should read that which would not please them, of their own, if not of themselves. But God forbid." Robinson had, indeed, much cause for exhibiting resentment; as his next paragraph shows. "This libel it hath pleased divers persons, of note for learning and zeal, to countenance with their writings of divers kinds. Amongst the rest, Mr. W. Ames, fearing, belike, lest either it should want credit, or I discredit, by the accusations in it against the persons of other men in other churches,—which though they were all true, as I know some of them to be wholly false, and others impudently published by such as were themselves chief agents in them, yet did no more concern me and the church with me, than did the abuses in the Church of Corinth, the Church of Rome, or those in some of the seven Churches in Asia, the rest which were free from them;—hath published to the world, in the body of that Book (without my consent, privy, or least suspicion of such dealing) certain Private Letters passing between him and me

^a P. 137. 138.

^b See back, p. 245.

^c Prov. xxx. 14.

about Private Communion betwixt the members of the true visible church, and others; though he take advantage and occasion by certain general words of mine, to alter the state of the question. The occasion of which passages, if I should also publish, I am sure he would not like it, nor had cause."

We have before us here, for the second time^a in the prosecuting of this our history, a name which is, and will continue to be, most honourable, notwithstanding the regret that must ever be felt at finding it on the present occasion under circumstances which oblige us to subtract somewhat from its merited dignity. The internal evidence mentioned by Robinson is too strong to be disproved, that Ames, then residing at the Hague, had lent himself to this clandestine attack upon the reputation of those whom he was not at that time disposed any way to approve or openly to countenance; though it is certain that he was even then examining into their principles. The seeds of divine truth being happily planted in his capacious and well-cultivated mind, grew into the ripe and yellow ear of a spiritual harvest. "Learned Amesius," says the noted Hugh Peters, breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Frizeland to live with me, because of my church's Independency, at Rotterdam. He was my colleague and chosen brother to the church where I was an unworthy pastor."^b But more of both, in their places.

Reverting to Robinson, he continues, "Now as I neither am nor would be thought insensible of this unchristian enmity and violent opposition by them against us, in the practice of those things, which themselves, as their writings testify, do so far approve; so I think it a Preface very convenient for my present purpose, to communicate with others, such grounds as upon which they seem to raise the same." He then remarks, that "all oppositions" in religion are usually violent, because "men have special persuasion they please God in that their special work of conscience and zeal for Him and his Truth." And he warns those who were so zealous against the "supposed errors" of the Separatists, that they "nourish not in their hearts, wrath and hatred" against their "persons." Some are offended at the "Separation" because of its implied as well as expressed reflection upon those who "uphold the chair of apostacy;" and still more are they offended "by how much the nearer" they "were, and yet are, in many things, united; . . . as also, for that *their* party for the reformation of their pretended national Judah is thereby weakened." The "fewness in number, and meanness of condition," of the exiles, enabled their opposites to take occasion, with every advantage for treading upon them, "save the truth," which they could desire.^c "When I see them in England, wondering at the dissensions in this way, methinks I see two prisoners,^d—being themselves fast chained and manacled together by feet and hands,—wondering to see that other men, at liberty, walk not closer together than *they* do. *Their* thralldom makes them unequal censurers of the

^a See back, p. 167. Note.

^b Quoted in "An Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters." Lond. 1751. 8vo.

^c Pref. p. ii.

^d Conformists and Puritans.

^e P. iv.

abuse of *our* liberty! How many thousands are there, whose very hearts are fretted with the chains of their spiritual bondage? Yea, how many several factions of ministers are there, whose differences, if by servile fear they were not nipped in the bud, would bring forth no small both dissensions and divisions? As at this day, woful experience teacheth in the Reformed Churches, whose dissensions do infinitely exceed all that ever have been amongst us! As ignorance begot, so tyranny maintained the greatest peace and unity, when popish iniquity most prevailed."^a

"Great offence hath been taken, by many, at our extreme straitness, in respect of the order wherein we walk. And, more especially, for refusing communion in the private and personal exercises of religion with the better sort in the assemblies;^b as wherein we have not only made a separation from the wicked, and from the godly also, in things unlawful or unlawfully performed, but even in their lawful actions. This, Mr. Ames calls 'the bitterness of separation;' and for it, as it seems, thinks it lawful to cast upon me the reproach of the sins of other churches and persons,—whether truly or falsely laid to their charge, he knoweth not;—as also, to insinuate against me, that I despise the writings of Junius, and so of other learned men: as justly, as others have laid to his charge the contempt of all ancient writers;^c wherein, if men deal unjustly with him and his friends, let him see whether God deal not justly in rewarding him as he hath served others. . . Whether, or not, there were in the assemblies, faithful and godly persons, and the same so appearing unto men; I never called into question, nor could without sinning greatly against my own conscience. The thing I feared was the violation and breach of *order* in the communion between the members of the true visible church, and others out of that order, or in the contrary. My objection hereabout, Mr. Ames answereth not, but only makes light account of it, as 'a strange *order*, which is broken by saying Amen to a godly man's prayer!' But all men know, that to set light by an argument is no sufficient answer unto it. . . My judgment therein, and the reasons of it, I have set down in the first part of the book."^d

Robinson occupies sixteen pages about this "first part," or "Private Communion." He sets out by distinguishing between "faith and order," as in Coloss. ii. 5. From these arise, what for distinction's sake he calls "personal, and church-actions." The first kind, comprising all those religious exercises performed in the family, or in the closet, "without any church-power or ministry coming between." The second sort are obvious; for to "please" God,^e besides personal graces, there must "concur and come between, a church state and order, in and by which" those graces are to be exercised, and so come to be called "church-actions."^f Then, after premising that the duty is plain for private acts of devotion, by parties not in communion with a true visible church, and by them also who are in the church, but perform such duties from causes anterior to their state of membership, as did Cornelius, his family, and friends, Robinson tells us, "I come

^a P. iv.^b Parish-churches.^c Grotius; against the English Puritans.^d P. v.^e Heb. xi. 6.^f P. i.

to the thing I aim at in this whole discourse, which is, That we who profess a separation from the English national, provincial, diocesan, and parochial church and churches, in the whole formal state and order thereof, may, notwithstanding, lawfully communicate in private prayer, and other the like holy exercises,—not performed in their church-communion, nor by their church-power and ministry,—with the godly amongst them; though remaining, of infirmity, members of the same church or churches; except some other extraordinary bar come in the way between them and us.”^a

He shows, from the writings of Barrowe and Penry,^b that they, with himself, distinguish between the corruptions of the Church of England and a “good hope of many hundred thousands” of those who were educated in it. “And surely, if the Lord’s people be there, it is no difficult thing for ‘the spiritual man’ conversing with them, to discern and judge, ordinarily, which they be. The Spirit of God in one of his people, will own itself in another of them, though disfigured with many failings; especially in outward orders and ordinances; and ‘faith,’ if it be not ‘dead,’ may be seen ‘by works,’ of him that hath a spiritual eye, through many infirmities.”^c . . . If men were to judge us,—even whilst we abode in the assemblies of ignorance or infirmity,—men fearing God, &c.; then are we also in equity to make the same estimate of the persons of others, though abiding in the assemblies, as we did, making the same manifestation and appearance.”^d Exhorting, hence, against an undue assumption of purity by either party, he believed still, that “never church in the world, in which so many excellent truths were taught, stood in such confusion both of persons and things, and under such a spirit of bondage, as that of England doth at this day.”^e

To meet some powerful objections which might be raised, and others which from his liberal opinions might seem to involve a condemnation of the practice of Separation, he devotes nine pages; resolving the whole into the “use of christian discretion in ourselves, and moderation one towards another.” And, adducing arguments, afterward, to justify that Private Communion of which he is treating, he remarks that “it deeply concerneth us to weigh with ourselves, in what respect, and how far, we make our Separation; that as we make not the good things there” as snares to entangle our souls in the things which are evil, so that neither for the evils,—unavoidable in the public ordinances there,—we throw away all at a venture, as some *ill-advised* do.”^f Fearing, however, an unfair straining of his intention, respecting this practice of Private Communion with Christians circumstanced as he represents, Robinson’s next subject is “Of Public Communion,” in which his design is to show the proper limitation of the one by the other.

He begins that chapter with a deduction from the former: “As we are, then, to join ourselves with them wherein God hath joined us; so are we, wherein He severeth us, to sequester and sever ourselves.”^g What is next to be shown, accordingly, is this, “If the Parish-

^a P. 2. ^b This serves as Robinson’s testimony that Penry had not turned Baptist. See back, p. 72. ^c Jas. ii. 17, 18. ^d P. 3, 4. ^e P. 5.
 ^f P. 15. ^g P. 17.

assemblies, gathered by compulsion ^a of all the parishioners promiscuously, &c. be of God; then is our fellowship only of persons sanctified, at least outwardly, joining themselves by voluntary profession under the government and ministry of an Eldership; conceiving prayers and thanksgivings according to the church's present occasions, by the teachings of the Spirit; and so administering the sacraments according to the simplicity of the Gospel,—not of God, nor from heaven. If, on the contrary, ours be of God and of his Christ; then is theirs of Antichrist. . . . Either the one or the other are plantings, which God 'hath not planted,' and 'shall be rooted up.' " ^b This proposition, he proceeds to establish by defining the scriptural meaning of the Hebrew word קהל 'kahal,' and the Greek ἐκκλησία, called by us Church; that to this true New Testament church, appertain ^c the covenant and promises, &c.; with all holy things. ^d It follows, that a church truly constituted "must be of such persons as by and in whom God will and may thus be worshipped and glorified; and as are by Him, both in their persons and fellowship, separated and sanctified thereunto." ^e But here, he says, "The authors of a certain treatise ^f published against Mr. Cluse, charge him with much falsehood, for affirming 'all true churches from the beginning of the world, to have been established by *this* separation, which 'we whom *they* call 'Brownists,' as the Church of England calls *them* 'Puritans,' do 'desire.' And for this, *they* 'desire it may be showed, how the church of God, before the flood, was gathered by such a Separation, to wit, of the godly from the profane; for this is the Separation *we* desire.'—And know they not, that God, in establishing the first church of the Gospel, 'put enmity,' which is more than separation, 'between the seed of the woman,'—Christ, and the faithful in Him,—and the seed of the serpent; Satan, and the wicked with him their 'father?' " ^g Which separation also stood so firm, as 'the sons of God' might not so much as take them wives of 'the daughters of men.' " ^h Or, if these men will have marriage, as by their practice they make it, a church-action, then they see an express 'Separation,' for church-communion, 'before the flood!' " ⁱ

The Dutch and French churches, Robinson reminds his opponents, were at the first established [out] of a sanctified people, by voluntary profession separating themselves into particular churches from the profane multitudes in the places and parishes where they lived, and that with great persecution; and so do still continue a separated people, though through continuance of time, and peace, they, as all other churches use to do, have lost their first purity and zeal." And he demands to be informed, "Where, or are any, *compelled* into them, by *penal* laws?" That those churches "condemn our separation as schism, is neither to the purpose, nor true; neither can they"—the

^a It must not be lost sight of, that this was really the case, in those days, by the Statute of Uniformity, 1 ELIZ. cap. 2.

^b Matt. xv. 13. ^c Rom. ix. 4. ^d 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22. ^e P. 18.

^f "The Shield of Defence; written against Master *de Leluse*, in defence of Master Brightman." 1612. So. in Pagit's Heresiog. p. 92. The Frenchman's name, as spelled by himself, will appear hereafter.

^g Gen. iii. 15 iv. 12, 16. John viii. 44. ^h Gen. vi. 2—5. ⁱ P. 18.

writers against Decluse—"name one church that ever passed any such censure upon us; neither hath any one learned and godly man amongst them, to my knowledge, ever gone about to refute *our* practice, or 'Confession,' though published both in Dutch and Latin unto them; which, notwithstanding, they have done in their public writings generally, against such heretics and schismatics as have been amongst *them*. It is more both pertinent and true, that the Church of England, for which these men plead, condemns *them*, her proctors, as 'schismatics' and 'excommunicates' for *their* 'wicked errors!'"^a

"Objections" are next answered, proleptically. Their kind may be inferred from Robinson's remark, that "To argue from that which should be to that which is, when that is not which should be; is unsound and presumptuous."^b Those being disposed of, he says, because "many loud clamours of 'anabaptistry,' and 'popularity,' are raised against our government, I think it meet briefly to insert a few things touching our profession and practice therein.—The government of the church, then, as it is taken most strictly for the outward ordering, directing, and guidance of the same church in her affairs,—for in a more general sense, the whole administration of Christ's kingdom, by himself or others, inwardly or outwardly, publicly or privately, may be comprehended under the 'government' of the church,—we place in the *Bishops* or *Elders* thereof; called by Christ and the church, to 'feed,' that is to 'teach' and 'rule' the same.^c Which their government, and the nature thereof, I will plainly lay down in such particulars as wherein the People's liberty is greatest; which are reduced to these three heads, Exercise of prophesying; Choice of officers; Censuring of offenders."^d We cannot forbear presenting the particulars under those heads, so far as they illustrate the practice of our earliest predecessors.

"For the Exercise of Prophesying; wherein men, though *not* in office, have liberty to move and propound their 'questions,'^e and doubts for satisfaction, as also having 'received' a 'gift, to administer the same' unto 'edification, exhortation, and comfort:'^f as, then, Paul and Barnabas coming 'into the synagogue' of the Jews, where they were no officers, 'the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, after the lecture of the law,' if they had 'any word of exhortation to the people,' to 'say on,'^g—which order the Jews also observe in their synagogues at this day;—so with us, the Officers, after their ordinary teaching, signify and exhort unto the use of the like liberty in that and the other particulars formerly named: and so, as there is occasion, open and explain things obscure and doubtful; reprove things unsound and impertinent; and so order, moderate, and determine the whole exercise, by the Word of God. And in this, I suppose, it appears to all men that the officers govern."^h

^a P. 18, 19. ^b P. 19. ^c Acts xx. 17, 20. 1 Tim. v. 17. ^d P. 23.

^e Luke ii. 46. ^f Rom. xii. 6. 1 Pet. iv. 10. 1 Cor. xiv. 3. ^g Acts xiii. 14, 15.

^h P. 23.—Exercises of this sort, conducted within the pale of a State-church, and where spiritual knowledge is doled out by *canonical* authority, might be inconvenient from the light they would elicit, and the truths they would display. In such a church it must ever be dangerous, if the People are any

"For the Choice of Officers; we do take for our direction the practices of the apostles and apostolical churches,^a grounded upon a perpetual equity, that men should choose them under Christ, unto whose faithfulness, under the same Christ, and by his appointment, they are to commit themselves and their souls; and them, as Christ's and their servants, to maintain. In any one of which examples, the conscience of a godly man is better established, than in all the canons of Popes or Prelates, or other devices of Politic men whatsoever, departing from the apostolical simplicity. . . It is evident, in Acts vi., that although the *calling* did chiefly depend upon 'the multitude,' yet did the *government* of the whole action lie upon the officers. Conformable whereunto, is our practice, so near as we can, upon the like occasions."^b

"Lastly, For our Direction in the public use of Censures; we propound to ourselves the rule of Christ, Matt. xviii. 17, touching sins

way induced to argue and dispute at all about religion. No emulation or strife can be allowed there, between clergy and laity, which of them shall "show themselves most affectionate to the *Gospel*." Some Lord Chancellor Hatton having a "hard conceit of Prophesying," will interpose to bring "the flowing of these good graces to a still water." (See a quotation from Sir Robert Cotton, in Middleton's *Biographia Evangelica*, vol. ii. p. 236.) So it was in the case of Archbishop Grindal. The prelate had encouraged this practice, in the year 1576, and penned a discourse upon the subject, from 1 Cor. xiv. 29; but being reprov'd for these with other matters, Dec. 20th, he addressed a long letter to the Queen, justifying the practice as "a thing profitable to the church," and expressing his trust that her Majesty will think the like, when she shall "be informed of the manner and order thereof; what authority it hath of the Scriptures; what commodity it bringeth with it; and what incommodity will follow, if it be clean taken away."—"The matter intreated of, is as followeth. Some text of Scripture, before appointed to be spoken of, is interpreted in this order, The occasion of the place is showed: The end: The proper sense of the place: The propriety of the words; and those that be learned in the tongues, showing the diversities of interpretations: Where the like phrases are used in the Scriptures: Places in the Scriptures seeming to *repunge*, are reconciled: The arguments of the text are opened: It is also declared, what virtues and what vices are there touched; and to which of the commandments they pertain: How the text had been wrested by the adversaries, if occasion so require: Last of all, What doctrine of faith or manners the text doth contain. The conclusion is, with the prayer for your Majesty, *etc.* and a psalm." For the Scripture authority, he instances Samuel at Naioth in Ramah, and at Bethel, 1 Sam. xix. 20, and chap. x. Elisha at Jericho, 2 Kings, chap. ii.; and St. Paul, 1 Cor. chap. xiv. And he affirms that these "profits and commodities" have ensued, "The ministers of the church are more skilful and ready in the Scriptures, and apter to teach their flocks: it withdraweth them from idleness, wandering, gaming, *etc.*: some, afore suspected in doctrine, are brought hereby to open confession of the truth: ignorant ministers are driven to study, if not for conscience, yet for shame and fear of discipline: the opinion of laymen, touching the idleness of the clergy, is hereby removed, *etc.* So as it is found by experience the best means to increase knowledge in the simple, and to continue it in the learned; only backward men in religion, and contemners of learning in the countries abroad, do fret against it; which in truth doth the more commend it, *etc.* And although some few have abused this good and necessary exercise, there is no reason that the malice of a few should prejudice all. Abuses may be reformed, and that which is good may remain." In Strype we find that the Prophesyings were suppressed, May 7th, 1577. See his *Life of Abp. Grindal*, App. p. 80, 81, 85, 89.

^a Acts i. vi. xiv.

^b P. 23.

private in themselves, but to be made public by the sinner's refusing to hear admonition; and with it, the practice thereof by the doctrine of His apostle, 1 Cor. v., about a sin of public nature. . . For neither could the apostle, being but one, be the church or congregation, which consists of 'two' or 'three,' that is a company though never so small 'gathered together in Christ's name,' as he expounds himself, Matt. xviii. 20. . . Answerable to the course by Christ and the apostles, there directed, and by the Corinthians observed, as appeareth, 2 Cor. ii. 6, we desire our practice may be. In which, sins scandalous, if in themselves of public nature, are brought to the church by one of the officers; or if private, and to be made public by the sinner's impenitency, by the Brother offended and his Witnesses, at the Officer's appointment. Where the sin, being manifested, and for fact orderly proved against the offender, is by the Elders condemned, and rebuked by the Word of God, and the sinner exhorted to repentance, according to the quality of the sin. In which conviction and admonition, lawfully and sufficiently made, the Church resteth: the Men manifesting their assent thereunto by some convenient word or sign, and the Women by silence. And so, the admonition which before was Christ's and the Officers' becomes the Church's; following the other as their governors, and not otherwise. . . The *impenitent* sinner is, for his humbling, to be cut off and excommunicated from the fellowship of the church. The Elders, as governors, going before in decreeing the sentence, and so one of them, upon the People's assent, as in admonition, pronouncing it in the Name of Christ and His Church."^a

"We think it lawful for the Brethren either doubtful of any thing in the Officers' administrations, to propound their doubt, for satisfaction; or, seeing them failing in any material thing, to admonish them of their duty, and that they look to their office;^b or if need stand, to supply the same for the further clearing of things. And this whole proceeding, we make and use, ordinarily, on the Lord's day, as being properly the Lord's work; a work of Religion, directly respecting the soul and conscience; and of spiritual nature, as being an administration of Christ's 'kingdom,' which is 'not of this world.'^c And this also, when the whole church is 'gathered' together,^d as which, it concerneth many ways. . . By our weakness, it cometh to pass that this comely order is sometimes interrupted, and human frailties intermingle themselves, either by the Officers' fault in not governing, or the People's in not obeying as they ought; so as we are at times overtaken with some things both disorderly and difficult to determine; as it also cometh to pass in all assemblies and governments of and by men whatsoever: and as in nature, &c. But things are not to be defined by their abuses."^e

"The Order of our Government, then, being such as I have described it, let every indifferent [impartial] reader judge whether or not, in respect of outward order, it be Popular, and wherein the People *govern*, as many please to reproach us and it. But if men will . . . yet open their mouths against us for Popularity and Anabaptistry, we can but commit both ourselves and cause to God."^f

^a P. 24, 25.^b Colos. iv. 17.^c John xviii. 36.^d 1 Cor. v. 4, 5.^e P. 25.^f P. 26.

Having explained and defended their practice, Robinson arrived at the place where he goes on to show "That the Lord's People may not communicate with the Church of England, in regard of the government ecclesiastical, and ministry thence derived."^a

Here he adduces various arguments which had often been employed in substance to the same purpose; but he makes them tell, on this occasion, by applying them to the practices and to the concessions of his opponents among the Puritans.

"Thus have I briefly noted down and confirmed the principal grounds of our Separation from the Communion and Order of the Church assemblies, notwithstanding the admission of the personal communion before mentioned. . . . And would the King but give Toleration, and withhold from bodily violence against their persons and estates, I doubt not, but we should have many thousands in the land concurrin; with us for substance of practice, as they do now in opinion. . . . Both ministers and people would find other and better *Rules* of direction in Christ's Testament, for their walking, and worshipping of God, than the Bishop's *Canons*, and Injunctions! Which so being, 'He,' who indeed judgeth his 'people with justice,' and his poor afflicted ones 'with judgment,'^b be Judge between them and us; and whether we, submitting ourselves so near as we can discern, to all the commandments and ordinances of Christ in his Gospel, reject them, or they us; . . . but, specially, whether we, for these things, do deserve that cruel hatred, and those most hostile carriages which many of them who would be thought to 'mourn for Reformation,' do bear and use towards us; making it their glory to cast shame upon us, and their great matter of rejoicing to add to our afflictions, and who say to our souls in the day of our sorrow, 'Bow down, that we may go over.'"^c

^a We have introduced above, at p. 167, a note concerning Mr. Bradshaw; and we take occasion to introduce another here, which we believe to have proceeded from the same author, though the present thin tract was published, like the former, anonymously. They both issued from the same press, and bear the same appearance. "A Manudiction for Mr. Robinson, and such as consent with him in Private Communion, to lead them on to Public. Briefly comprised in a Letter written to Mr. R. W.—At Dort, printed by George Waters, 1614," 4to. pp. 9. The author writes in p. 4, "Against Communion, in the cases last mentioned, Mr. R. hath set this bar, 'Such a papistical Ministry is a branch of the Prelacy, as receiving power from it by which it doth administer; and therefore, all Communion with it to be avoided by God's People.' I answer, first, in proper and accurate speech, such as ought to be observed in these charges, The Minister, whom I formerly described, is no branch of the Prelacy; nor doth he receive his power of Ministry from any Prelate. For a power of *right* he had before that ever he had to do with any Prelate; which power is from God by the Church, a power indeed of external legal ability, or *freedom*, to do that which from God by his people he had formerly right to do, this he may be said to receive from the Bishop; who, with his civil authority in itself lawful, doth join, it may be, some unlawful forms in granting it. But that doth not make him 'a branch of the Prelacy,' any more than of the Kingly power, from whence the Prelate hath the better part of his. Neither is that the power of *right*, by virtue whereof he doth administer; he acteth nothing of substance in the name of the Prelate; neither do the people receive him in that name, but on the other and better grounds." Compare this, with the note referred to above.

^b Psal. lxxii. 2.

^c Isai. li. 23.—P. 35, 36.

The next general topic treated of, is "Flight in Persecution." It is somewhat remarkable that the propriety of this should have been made a question. The Scripture testimonies are superabundant for the practice. But such accusations as "false-hearted leaders," may be as easily as vainly set up against those who follow our Saviour's example and direction. As for the charge of the leaders, at this time, "drawing over the People," Mr. Robinson says, "I know none of the guides but were as much drawn over by them, as drawing them. The truth is, it was Mr. Helwisse, who above all either guides or others, furthered this passage into strange countries, and if any brought oars, he brought sails, as I could show in many particulars, and as all that are acquainted with the manner of our coming over can witness with me. Neither is it likely, if he and the people with him at Amsterdam could have gone on comfortably as they desired, that the *unlawfulness* of flight would ever have troubled him. But more than likely it is, that having scattered the people by his heady and indiscreet courses, and otherwise disabled himself, that natural confidence which abounded in him took occasion, under an appearance of spiritual courage, to press him upon those desperate courses which he of late hath run. By which he might also think it his glory to dare and challenge King and State to their faces, and not to give way to them, no, not a foot; as indeed it far better agrees with a bold and haughty stomach thus to do, than with the apostle in the base 'infirmity' of Christ, to be 'let down through a wall in a basket,'^a and to run away!^b . . . Where he saith, that the cities where we are neither receive us nor the word we bring, otherwise than they receive Turks and Jews, he speaks very untruly both of them and us, as, were it of use, I could show evidently.^c . . . As we, then, shall perceive either our flying or abiding to be meet for God's glory and the good of men, especially of our family and those nearest unto us; and for our own furtherance in holiness; and as we have strength to wade through the dangers of persecutions, so we are with good conscience to use the one or other: which, our hope and comfort also are, we have done in these our days of sorrow; some of us coming over by banishment, and others otherwise."^d

The Baptismal question follows that concerning "Flight." Helwisse had taken upon himself to pass sentence of condemnation on his former brethren, who adhered to what they believed to be agreeable to the analogy of faith with respect to all the true subjects of Baptism; the saints and their offspring. Robinson commences a series of fifty-four pages on "The outward Baptism received in England," with the design of showing that it is "lawfully retained" by those who had on other accounts left the communion of that church. To this end, he says, "For that divers weak persons" had been troubled and abused by Helwisse's Book, he thought it fit to annex "an answer to that part of it which is directed against us, whom he, with others, miscalls, 'Brownists,' and against our, falsely called by him, 'false profession.'" We do not feel at liberty to pass the subject by, for it is but just that, with Robinson's other sentiments, those he held on this subject should also be adequately produced.

^a 2 Cor. xi. 30, 33.^b P. 41.^c P. 44.^d P. 45.

He shows that Helwisse is in error at the outset, where this challenger assumes—from premises which Robinson proves not to support that for which they are set down,—what he says is indeed the “effect” of all, “That because *we* have not taken up a new outward washing or baptism,—for that of ‘amendment of life,’ he [Helwisse] but adds for fashion—as *he* hath done, therefore we are ‘of the world; infidels, haters of Christ;’ and, what not?” On this, he quickly places Helwisse, by his own argument, in the position of “a vain man, that would deny the grace of God in himself, to advantage an error against other men.”^a Helwisse asserted that “None can come and be joined to Christ without baptism.” Robinson makes it clear, from Scripture, that there is saving faith “before baptism, in some men a longer time, in some a shorter, and in some also dying unbaptized.”^b Acts viii. 35, shows, he says, “that they who believe and repent are to be baptized, to wit, being unbaptized before, as they then were, and as we now are not; God having also added to the outward washing, or baptism, though in the false church, the inward washing of the Spirit to repentance, and amendment of life.”^c This sentence is given because of its relation to the lately revived controversy respecting baptismal regeneration. For what Robinson might have intended to convey in it, we are no way accountable. Yet it could not be that he intended a spiritual regeneration, since he pronounces elsewhere the doctrine to be “most false,” that “baptism doth, by the very work done, confer grace, and wholly abolish original sin; and that it is of absolute necessity to salvation.”^d In near connexion with the sentence to which our cautionary remark is appended, Robinson writes, “We retain the seal of the covenant of grace, though ministered in Babylon; and not the baptism of Babylon, but the baptism of the Lord in itself, and by the Babylonians, spiritual, usurped, and profaned, but by faith and the Spirit now sanctified to our use. . . . As well may the doctrines of faith there ministered,” namely, in the Church of England, “and thence brought by us, be called stolen bread of Babylon, as he [Helwisse] in wantonness of wit, calls the baptism ‘the stolen waters of Babylon.’”^e

In his “Justification,” Robinson had given his reasons for holding that “The church is not gathered, nor men thereinto admitted, by baptism.”^f He adds here, to his former reasons, that “The church is not given to baptism; but baptism, on the contrary, to the church; as are all other the Lord’s public ordinances, and oracles.”^g And he says further, “John baptized many, but yet gathered no churches; living and dying a member of the Jewish church;^h therefore the church is not gathered by baptism.” If admission into the church be by baptism, he argues, then must casting out be by un-baptizing; and that as often as they return and relapse. Baptism is not a dispensation of Christ’s kingly office, but a work of his prophetic: “which is indeed to be joined with admission into the church, and to follow upon it immediately, if the persons be not before baptized.”ⁱ “If the church be gathered by baptism, then will Mr. Helwisse’s church appear to all men to be built

^a P. 46. ^b Matt. viii. 10. xv. 28. Acts x. 4, 35. Luke xxiii. 40—43.

^c P. 46, 47. ^d P. 65. ^e P. 47. ^f Justif. p. 283, 384.

^g Rom. iii. 2. Psal. cxlvii. 10, 20. ^h Matt. xi. 11. ⁱ P. 47, 48.

upon the sand, considering the baptism it had and hath. Which was, as I have heard from themselves, on this manner;—Mr. Smyth, Mr. Helwisse, and the rest, having utterly dissolved and disclaimed their former church state, and ministry, came together to erect a new church by Baptism; unto which, they also ascribed so great virtue as that they would not so much as pray together before they had it. And, after some straining of courtesy who should begin, and that John the Baptist, Matt. iii. 14, misalleged, Mr. Smyth baptized first himself, and next Mr. Helwisse, and so the rest, making their particular confessions. Now, to let pass his not *sanctifying* a public action by public prayer,^a his taking 'unto himself' that 'honour'^b which was not given him either immediately from Christ or by the church; his baptizing himself, which was more than Christ himself did;^c—I demand—Into what church he entered by baptism? Or, entering by baptism into no church—How his baptism could be true, by their own doctrine? Or Mr. Smyth's baptism not being true; nor he, by it, entering into any church—How Mr. Helwisse's baptism could be true; or into what church he entered by it?"^d

^a 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.^b Heb. v. 4.^c Matt. iii. 15.

^d P. 48.—We abstain from commenting on this passage, referring it, with the following, to the solemn consideration of every Baptist, so called. "The first church, in London, was founded soon after 1611, by Mr. Thomas Helwisse. On the controversy about Baptism being agitated by Mr. Smyth, he took the side of the Baptists, and was excommunicated with Mr. Smyth and his followers. He was baptized by Mr. Smyth, and was one of the first in the constitution of that church. On the death of Mr. Smyth, the care of the church was committed to him, and soon after they returned to London; from an idea that they had done wrong to fly from persecution." Hist. of the English Baptists, &c. From about the year 1610 till 1700. By Joseph Ivimey. 1814. vol. ii. p. 505. After what Robinson has said above, would Mr. Ivimey continue to say, "There is no doubt but this *silly charge* was fabricated by his [Smyth's] enemies, and it is an astonishing instance of credulity that writers of eminent talents have contributed to perpetuate the *slander*?" Vol. i. p. 115. (1811.) He says, in another place, "It must be admitted that there is some obscurity respecting the manner in which the ancient immersion of adults, *which appears to have been discontinued*, was restored, when after the long night of antichristian apostacy, persons were at first baptized on a profession of faith. *Ibid.* p. 139. We leave Baptists in the full enjoyment of the consolation these remarks afford them. Why should they be ashamed of Smyth's self-baptism, if Crosby's opinion, in which Mr. Ivimey coincides, be correct, "That after a general corruption of baptism, an unbaptized person might warrantably baptize, and so begin a reformation?" *Ibid.* p. 144. and 146. And see a note in the edition of 1822, of Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. ii. p. 42. It is due, nevertheless, both to our readers and to Smyth, that the following passage of Smyth's should be introduced here, "If all the commandments of God must be obeyed, then this of baptism, and this warrant is sufficient for assuming baptism. Now, for baptizing a man's self, there is as good warrant as for a man's churching himself: for two men singly are no church; jointly they are a church, and they both of them put a church upon themselves; for as both these persons unchurched, yet have power to assume the church, each of them for himself and others in communion, so each of them unbaptized, hath power to assume baptism for himself with others in communion." See p. 58, in "The Character of the Beast: Or the False Constitution of the Church discovered in certain passages betwixt Mr. R. Clyfton and John Smyth, concerning the Christian Baptism of new creatures or new-born babes in Christ: and False Baptism of infants born after the flesh. Referred to two propositions; 1. That Infants are not to be baptized. 2. That Antichristians

It were of little use, after this, to enter into Helwisse's attempt to un-church every individual and every assembly that would not seek baptism from himself or his colleagues; or that would not do, in one way or other, as they had done. "He condemns our profession," says Robinson, "as 'a false profession,' and us as 'false prophets;' as he doth also, the 'profession' and 'prophets of the prelates, and Puritans,' as he calleth them; and therein yieldeth necessarily, that the churches making this 'false profession' under these 'false prophets,' by *him* so deemed, are 'false churches!'"^a "The particulars following in his Book, do more especially concern myself and writings; against whom and which, through high persuasion of his own knowledge, and most unsanctified affections, together with that zeal of God, which I bear him record he had, though 'not according unto knowledge,'^b he letteth loose his tongue into most intemperate rage. And, first, he reproacheth me for the use of that for the want whereof I have just cause to blame myself; which is my 'logic and philosophy,' as being 'none of the gifts wherewith Christ endued his apostles:' wherein he verifieth the old saying, that 'Knowledge hath no enemy but Ignorance!' Logic is nothing but the right use of reason; as is philosophy the love of wisdom, divine and human; and did the apostles want these? Or doth Mr. Helwisse envy unto me my small pittance in them? Would he have me a new Nebuchadnezzar, with an ox's heart in a man's body? Indeed this his judgment against those arts of wisdom and reason well agrees with his ignorant and brutish dealing against me and the truth. And for my 'terms of art,' which he also blameth, they are neither many, nor without cause: nor yet so dark but that an ordinary reader may, as they are explained by me, understand them."^c

Robinson had mentioned a "double consideration" of baptism; the essential, as the washing, "in the name of the Father, &c.;" and the administrative, by whom, upon whom, and in what communion to be dispensed. Referring to this, he says, "I grant, that the outward and inward baptism are joined together by Christ, and so ought not, by men, to be separated, but joined together in their time and order; but deny, that, therefore, where the inward baptism by the Spirit is not

converted, are to be admitted into the True Church by baptism."—1609. Hall tells his "Blessed Mother,"—see back, p. 186—Smyth "hath washt off thy font-water as unclean, and hath written desperately both against thee and his own fellows." Baptists themselves are not alike fastidious respecting Smyth's conduct. One who had peculiar means of satisfying himself uses no qualifying words where he speaks of "His strange unscriptural conduct in baptizing himself without call or example:" Dr. Stuart, *Life of Ainsworth*, prefixed to the "Communion of Saints," &c. Edinb. 1789. p. xlii. The difficulties which encompassed the Baptists, notwithstanding their seeming confidence, is partly evinced from some of them suspecting the derived validity of their administration, and therefore despatching Mr. Richard Blount to be immersed in Holland, and, as it appears, by a Mr. John Batte. Blount thus qualified, came home and immersed the pastor, Mr. Samuel Blacklock, who jointly transmitted what validity they might thus have obtained for themselves, to fifty-three others. Crosby, *Hist. of the Bap.* Vol. i. p. 102, 103.

^a P. 53.

^b Rom. x. 2.—"He had not the advantage of a learned education." Ivimey's *Hist. Bap.* vol. i. p. 122.

^c P. 57.

actually manifested, as in the Infants of believers, there the outward is not to be administered; or that being administered unlawfully in apostate churches, it is no outward baptism at all, nor spiritual in itself, though carnally used, nor to be held upon repentance, without repetition. The outward circumcision of the flesh, and the inward circumcision in the 'heart,' which it signified, and whereof it did admonish the circumcised, were joined together of God, and so were to be by men, and might not be severed without great iniquity.^a Were the Infants therefore, of the true church debarred it? Or, being profanely administered amongst the idolatrous and apostate Israelites, or to the idolatrous proselytes amongst them, did their abuse change the nature of it in itself? Or, was it no circumcision at all, and so to be repeated, when the Lord vouchsafed to add the circumcision of the 'heart?'^b

I would know of these double-washers, whether if a man professing the same faith with them in holiness outwardly, but in hypocrisy, should be baptized by them; and that afterwards his heart should strike him, and God give him true repentance,—let it be the person they know of, that fled from *us* under admonition for sin, and joining to and being baptized by them, was presently after by *themselves* found in the same sin, and so censured,—whether, I say, they would *repeat* their outward washing formerly made as none, because there was not joined with it the inward washing of the Spirit? Or if they think it none, and so the forementioned person not indeed received in by baptism, as they speak, wherefore did they then excommunicate the same person?^c

"If the washing with water 'in the name of the Father, &c.,' of a fit person by a lawful minister, in a lawful communion and manner, be true baptism, truly and lawfully administered; then, is washing with water, 'in the name, &c.,' by an unlawful minister, of an unfit subject, and in an unsanctified communion and manner, true baptism unlawfully and falsely administered. The thing done is the same in both; the difference is only in the manner of doing it... An oath taken in earnest, and for a thing lawful, though profanely, bindeth him that took it."^d

Treating expressly "Of the Baptism of Infants," Robinson meets his opposite on the question of the "old and new covenants," their nature and applicability; and having prepared his way, he maintains the proposition "That the Infants of the Faithful are within the compass of the New Covenant here spoken of." He begins by placing the opponents in this dilemma: "Since all children coming naturally from Adam are conceived and born 'in sin,'^e and 'by nature the children of wrath';^f if these men believe, as they do of all, that their children so dying shall be saved by Christ, then must they have a part in His Testament, or in this new covenant. There are not two new covenants or testaments established in the blood of Christ, but one. And since Christ is propounded unto us as 'the Saviour' of the 'body,' which is his 'church,'^g it is more than strange that these men will

^a Deut. x. 16. Jer. iv. 4.

^c Psal. li. 5.

^b P. 59.

^f Eph. ii. 3.

^e P. 60.

^g Eph. v. 23. Col. i. 18.

^d P. 61, 62.

have all Infants to be saved, and yet none of them to be of His 'body,' or 'church!' "a

He shows, at some length, the error of confounding the covenants made with Abraham and with Moses; and remarks that "the profession of anabaptistry" may be discovered "as not from heaven, by this error, That the covenant with Abraham, 'I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed,'^b is the covenant of the law, and not of the gospel. Upon which," he says, "notwithstanding doth depend the rejecting of Infants from the church and baptism; as also the repeating of the baptism received in false churches; as may appear to him who will observe their pleading for 'apostate Israel' as a true church, because it was 'Abraham's carnal seed,' and so had circumcision as a 'seal of a carnal covenant!'"^c

"We require of *them* proof, How children are cast out of the church and baptism thereof; and, how the grace of God is so shortened by Christ's coming in the flesh, as to cast out of the church the greatest part of the church before,—the Infants of believers? The Lord Jesus sent out his apostles to 'teach' or make disciples 'all nations,' and to 'baptize them';^d opposing 'all nations' to that one nation of the Jews. As if he should have said thus,—I have formerly declared my will to that one nation, and circumcised it; 'go' you now, and 'teach *all* nations' and baptize them. Now, if Christ's meaning had been, that they should not with the parents—being made disciples, and baptized—baptize the children; as before they had with the parents,—being made disciples, and circumcised,—circumcised the children; it had been needful he had given them a caveat, to leave the children of the Faithful out in the world, though they had formerly been in the church! If it be objected, that they who were taught, and believed, were to be baptized, *therefore not Infants*; I deny the consequence. Which should be, if it were true,—and *therefore not Infidels*, and such as refuse the gospel. And this is the opposition which the Scriptures make; setting impenitent and unbelieving persons against the penitent and believing, and not children against their parents; which is *childish* to imagine!"^e

Allied to this, he says in another place, "That 'the outward, or visible church, consists of penitent persons and believing only,' opposing them to impenitent and unbelieving, and that such only are to be baptized, I acknowledge, and the Scriptures brought to confirm it; but deny it, opposing believers to their Infants, which are neither unbelievers and impenitent, nor 'innocent,' as is affirmed. The vineyard and 'kingdom'^f which was taken from the Jews, is let out and given to us; in which, though no briars, nor brambles, nor fruitless trees might grow, yet young plants, and *imps*, not yet bringing forth fruit actually, both might and may; as children might and may be in God's kingdom, though no rebels."^g

A mass of Scriptural information and of pertinent remarks, of which later writers appear to have availed themselves, is contained in the general discussion, most serviceable to the cause it sustains; but which we are precluded from enlarging upon, and confine our notice therefore of Robinson's Survey of "The Confession, &c.," published by Mr.

a P. 78.

b Gen. xvii. 7, 10.

c P. 80.

d Matt. xxviii. 19.

e P. 81.

f Matt. xxi. 43.

g P. 127.

Smyth's followers,^a and with which he closes this treatise, to simply stating, that he examines only those doctrinal points of theirs which he judged erroneously set down; as, Of God's decree about Adam's sin, Of Adam's fall, Original sin, Free-will, God's love, Man's recovery, Universal redemption, Apostacy from grace, Christ's sacrifice, Repentance, Regeneration, The new creature, The Scriptures needful, Perfection, The visible Church, Magistracy, and Oaths. These subjects occupy thirty-two pages.^b

CHAP. XVI.

CLYFTON.—AINSWORTH.

THEY are little acquainted with the corruption of their own hearts, and still less with the history of Christianity itself, who are, or affect to be surprised or alarmed at the dissensions and disputations which will ever happen between those Christians who are not privileged with divine inspiration, equal to that graciously imparted to Paul and Barnabas.^c Nor is their knowledge of human nature and its best mundane attainments, surpassed by their proficiency in either physical or moral philosophy. It is true our Saviour has prescribed for us an *Ultima Thulé*, that remotest point in the sacred canon which, since He requires it, we ought to strive to attain, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."^d Such is our state of imperfection, that the very means needful in aiming at this exalted attribute, bring us into that collision of understanding with understanding, which necessarily excites and elicits those evil propensities in their kind and degree, lurking till the occasion draws them forth, in the very best of our species. Let us not be reproached, however, as though we were disposed even to palliate what is in the least respect contradictory to the genius of Christianity. Our purpose is merely to check those *perfectionists*, who use the terms unity and charity the most loudly, when some one or other of their own exclusive interests, secular or not, as may be, is affected. To such we address ourselves in the language of a late profound investigator into the most abstruse of principles,— "You that boast you live conformably to the appointments of the Church, and that no one hears of your noise, we may thank the ignorance of your minds for that kind of quietness."^e And we are able to confirm this sentiment by that of a still greater authority, who tells us, "There be two false peaces, or unities; the one, when the peace is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark; the other, when it is pieced up upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points: for truth and falsehood in such things are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's

^a See back, p. 179.

^b Helwisse published in 1611, 8vo., "A Proof that God's Decree is not the cause of any Man's Sin or Condemnation: And, that all Men are Redeemed by Christ; and that no Infants are condemned."

^c Acts xv. 2.

^d Matt. v. 48.

^e Aids to Reflection, &c. by S. T. Coleridge. 1825. p. 102.

image; they may cleave, but they will not incorporate." Thus says Lord Bacon.^a

Notwithstanding what ensued after Ainsworth had bestowed the appellation of a "worthy soldier of Christ"^b upon RICHARD CLYFTON, he must not be therefore dispossessed by us of his just claim to a niche among his memorable compeers in this our denominational cenotaph. The man under whom as a minister Robinson could in his riper years sit as a learner, and enter also into fellowship with the church under that minister's care, must have had qualifications beyond the ordinary standard.^c He joined the other exiles, as we have shown, in 1608,^d and attached himself to the church of which Johnson was pastor. He was, perhaps, on Ainsworth's secession, December 16th, 1610, invested with the office of Teacher among them. The particulars of his personal history are unfortunately very scanty, but his mind, we learn, underwent much fluctuation on the subject of the Separation; though, if we may put reliance in the judgment of an enemy, he wrote "most to the purpose," in defence of the practice.^e He published at Amsterdam, in 1610, "A Plea for Infants and elder People, concerning their Baptism; or, A Process of the Passages between Mr. John Smyth and Richard Clyfton." 4to. Smyth rejoined in the same year, in "A Reply to Mr. R. Clyfton's Christian 'Plea.'" The "Advertisement" noticed in our pages,^f and which excited Ainsworth's displeasure, was printed in 1612.

Proceeding thus far in our course, we have had little else to perform, than the relating of contentions; but we have never paused as we moved along to issue bewailment at our hapless lot, with professions that we could have done better than our predecessors did in their circumstances. We introduce now, an account of other productions of Ainsworth's pen, in the words of one who could estimate the just merits, and participate in the enjoyment of the general subject-matters of their contents. Dr. Stuart remarks, that "It must have been, in the midst of these controversies, a circumstance which shows with how right a spirit he conducted them, that he was engaged in what I may be allowed to call his great work, namely, his 'Annotations upon the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs.' Every one knows that a performance of this kind requires time, labour, patience, and a mind disengaged from passion and anxiety. If Ainsworth kept thus possession of himself, in circumstances which lead most men to lay aside the rule of their own spirits, we must pronounce him one, who to faith and knowledge added also virtue, that is, firmness of mind."^g Of these Biblical labours we shall avail ourselves in due course.

In a like happy state of mind, he must have composed the most entirely didactic of his original works that has yet passed under our view; and our own minds would fain go along with him in the sweet and holy theme "Of the Communion of Saints." The date of publication is not known, but our reasons for not having taken the subject into consideration earlier, and for not postponing it to a later portion of our labours, will be inferred from the particulars which the reader is about to learn.

^a Essay iii. ^b See back, p. 180.

^c Prince's Chron. Hist. vol. i. p. 19, 20.

^d See back, p. 185.

^e Paget's Arrow against Separation, p. 8.

^f See back, p. 239.

^g Life of Ainsw. p. lii.

John Paget, an opponent of Ainsworth, writes in "An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists," 1618, that "There was a promise, or a show made some years since (in Catalogo Francofurti, anno 1608. Tractatus de Communione: Ambsterodami apud Cornelium Nicolai, 8vo.) that your book of the 'Communion of Saints' should have come forth in Latin at Frankfurt Mart; but it was a false show, and a mocker of the world: it is not yet come forth." Whether or not, from the context, Paget means to represent, after all, that the book had been really published, but not in Latin, is no way clear. He says in one part, "Your doctrine is concluded therein so closely and obscurely, that none who knew you not before, could have found out your meaning thereby;" and then, for nearly a whole page, he prescribes to Ainsworth thus, "you are then plainly to admonish your brethren;^a .. you are to 'write the vision'^b of your Separation; .. at leastwise, you ought to admonish these many members of the Dutch and French churches here in the same city with you ... If you had zeal, and conscience of this doctrine that you profess, you could soon find means to publish a few arguments in Dutch, and Latin also, to call away the faithful people in this city where you live, from their unlawful ministers. ... Considering also that you can find time to publish sundry other things."^c It should seem hence that this book of Ainsworth's had not appeared before the year 1618, yet it must have been printed several years sooner, because Dr. Stuart, editor of the Edinburgh reprint, dated 1789, 12mo. pp. 260, says he had seen a copy bearing the imprint alone of "Reprinted in the year 1615." We have, however, seen the book catalogued with the imprint of London to it, in addition to that year, and the size, 18mo. The size agrees with a copy we possess, "Translaté d'Anglois en François par Jean de Lescluse."^d Imprimé à Amsterdam par Giles Thorp." pp. 538, no date. This edition is dedicated to Philippe de Mornay,^e a distinguished nobleman of France, and a Hugonot; whence, as he resigned the Governorship of Saumur, mentioned in the dedication, in 1617, its publication may be presumed to have been earlier. We have not succeeded in finding any account of this friendly translator, but doubt not that his labour was not lost upon many a soul desirous of building itself and others up into a spiritual house, dedicated to the Lord.

It is impossible to read the author's preface without perceiving that he was a master in Israel. His appropriation of Scripture to every turn of his design is strikingly fit. And we are content that he should bear his reproach under the scornful appellation of "Rabbi," fixed upon him by one who had elevated himself into "Moses' seat."^f Yet more, we challenge his reproacher's admirers to produce any such work of equal spirituality and textual appropriation, from among the ranks of the contemner's side either in his own day or since. "One thing," he says, in the preface, he would advertise the reader of, "that sometimes I allege the Scriptures otherwise than our common translators have them, when the force of the original words doth afford another, or more

^a Levit. xix. 17.^b Hab. ii. 2.^c Chap. iv, p. 86, 87.^d See back, p. 260.^e See back, p. 163.^f Matt. xxiii. 2.—Bp. Hall, in his "Common Apology," p. 31.

ample sense. Herein I fear not to be blamed of any that love the truth in incorruption; and for the places so changed, I leave them to their trial that are men of judgment." This gives us the opportunity of stating that Dr. Doddridge pronounced Ainsworth's biblical works "full of very valuable Jewish learning; and his translation in many places, to be preferred to our own, especially on the Psalms."^a With them and with our present translation of the Bible, side by side, "a person unacquainted with the Hebrew language, enjoys," Dr. Stuart remarks, "in some measure, the advantages possessed by those who are masters of it." And such is the estimation of these his works, both abroad and at home, that, as Dr. Stuart remarks also, "it hath led some, with more zeal than knowledge, to seek to rescue him from what they reckoned the reproach of having been a sectary and the author of factious writings."^b To revert to the work on "Communion," which the editor tells us "is not an attempt upon the passions of men," but an endeavour "to warm the heart, chiefly by opening the Scriptures,"^c Ainsworth having, at the end of the third chapter, invoked the "Gracious Spirit" to breathe upon his soul, and guide his pen to set down His Truth, commences the following chapter thus:—"That we may the better discern the Communion of Saints, whereof we treat, let us first consider, Who the persons be that have fellowship together.

1. "The Head and highest, in this holy society, is the LORD our God, who is not only most holy in himself, but communicateth his holiness with us his creatures, and doth vouchsafe to have fellowship with us, even in this life and world; as it is written, 'If we say that we have communion with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have communion one with another,' that is, God with us, and we with him, 'and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin.'^d For this cause he is often called in Scriptures, *The Saint*, or 'Holy One of Israel,'^e and 'The King of the saints.'^f This is to be understood of all the three persons in the unity of the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, of whom it is written, 'He (is) Holy Gods',^g and accordingly, his people are named 'The people of the Holy Ones.'^h

2. "Jesus Christ, as he is God manifested in the flesh, is 'The Saint of God,'ⁱ 'The Holy One,' and 'The True,'^k even 'The Holy One of Israel';^l being himself 'of the Holy Ghost,'^m and therewith baptizeth his Church,"ⁿ whereof He is the Mediator; and was figured out by the high priest, in the Law, who, in type of Him, was also called 'The saint of the Lord,'^o and carried this writing, graven in gold, upon his forehead, 'Holiness to Jehovah.'^p With this Jesus,

^a Works. Ed. 1804. vol. v. p. 472.

^b Life of Ainsworth, p. liii, liv. The testimonies adduced by Dr. Stuart, are Biog. Brit. Edit. 2. Calmet's Dict. de la Bible. Edit. Gen. 4to. vol. i. p. 157, 169. Wendlerus, de Lib. a Pontif. xxiv. sect 23. Th. Sinceri Nachrichten von und rar. Büchern, p. 119.

^c Ibid. p. lv.

^d 1 John i. 6, 7.

^e Isa. v. 19, 24. Psal. lxxi. 22 lxxviii. 41. lxxxix. 18.

^f Rev. xv. 3.

^g Jos. xxiv. 19. The mystery of the Holy Trinity.

^h Dan. viii. 24. in the Heb. ⁱ Mar. i. 24. ^k Rev. iii. 7. ^l Isai. liv. 5.

^m Luke iv. 1.

ⁿ Matt. iii. 11. Acts i. v.

^o Psa. cvi. 16.

^p Exod. xxviii. 36.

our Redeemer, we that believe have a very near communion, according to that which is written, 'He that sanctifieth,' which is Christ, 'and they that are sanctified,' which are his people, 'are all of one; for which cause He is not ashamed to call them Brethren.'^a And again, 'God is faithful, by whom ye are called unto the communion of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord.'^b

3. "The elect and blessed Angels are also 'saints';^c having sanctity by creation continued and confirmed unto them for ever. These heavenly spirits have communion, not only with God, in whose presence they stand, but also with us, the children of God, through faith, by which we are come unto the great assembly of the many thousands of them,^d have them for our guardians,^e and, acknowledging themselves to be our fellow-servants.^f

4. "All Men and Women, called to the faith of God, are 'saints' by calling;^g being sanctified by Christ Jesus, and one with another are 'holy brethren.'^h Of these, some are 'saints' departed this life, and sleeping in the Lord;ⁱ others are on earth, and while they here live, notwithstanding their many infirmities and afflictions, are 'saints of the most High,'^k 'a holy nation.'^l

5. "This happy society, our fathers of old saw shadowed in 'the tabernacle,' where God dwelt 'among men.'^m His own gracious presence appeared, when his 'glory filled the tabernacle,'ⁿ and his voice was heard of [by] Moses 'out' of the same;^o and 'the ark' of his 'strength' was a continual sign of his residence, and 'rest' therein.^p His son, Christ, was represented by the 'mercy-seat,' or propitiatory covering the ark, in whom, and by whom, God is reconciled with his people,^q who therefore is called the propitiatory or reconciliation;^r and from that, was 'the voice' of God heard 'speaking,'^s even as by Christ he speaketh to the end.^t The angels were figured in the 'cherubim' upon the mercy-seat, and in the 'curtains' of the tent round about;^u for so these blessed spirits minister unto Christ, and to his Church, the 'heirs' of his salvation.^w The multitude of believers were resembled in the 'twelve cakes,' according to the number of the twelve tribes of Israel, set 'upon the pure table before the Lord,'^x with 'pure incense' upon them, to be for a remembrance and offering 'by fire to the Lord' instead of them.^y So we Christians are 'unleavened'^z cakes, standing before the Lord in his Church, and being in Christ a sweet odour unto him, who still hath his spiritual tabernacle 'with men, and dwelleth with them.'^{aa}

In the ninth chapter, he tells us, "But, though we may have no communion with the wicked in their religion, nor in any other evil action, against either table of God's law, yet in civil affairs we are taught of God to converse with them in peace. As to eat and drink

^a Heb. ii. 11.^b 1 Cor. i. 9.^c Deut. xxxiii. 2, with Acts vii. 53. ^d Heb. xii. 22. ^e Psa. xxxiv. 7. xci. 11, 12.^f Rev. xxii. 9. ^g Deut. xxxiii. 3. 1 Cor. i. 2. ^h Heb. iii. 1. ⁱ Matt. xxvii. 52.^j Psa. xvi. 3. Dan. vii. 18, 21, 22, 25. Rom. i. 7. ^k 1 Pet. ii. 9.^l Psa. lxxviii. 60. ^m Exod. xl. 34. ⁿ Lev. i. 1. ^o Psal. cxxxii. 8.^p Exod. xxv. 17. ^q ἱλαστήριον Rom. iii. 25. ^r Num. vii. 80. ^s Heb. i. 2, 4.^t Exod. xxv. 18. xxvi. 1, &c. ^u Heb. i. 6, 14.^v Levit. xxiv. 5, 6. ^w Levit. xxiv. 7. ^x 1 Cor. v. 7. ἀζύμοι. ^y Rev. xxi. 3.

with them,^a buy and sell,^b make covenants of peace,^c show kindness to them,^d pity their estate, love them,^e relieve their wants,^f and receive from them for our relief,^g pray for them,^h labour by all gentle demeanour to convert them from their evil way,ⁱ and do any good we can to their souls or bodies, or any thing that is theirs.^k And, if we live in their policies and dominions, we ought to be subject to all civil magistrates, high or low, and that of conscience;^l pay them their tributes, customs, and other like duties for their commonwealth:^m to bear their exactions, oppressions, persecutions, patiently, without rebellion or resistance;ⁿ and even pray for them that shall so misuse us;^o that thus, as much as in us lieth, we may do good unto, and have peace with all men, in all things except sin;^p and be perfect, as our Father which is in heaven is perfect."^q

The next chapter contains these paragraphs:—"In matters of Religion, we must not do what seemeth good in our own eyes,^r nor choose our own ways,^s nor forge things out of our own hearts,^t nor make to ourselves any similitude of things in heaven or earth,^u nor walk in our own counsels;^v for, what is man that he should invent services for God, or do any thing which the Lord requireth not at his hands?^w The things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;^x of him therefore alone, we must learn his fear: what He commandeth, that only must we do; we may not put to it, nor take ought from it."^y For, when Israel set their own thresholds and posts by the Lord's, they defiled his holy name with their abominations.^{aa}

"The mysteries of his Faith,^{bb} we may not measure by carnal reason, nor our own shallow understanding;^{cc} but learn with reverence to believe all his words; knowing that the things which eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, neither came into man's heart, are what God hath prepared for them that love him;^{dd} and neither flesh nor blood, but Himself, doth manifest them to us;^{ee} and, as his words are spirit and life, so is it his Spirit that searcheth all, even the deep things of God, and revealeth them unto us, and quickeneth us."^{ff}

In the chapter following, he says, "Notwithstanding all this grace and communion that we have with God by Faith, we are not perfect, neither shall be, till we have attained the resurrection of the dead.^{gg} Here, we see through a glass darkly, and not face to face;^{hh} we know in part only, and do grow in grace and knowledge daily; we behold the glory of the Lord with open face, but as in a mirror, and are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord.ⁱⁱ We have first our infancy, and are as babes in Christ;^{kk} after, we are as young men, strong in faith, and do overcome the

^a 1 Cor. x. 27. ^b Gen xxiii. 3, 4. 16. ^c Gen. xiv. 13. Deut. xx. 10.
^d 2 Sam. x. 2. ^e Matt. v. 44. ^f Prov. xxi. 26. ^g Deut. xxiii. 4. ^h 1 Tim ii. 1.
ⁱ 2 Tim. ii. 24, 25. ^j Gal. vi. 10. ^k Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.
^l Matt. xxii. 21. ^m Matt. v. 39. Rom. xii. 19. ⁿ Luke xxiii. 34. Acts vii. 60.
^o Rom. xii. 18. ^p Matt. v. 45, 48. ^q Deut. xii. 8. ^r Isai. lxvi. 3.
^s 1 Kings xii. 33. ^t Exod. xx. 4. ^u Psal. lxxxi. 12. ^v Isai. i. 12. Jer. vii. 31.
^w 1 Cor. ii. 11. ^x Deut. xii. 32. ^y Ezek. xliii. 8. ^{aa} 1 Tim. iii. 16.
^{bb} John vi. 52, 60, 63. ^{cc} 1 Cor. ii. 9. ^{dd} Matt. xvi. 17. John vi. 45.
^{ee} 1 Cor. ii. 10. John vi. 63. Eph. iii. 3, 5. ^{ff} Phil. iii. 11. ^{gg} 1 Cor. xiii. 12.
^{hh} 2 Cor. iii. 18. ⁱⁱ 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2.

wicked one;^a and proceed in riper years, waxing old in faith and knowledge of Him who is from the beginning. Thus, our way shineth as the morning light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day,^b and we walk on earth, as did Abram in Canaan, going and journeying towards the south."^c

The twelfth chapter contains this passage: "To illustrate and seal up more assuredly our communion with Christ's priesthood, we are washed with water, for a sign and assurance of the forgiveness and washing away of our sins,^d and to be as the laver of our regeneration and new birth;^e whereby we are also baptized into His death, and buried with him by baptism; that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also should walk in newness of life;^f our old man being crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed,^g and ourselves be dead to sin, but alive to God in Jesus Christ our Lord;^h whom, by this symbol, we have put on,ⁱ and do bear his name upon us, with the name of the Holy Spirit.^k And, after this, Christ often feedeth our souls with his own body and blood, which was broken and poured out for our sakes, figured out unto us by bread and wine;^l hereby confirming the former grace of remission of sins, and a further grace in Christ continually; into whom we are incorporated, and have so near a communion with Him,^m under these visible earthly elements, which we looking through by the eye of faith, seeing, and feeding upon, Christ, have our life by him,ⁿ do dwell in him, and he in us,^o and shall be raised up at the last day unto life eternal."^p

In the same chapter we read, "This *Kingdom* of Christ is no earthly monarchy, nor of this world;^q but spiritual and heavenly;^r and therefore is more mighty than the kingdoms of the earth; able to beat down, break in pieces, and grind to powder all adverse power and dominion,^s whether of this world, or the spiritual wickednesses which are in the high places.^t Therefore also, is the manner of administering this Kingdom not worldly nor pompous: but, as Christ the King himself, came unto us poor, and riding on an ass;^u and He, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David,^w who was like a lamb slain,^x so manageth his kingdom still, not by might, nor by power, but by his Spirit;^y that it cometh not with observation, for men to say, 'Lo here,' or 'Lo there,' but is within us,^z wielded by the spiritual sceptre of his Word, the gospel of the Kingdom,^{aa}—and by the almighty working of the Spirit, and therefore containeth in it mysteries, or secrets that cannot be understood, but by the gift of God."^{bb}

The communion which the Saints have with the Spirit, he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter, "is in many particulars; and that from the beginning of their days unto the end. For Jeremiah was sanctified,^{cc}

^a 1 John ii. 14. ^b Prov. iv. 18. ^c Gen. xii. 9. ^d Acts iii. 38. xxii. 16.
^e Tit. iii. 5. ^f Rom. vi. 3, 4. ^g Verse 6. ^h Ver. 11. ⁱ Gal. iii. 37.
^k Matt. xxviii. 19. ^l Matt. xxvi. 26, &c. ^m 1 Cor. x. 16. ⁿ John vi. 57.
^o Ver. 56. ^p Ver. 54. ^q John xviii. 36. ^r Matt. iii. 2. ^s Dan. ii. 34,
35, 44, 45. Luke xx. 18. ^t Eph. vi. 12. ^u Zech. ix. 9. ^v Rev. v. 5.
^x Rev. v. 6. ^y Zech. iv. 6. ^z Luke xvii. 20, 21. ^{aa} Matt. iv. 23.
^{bb} Luke viii. 10. ^{cc} Jer. i. 5.

and John Baptist filled with the Holy Ghost,^a even from their mothers' wombs. And we all that are born of God, have our regeneration and new birth of the Spirit;^b and according to his mercy are saved, by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost."^c

The sixteenth chapter is peculiarly important, but is too long to be copied entire. Its leading topics are on the holy communion which the Saints on earth are called to "among themselves."

"This gathering together of the saints, is not a bare assembly, or concourse only of people, but a new uniting and knitting of themselves, in one holy communion and fellowship." "The strength and virtue of this union of the saints, proceedeth from the unity of their faith and spirit." "The causes why God requireth this gathering and knitting together of ourselves, are these: First, for the better service of his Majesty, which he most esteemeth when it is done of us with joint consent and agreement, that we 'with one mind, and one mouth,'^d praise God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and, as the prophet saith, 'serve him with one *shoulder*.'^e . . . Another cause of the joining together of the saints, is their edification in the knowledge and fear of God. . . . A third reason is, that they may the better resist the common adversaries. . . . A fourth cause and benefit of this society, is the mutual aid, strengthening, and consolation one of another in all other Christian duties both public and private. . . . For these, and the like reasons, hath the communion and society of the Church been always praised, sought for, loved, and esteemed." "Of all these and many more blessings, are those deprived, that refuse or neglect to unite themselves with Christ in his Church; or, do withdraw and separate therefrom, to live alone, as in the desert; or to frequent the company of the wicked. They want the benefit and comfort of God's graces in his children; they want help, strengthening, and encouragement in time of trouble; and the labour of such foolish ones doth weary them, because they know not to go into the city;^f they are exposed to many perils, like wandering sheep upon the mountains, ready to be devoured of the wild beasts,^g and made a prey unto Satan. If they err, there is none to restore them into the right way; if they be wounded or broken, there is none to bind them up; if they be in misery and want, there is none to give them so much as husks to eat;^h if they fall, woe unto them, for there is not a second to lift them up.ⁱ What remaineth then, but seeing 'Wisdom' hath built her house, furnished her table, and invited the poor and simple to her feast,^k that all repair thither, without excuse or delay, there to eat that which is good, and let their soul delight in fatness;^l remembering how it is written, 'The Lord added to the church, daily, such as should be saved.'"^m

Not less important is the chapter succeeding; but we can only touch its contents slightly. They relate to "the covenant and communion that the Saints enter into, and keep among themselves." "They ask the way to Sion with their faces thitherward, saying, 'Come, and

^a Luke i. 15.

^b John ii. 5.

^c Tit. iii. 5.

^d Rom. xv. 6.

^e Zeph. iii. 9. *Heb.*

^f Eccl. x. 15.

^g Ezek. xxxiv. 5.

^h Luke xv. 16.

ⁱ Eccl. iv. 10.

^k Prov. ix. 1, 3, 4. Luke xiv. 16, &c.

^l Isai. lv. 2.

^m Acts ii. 47.

let us join ourselves to the Lord in a perpetual Covenant that shall not be forgotten.^a This Covenant which they make together, standeth upon two pillars ; 1. To keep their faith in God by Jesus Christ : and, 2. To observe his laws in love. In both these are they to build up and to help forward one another, saying, ‘ All people will walk every one in the name of his god, and we will walk in the name of Jehovah our God for ever and ever.’^b . . . Unto this covenant are all that make profession of faith and obedience to be admitted, without respect of persons . . . And together with themselves, their Infants also are received, by virtue of God’s promise unto Abraham,^c which promise by Christ is confirmed unto us, with all the benefits and privileges of the same.^d Which Infants, though they want discretion to perceive the favour of God for the present ; yet they want not sanctification, but are holy, if but one parent believe in Christ ;^e and this through the mighty work of God’s Spirit, who sanctifieth his from the womb :^f and by this grace doth comfort the parents, in that he is both their God, and the God of their seed ; and afterwards, the children also have their faith confirmed, by knowing that they were cast upon him from the womb.^g . . . And we accept into our fellowship, all that gladly receive the Word ;^h even such as be weak in faith we must receive,ⁱ bearing their infirmities, after Christ’s example.^k . . . Yet is not entrance into the faith and church of God, any discharge from duty and obedience toward former governors . . . The believing wife may not forsake her unbelieving husband ;^l nor the servant his master ;^m and every soul must be subject to the higher powers,ⁿ even to every human ordinance for the Lord’s sake.^o As Christ’s kingdom is not of this world,^p so neither doth it destroy or abolish the government and policies of the same, but maintain them rather.”^q

“ God appointed that some, who for their gifts and conversation were found fit, should have the care and oversight of that Congregation where they were set, to watch for their souls, and feed and rule them with the Word of God.^r These for their gravity are called ‘ elders ;’^s for the charge committed to them, ‘ bishops,’ or ‘ overseers ;’^t for the message whereon they are sent, the ‘ angels of the churches ;’^u and for the effect of their administration, they are named ‘ saviours,’^w by the doctrine of the gospel saving them that hear them.^x Yet are not these lords over God’s heritage, but the administrators of his graces and blessings among them, and examples to the flock ;^y not having dominion over their faith, but helpers of their joy.”^z

“ The saints being thus gathered as a people that shall dwell by themselves, and not reckoned among the nations,^{aa} because they are chosen out of the world,^{bb} and separated from the same,^{cc} and being builded as

^a Jer. i. v.^b Mic. iv. 5.^c Gen. xvii. 7.^d Luke i. 54. 55, 72—74. Acts ii. 39. 2 Cor. i. 20.^e 1 Cor. vii. 14.^f Jer. i. 5.^g Psal. xxii. 10.^h Acts ii. 41.ⁱ Rom. xiv. 1.^k Rom. xv. 1, 3.^l 1 Cor. vii. 13.^m 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2.ⁿ Rom. xiii. 1.^o 1 Pet. ii. 13.^p John xviii. 36.^q Rom. xiii. 5. Eccl. x. 20.^r Heb. xiii. 17.^s 1 Tim. v. 17.^t Phil. i. 1. Acts xx. 21.^u Rev. i. 20.^w Obad. ver. 21.^x 1 Tim. iv. 16.^y 1 Pet. v. 3.^z 2 Cor. i. 24.^{aa} Num. xxiii. 9.^{bb} John xv. 19.^{cc} Levit. xx. 24.

a city compact together in itself,^a and growing up in Christ the chief corner-stone, unto an holy temple in the Lord, are made the habitation of God by the Spirit,^b and do dwell alone in safety in a land of wheat and wine; also their heavens do drop down dew.^c . . . Which churches, though they be many in number, yet are they one in unity. To them all He hath given one faith,^d and canon, to be kept for ever unto the world's end; and to every one of them a like power and grace. . . . The people that dwell therein, shall have their iniquity forgiven;^e and from the day that this city is builded, the name thereof is, 'The Lord is there.'^f

In chapter the eighteenth, treating of "things spiritual," we are told that the communion of the saints in the Worship of God, "is when they all come together, time and place appointed, to serve, confess, and praise the Lord, and call upon his name."^g For which, as Israel of old had their assemblies, where the ministers of God publicly and solemnly uttered his praises,^h discoursing of all his wonderful works, and giving unto him the glory due unto his name;ⁱ they made also their requests unto God for their wants; unto all which the people said 'Amen,' and praised the Lord:^k so also, in the Apostles' days, God's people had still their places of prayer,^l for the which holy exercise the Christians assembled,^m and in which they continued with one accord,ⁿ both men and women; where the ministers of Christ gave themselves unto this business,^o that, minding the public state of the church, they might for, and with the same, make requests and give thanks, in the ears and understanding of the people, who thereunto answered 'Amen.'^p These now are not the prayers and praises of him alone that speaketh, but of the whole assembly, which attend with their ears, assent with their hearts, and seal with their lips, that part of public administration; confirming it also by signs and gestures, beseeming such an action.^q In these,—whether ordinary, or extraordinary with fasting and humiliation of soul, upon special occasions,^r—there is a communion and harmony among the saints,^s that with one mind, and one mouth, they do praise God,^t and their prayer cometh up unto heaven, to his holy habitation.^u And, as the public assemblies of the whole church, so the more private meetings for families, or of other friends, for special causes, is both comfortable to themselves, and acceptable unto the Lord."^x

Were we to pass over the next paragraph, we should feel that we had deprived the author of an important portion of his holy purpose, and had withheld from our readers a very interesting representation of one mode of "spiritual communion."

"But when, through distance of place, or other just occasion, they cannot, or do not come together; as also, in their private prayers,

^a Psal. cxii. 3. ^b Eph. ii. 20—22. ^c Deut. xxxiii. 28. ^d Eph. iv. 5.
^e Jud. i. 3. Gal. vi. 16. ^f 1 Cor. xvi. 1. ^g Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. ^h Isai. xxxiii. 14.
ⁱ Ezek. xlviii. 35. ^j Psal. cii. 21, 22. ^k 1 Chron. xvi. 7, &c. ^l 1 Chron. xvi. 35.
^m Ver. 36. ⁿ Acts xvi. 13, 16. ^o Acts xii. 12. ^p Acts i. 14.
^q vi. 4. ^r 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16. ^s Neh. viii. 6. Acts xx. 36. xxi. 5. Rev.
iv. 9—11. ^t 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6. Ezra viii. 21. Joel i. 14. Acts xiii. 2, 3.
^u Acts ii. 42. Rev. v. 8, 9. Psal. xciii. 5, 6. ^v Rom. xv. 6. ^w 2 Chron.
xxx. 25, 27. ^x Matt. xviii. 19, 20.

which they pour out before the Lord, either some few together, or each one apart, the Faithful have yet spiritual communion and benefit, by praying one for another, while they remember,^a and make mention of their brethren unto God,^b rejoicing and giving thanks for his blessings upon them,^c desiring things that may benefit and comfort them;^d praying for deliverance from bonds, or other afflictions,^e for strength and stability in the truth,^f for remission of sins,^g or for other graces, as the necessities of the saints do require; for all whom we are exhorted to pray, with all manner of prayer and supplication, in the Spirit;^h and for special persons, to make more earnest suit,ⁱ to strive and wrestle together with them,^k by prayers to God for them.^l This fellowship is comfortable to all that know the use of prayer, and how much it prevaileth with God, if it be fervent.^m Wherefore the apostles did not only perform this duty for others in their absence, but they earnestly desired it for themselves at the hands of all, and trusted for help by it. Also, the Saints that were before them, knew well, and nourished this communion, whilst they requested their brethren to pray unto God for them, especially the prophets,ⁿ whose petitions were exceedingly beneficial, not only to the church and members thereof,^o whom they sometimes saved from death by this means; but also for strangers;^p so effectual with the Lord is the prayer of the Saints, and the odour thereof as sweet incense before him;^q and a token it was of his heavy indignation, when he forbade his prophets to pray for the people.^r

For the right understanding of what Ainsworth represents to be not only a duty, but a privilege, we are induced to insert as follows: "In the assemblies of the Saints, . . all men have not only liberty, but are exhorted to desire that they may Prophesy;^a that is, speak unto the church, to edification, to exhortation, and to comfort;^b which is therefore to be coveted rather than other spiritual gifts,^c because it tendeth both to the building up of the brethren, and converting of the unbelievers, and the glory of God thereby.^d All therefore that have received this gift, may in seemliness and order use and manifest it,^e for the profit of the whole and every member; being careful that it be done according to the proportion of faith,^f and when any speak, that it be as the words of God.^g And although a woman, in regard of her sex, may not speak or teach in the church,^h yet with other women, and in her private family, she openeth her mouth in wisdom, and 'the doctrine of grace' is in her tongue.ⁱ So Miriam the prophetess, was guide to the women of Israel, in their songs of thanksgiving;^j so Priscilla at home, helped to expound the way of God more perfectly to the learned

^a 2 Tim. i. 3.^b 1 Thess. i. 2.^c Phil. i. 3, 4.^d Rom. i. 9, 10.^e Phil. ver. 22.^f Col. iv. 12.^g 1 John v. 16.^h Eph. vi. 18, 19.ⁱ Acts xii. 5.^j Rom. xv. 30. *συναγωγισαοθαι*.^k Heb. xiii. 18, 19.^l 2 Cor. i. 10, 11. Phil. ver. 22.^m Dan. ii. 17, 18.ⁿ 1 Sam. vii. 8.^o Exod. xxxii. 11, 14. Deut. ix. 20. Amos vii. 2, 5, 6.^p Gen. xx. 17.^q Psal. cxlii. 2. Rev. v. 8.^r Jer. vii. 16. xiv. 11.^s 1 Cor. xiv. 1, 39.^t ver. 3, 4. ^u ver. 1, 5.^x 1 Cor. xiv. 23—25.^y ver. 40.^z Rom. xii. 6. ^{aa} 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.^{bb} 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35.^{cc} Prov. xxxi. 26.^{dd} Exod. xv. 20.

Apollos;^a and was, together with other women,^b acknowledged of the apostle Paul, to be one of his fellow-helpers in Christ Jesus.^c And the Lord, both in those days, and before, had furnished sundry holy women with the gift of prophecy,^d as he promised also by his servant Joel,^e to teach that his graces are given unto all, as he seeth good to bestow them;^f though there is a difference between the extraordinary gift of prophecy, given but unto few, and the ordinary prophecy or exposition of Scripture, which is common to many."

In accordance with the maintenance of the rights of all in the church, Ainsworth writes, "In the primitive church established by Moses, where public actions were to be performed, the whole congregation was assembled." Having adduced his proofs, he adds, "And long after, both in counsels,^g and in the redressing of public evils and trespasses, all Israel indifferently had their hand and presence.^h The churches, in the Apostles' days, had also the like right and liberty; for the multitude of believers were both beholders and actors in all their common affairs; as at the choice and ordination of church-officers;ⁱ at the deciding of questions and controversies;^k at the excommunication or casting out of impenitent sinners;^l at the choice and appointment of men to carry the grace or benevolence of the saints to their needy brethren;^m at the receiving and reading of the apostles' letters;ⁿ and generally in the public communion and fellowship of the apostles, and of one another.^o They were also commanded to exhort and admonish each other,^p even the officers of the churches;^q and to mark diligently and avoid the causers of division and offences;^r and to look that no root of bitterness did spring up and trouble them, lest thereby many should be defiled.^s These, and the like privileges, in the faith and practice of the gospel, are given to all Saints, in all churches; which they must use with discretion, order, and peace;^t not presuming above their calling, and place, or the measure of their understanding, nor abusing their liberty to the trouble or annoyance of their brethren. And therefore, elders,^u or governors,^w are set to rule the people, and, together with the other officers, to manage the church's affairs. By which means confusion is avoided, and order is observed in the assemblies; as was in the primitive churches, where the overseers, and public ministers, propounded, discussed, and managed matters in seemliness and peace."^x

Discretion was evidently one of Ainsworth's distinguishing excellencies; but the solidity of his judgment over theirs who promulgated some extraordinary vagaries in his day, is displayed in these remarks: "Although God hath oftentimes called to the work of his ministry men

^a Acts xviii. 25, 26.

^b Phil. iv. 3.

^c Rom. xvi. 3.

^d Luke ii. 36. Acts xxi. 9. Exod. xv. 20. Judges iv. 4. 2 Kings xxii. 14.

^e Joel ii. 28, 29.

^f Eph. i. 11.

^g 2 Chron. xxx. 2, 21, 23.

^h Ezra x. 1, 9, 12.

ⁱ Acts i. 15, 16, 23. vi. 2, 3, 5. xiv. 23.

^k Acts xv. 2, 4, 6, 7, 12, 22, 23. xxi. 24. 1 Cor. vi. 2, &c.

^l Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, 13.

^m 2 Cor. viii. 19. 1 Cor. xvi. 3.

ⁿ Rom. i. 7. Thess. v. 27.

^o Acts ii. 41, 42, &c.

^p 1 Thess. v. 14. 2 Thess. iii. 14, 15.

^q Col. iv. 17.

^r Rom. xvi. 17.

^s Heb. xii. 15.

^t Rom. xii. 3, 6. 1 Cor. xiv. 39, 40.

^u 1 Tim. v. 17.

^w 1 Cor. xii. 28. Acts xx. 17, 28.

^x Acts i. 15. xv. 6, 7, 13.

that were unlearned, as Peter, Andrew, and others that were fishermen;^a Amos a herdsman,^b and sundry the like; and so can still, if it please Him, make simple, unlettered men, publishers of his gospel, and teachers to his church; yet do we find in the Scriptures, that the church hath had some trained up in study and learning: by means whereof, God prospering their endeavours, they might be fit to teach and govern the church of God. The Levites that were taken instead of the first-born of Israel, and given as a gift to the Lord, to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation,^c were trained up from their youth, to execute their ministerial actions, to play on instruments, and sing songs of praise unto the Lord;^d likewise, in study of the Scriptures, for they were to teach Jacob God's judgments, and Israel his law,^e and thereby to turn many from iniquity.^f And their training up and information was under the hand of their fathers, and governors.^g These all, that they might attend to the work of their ministry, had therefore no part nor inheritance among their brethren the Israelites, in the land of Canaan,^h in manuring whereof they might spend their time and labours; but had their livelihood from the Lord, by the tithes, first-fruits, and oblations of Israel, that they might be encouraged in the Law of the Lord.ⁱ He then enumerates the instances of the sons of the prophets in Samuel's days, and after; and notices prophets in the first Christian churches also, and the exercise of prophecy "by others than officers of the churches," concluding this chapter by adding, that "according to which patterns, all churches and people in them, should covet and endeavour to possess this grace, that some among them may be trained up and employed in the study of the Scriptures; that so there may be due furnishing of the ministry, and building up of the body of Christ, to his praise, and his people's salvation."

In the nineteenth chapter he treats of "civil" duties, and, in course, of "works of mercy;" which duties, he says, "are so united unto true religion, that God, of old, commanded them on his sabbaths and solemn feasts.^k Christ hath ordained Deacons in his church, and other helpers for this ministration;^l besides the general care of all the Faithful; and on every first day of the week,^m which were days of church assemblies,ⁿ such care and provision for the poor was made; yea, when occasion so required, the Christians sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every one had need."^o Concerning other Christian offices, he adds, "Special regard must be had, in all our actions, of reverence and love; for towards superiors, and the aged, men must show all honour, in giving them their titles of dignity when they speak or write unto them; rising up, and bowing down before them, for honour's sake;^p they may not rebuke, but exhort them as fathers;^q they are to give them the upper places,^r and suffer them first to speak in causes.^s

^a Matt. viii.^b Amos vii. 14.^c Num. viii. 17, 18. xviii. 6.^d Num. viii. 24. 1 Chron. xxv. 6, 7.^e Deut. xxxiii. 10.^f Mal. ii. 6.^g 1 Chron. xxv. 6.^h Deut. xviii. 1, 2.ⁱ 2 Chron. xxxi. 4.^j Deut. xvi. 11, 14. Neh. viii. 10.^k Acts vi. 1, 2, &c. Rom. xii. 8. xvi. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 12. v. 9, 10.^l 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2.^m Acts xx. 7. John xx. 19.ⁿ Acts ii. 45.^o Lev. xix. 32. 1 Kings i. 16, 23. Ruth ii. 10.^p 1 Tim. v. 1. 1 Sam. i. 1, 14, 15.^q Luke xiv. 7—10.^r Job xxxii. 4, 6, 7.

And they again, are kindly to entreat the younger sort as children and as brethren ;^a yet, as they may deserve, sharply to rebuke also.^b Amongst all, there should be, in behaviour, seemliness, and courtesy.^c . . . Nourishing good-will by affability, sociableness,^d and lowly carriage,^e love-feasts,^f and rejoicing together, that the bond of peace may, by all good and lawful means, be preserved amongst us during life ; and when we are parted by death, the living to carry and accompany the dead unto the grave."^g

The twenty-second chapter relates to church "censures," where, having laid down the Scriptural processes concerning them, Ainsworth remarks that "The keeping of these rules belongeth to *all* the Saints ; as the commandments directed, of old, to the children of Israel,^h and, in the new testament, to *all* the brethren and church, do show."ⁱ And he adds, presently, "But *chiefly* this pertaineth to the Ministers and Watchmen of the church, who, having the word of reconciliation committed unto them,^k and overseeing the manners of all the flock,^l must preach that word ; be instant in season, and out of season ; reprove, rebuke, and exhort, with all longsuffering and doctrine ;^m they must hear the word at God's mouth, and give the people warning from Him, admonishing them of their wicked ways, else they shall die in their sins, and their blood shall be required at those Watchmen's hands.ⁿ They must teach the people the difference between the holy and profane, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean.^o These have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, in more special manner given unto them, for the binding and loosing of sins by the public ministry of the Word.^p They are to guide and go before the people as in other affairs, so in administering the Censures of the church.^q . . . Unto such, the people are to hearken, obey, and submit themselves ;^r yet also to admonish them again, if need so require,^s and not suffer themselves to be seduced by false doctrine,^t brought into bondage,^u devoured or smitten on the face, but stand fast in the faith and liberty of the gospel ;^w and when any is cast out from amongst them, or again received in, this must be the joint action of the church assembled."^x

The chapter next in succession is on the trying question, "How far the Saints may hold and walk in Communion together, if Offences be not removed ?" The reply is nearly comprised in this preliminary sentence : "For the cause itself, in questions and disputable controversies the Saints should bear with one another's infirmities and diversity of judgment,^y especially for the present, till the truth be tried out, either among themselves, or by the help of other churches ; which was the practice in the apostles' days."^z And much is comprised also

^a Josh. vii. 19 Phil. 9. 1 Tim. v. i.

^b Tit. i. 13. 3 John 10 Num. xxxii. 6—14.

^c Eph. iv. 32.

^d 1 Pet. iii. 8.

^e Rom. xii. 16.

^f Jude 12 Acts ii. 46.

^g Luke vii. 12. 2 Sam. iii. 21, &c.

^h Num. v. 2. Lev. xix. 17.

ⁱ Matt. xviii. 15. ^k 2 Cor. v. 19.

^l Acts xx. 28.

^m 2 Tim. iv. 2.

ⁿ Ezek. iii. 17, &c.

^o Ezek. xlii. 23.

^p Matt. xvi. 19 John xx. 23.

^q 1 Cor. v. 3. 1 Tim. i. 20.

^r Heb. xiii. 17.

^s Col. iv. 17. Lev. xxi. 8, 24.

^t 1 John ii. 18, 26, 27.

^u 2 Cor. xi. 20.

^v Gal. v. i.

^w Matt. xviii. 17, 18, 21. 1 Cor. v. 4, 13. 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8, 10.

^y Rom. xiv. 1, &c. xv. 1, Phil. iii. 15.

^z Acts xv. 1, 7, &c.

in the remark that "The prophets of old, our Saviour and his apostles, are never found either to do or to join in the doing of any unlawful thing for which they blamed their people. In like manner must we walk; else shall we be inexcusable before God and men; for, as it is written, 'wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, for thou doest the same things!'"^a

The last, or twenty-fourth chapter, relates to "The Communion between church and church." Ainsworth instances "The communion of love and all God's graces and blessings, .. wherein our elder sister, the congregation of Israel, hath walked before us for an example. . . . She taught her children, by many prophecies,^b to expect our birth, calling, and conjoining in one spiritual body, faith, worship, and religion. And now, that we through Christ have obtained this riches and mercy, though it be by her fall and diminishing,^c we ought both to nourish unity and peace among ourselves, and to remember her again, who, notwithstanding her present misery, is beloved for her Fathers' sake,^d and shall again obtain mercy;^e which, what will it be unto us but life from the dead?^f Examples also we have of the churches in the apostles' days, who communicated each with other, in blessings spiritual and temporal; as amongst others, chiefly appeareth in those two loving sisters, the churches at Jerusalem and Antioch, the one of which were Jews, the other, Gentiles. . . . Thus have we a pattern and precedent of Christian duties between churches, in that church which first was crowned with the name of 'Christians';^g and have, besides this, many other instructions and examples proposed in the Scriptures; as of the churches in Macedonia,^h .. of Corinth also.ⁱ And well was it with the churches then, which strove not for primacy, nor knew any pre-eminence one over another; but walked as brethren, under one 'Arch-pastor,' Christ.^k From these few examples, compared with the former general duties of all Christians, it may appear how churches owe help, comfort, and refreshing to one another, as they have need and ability, and should not envy nor vex one another, but as Ephraim and Judah, flee together upon the shoulders of the common enemy, yet avoiding both ambition and confusion.^l For although we may advise, exhort, warn, reprove, &c. so far as Christian love and power extend, yet find we no authority committed to one congregation over another, for excommunicating the same, as every church hath, over her own members. Christ reserveth this power in his own hand.^m .. Neither may members run disorderly from church to church; which may work trouble and confusion: for avoiding whereof, in the apostles' days, letters of recommendation were written, for such as, by occasion, travelled to other places; that they might be esteemed and received as brethren:ⁿ as, on the contrary, false teachers, heretics, excommunicates, and such like, be shunned and avoided."^o

^a Rom. ii. 1.

^b Gen. ix. 27. xii. 3. Psal. ii. 8. lxxii. 6—11. Isai. xlix. 6. lxxvi. 19—21. Hos. ii. 23. Mal. i. 11.

^c Rom. xi. 12. ^d Verse 28. ^e Rom. xii. 31. ^f Ver. 15. ^g Acts ii. 19.

^h 2 Cor. viii. 1, &c. ⁱ Chap ix. 1, &c. ^k 1 Pet. v. 4. ^l Isai. xi. 13, 14.

^m Rev. ii. 5. & chaps. ii. iii. ⁿ 2 Cor. iii. 1, 3. 3 John 8—10. Col. iv. 10.

Acts xv. 24, &c. ^o 1 Tim. i. 20. 2 Tim. i. 12. ii. 17. iv. 14, 15.

It may be thought that the space allotted to the productions of Ainsworth is disproportionate; but from whom else shall be gathered the same kind of facts and sentiments? Who has written more in quantity and of superior excellency, out of which to cull matter more choice concerning the particular investigation we are pursuing into the progress of the practices, opinions, and success of those devoted and heroic followers and servants of Him who died, that all who believe in him might live, and whose "example," so far as they followed,^a we, their successors in like profession and practice, approve and imitate? As we did not begin with the resolution to confine ourselves to what is become trite to most readers of ecclesiastical history, so our pages are filled, hitherto, with very much that is known but little, and a great deal that was not known at all, except, possibly, to a certain few who by digging beneath the surface of what is every day before their eyes seek for knowledge "as silver," and search after it as for "hid treasures."^b

Among the passages we have recorded, is one which will have prepared the reader to surmise whose metrical version of the Psalms might have been used by those who, with Ainsworth, approved of "joint harmonious singing."^c It is not improbable but that they were provided with copies from their pastor's own pen, and which might be the same with what is contained in "The Book of Psalms: Englished both in Prose and Metre. With Annotations opening the words and sentences, by conference with other Scriptures. By H. A.—Eph. v. 18, 19.—Imprinted at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp. Ao. Do. 1612." 4to. pp. 348.

It opens thus, "I have enterprised, Christian reader, this work, with regard to God's honour, and comfort of his people; that His Word might dwell in us 'richly, in all wisdom,' and that we might teach and admonish ourselves 'in psalms and hymns and songs spiritual.'^d This I have laboured to effect by setting over into our tongue the Psalms in metre, as agreeable to the original Hebrew, as are other usual translations. For the better discerning hereof, I have turned them also into prose, and set these versions one by another, to be the more easily compared." A little after, he writes, "I differ somewhat in phrase from our former English Bible, not however that I affect novelty, but in Christian liberty,—which is not tied to words,—I use what I judge best, without prejudice to other. And this falleth out to be more, because these Psalms were not only translated, but many of them printed, before I could see our late well-amended translation."^e In pauses, which are more frequent here, I follow the original text; where more are to be seen than our English can well admit of; serving both to show the sense, and to read with consideration. In the metre, I use much more liberty; partly for plainness' sake, . . partly for necessity, adding sometimes words, which yet are included in the Hebrew; as, to 'bless thankfully,' Psal. ciii. 1, 2; whereas, in prose, I use only 'bless;' but the Scripture proveth 'thanks' to be included in our

^a 1 Pet. ii. 21. ^b Prov. ii. 4. ^c See back, p. 181. ^d Col. iii. 16.

^e Hence, Dr. Stuart is wrong in imagining that our version "had not reached" Ainsworth. Life, p. liii.

'blessing' of God; for when an Evangelist saith 'he blessed,' Matt. xxvi. 26, another saith 'he gave thanks,' Luke xxii. 19. . . Rather than I would stray from the text, I strain now and then with the rules of English poesy, in the just ending alike of both verses, and sometimes in the quantity of the syllable. . . Tunes for the psalms, I find none set of God; so that each people is to use the most grave, devout, and comfortable manner of singing that they know, according to the general rule, 1 Cor. xiv. 26, 40. . . Although psalteries, harps, and other instruments were used in Israel with the song, Psal. cl. 3, 6. 2 Chron. xxix. 25—27; yet doth not the ceasing of that music abolish the singing of psalms with melody in our hearts, any more than the ceasing of incense, which was burned with prayer, doth abolish now prayer out of the church. Psal. cxli. 2. Luke i. 10. . . To help, therefore, the saints in the comfortable use of this exercise, have I employed my strength in this work; and shall think it well bestowed, if it may serve to God's glory and the benefit of His people."

The metrical versions are some of them printed in score, to certain tunes; and others are referred to those which have their tune against them. We give as a specimen of the versification,—

PSALM XXIII.

"Jehovah feedeth me, I shall not lack.
 In grassy folds, He down doth make me lie:
 He gently leads me quiet waters by.
 He doth return my soul: for His name' sake,
 In paths of justice, leads me quietly.
 Yea, though I walk in dale of deadly shade,
 I'll fear none ill: for with me Thou wilt be;
 Thy rod, thy staff eke, they shall comfort me.
 'Fore me a table Thou hast ready made,
 In their presence that my distressers be:
 Thou makest fat mine head with ointing-oil;
 My cup abounds. Doubtless, good and mercy
 Shall, all the days of my life, follow me:
 Also, within Jehovah's house, I shall
 To length of days, repose me quietly."

CHAP. XVII.

AINSWORTH, JOHN AND HENRY, OPPOSED.—JACOB'S PROTESTATION.

OUR remarks before the last work in the former chapter, apply to another of those productions serving to display on what various subjects the talents of the Separatists were required to be exercised; and to illustrate more fully the real character of him in whom we feel deeply interested; an advantage we shall derive from "The trying out of the Truth: Begun and prosecuted in certain Letters or Passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth; the one pleading for, the other against the present Religion of the Church of Rome.—The chief

things here handled are, 1. Of God's Word and Scriptures; whether they be a sufficient Rule of our Faith? 2. Of the Scriptures expounded by the Church; and, Of unwritten Traditions. 3. Of the Church of Rome; whether it be the true Catholic Church; and, Her Sentence to be received as the Certain Truth?—Published for the good of others, by E. P., in the year 1615." 4to. pp. 190.

This editor could be no other than Ephraim Pagit, who was then a resident at Amsterdam, over a church of the Puritan or Presbyterian order; and whom we have had occasion to exhibit as bitterly hostile to those whom he judged "heretics and sectaries," among which he has placed Henry Ainsworth!

The controversy originated in a disputation between John Ainsworth, or Aynsworth, a prisoner for his religion in Newgate, London, and others confined also for their religion: when it was reduced to writing, John placed at the end a challenge including a "wish, for name's sake, that Mr. Henry Ainsworth might see it." On the receipt of the copy, Henry replied in a Letter dated "From Amsterdam, this 4th of September, 1609." He tells him, "Though I have, at this time, other Opposites to answer, and affairs important lying upon me, yet would I not altogether let pass this occasion offered by yourself, whom for nation and name—and I know not whether also for nearer alliance—I regard as is meet; grieving for your estate, who are in captivity not so much in body as in soul; from which, if I could procure your release I would be glad."^a Thus commenced, the controversy was continued by J. A. replying in ten pages "From Justice-hall in Newgate, the 22nd of September, *stilo veteri*, 1609. Your friend most desirous to give you satisfaction, to work your conversion." The preliminaries being now settled, Henry answered in nineteen pages, saying, "Your Letter I received the beginning of this month, December, 1609. And I write this, the 23d of the same, *stilo vet.*" John's reply of twenty pages, is dated so long after as "the 4th of March 1610, *st. vet.*" The train of the argument may be partly inferred from his telling Henry, "When we bring against you the whole body of Councils and holy Fathers, the whole school of Doctors; when we urge you with the assertions of Luther, Calvin, Beza, Jewell, Whitaker, Hooker, pillars, nay first founders of the Protestant Religion, out of whose near withered stock the 'Brownists' are newly budded, and even in the bud remain as blasted by the breath of their own parents; you think this answer sufficient, that, 'They were all men, all dust and ashes, and so erred; saying, Let the Fathers sleep:' as though the whole world had been in a dead sleep of error until this present age! As though the Apostles' own disciples, that sucked knowledge from their mouths, had need to be disciplined of you for their dangerous errors!"^b On the 16th of April, Henry addressed his opponent in thirty-three pages, which he concludes thus, "God offering this occasion by yourself, I have, out of the love of my heart, endeavoured to save your soul from death, by showing you the way of life; choose life, therefore, that you may live. Look into the Book of God—wherein you seem to me to be a stranger—and pray unto Him for understanding in the same. So shall you find

^a Page 3.

^b P. 33.

more light to your eyes, more comfort to your heart, than the cart loads of later Doctors, Fathers, Councils, &c. can give unto you. And, if you will not be warned, I shall lament your estate: yet, while I may, I will do you good; and as for all reproaches, taunts, vituperies, which you have already uttered, or may yet further utter against me, I shall willingly bear and bury them, and use all good means I can to save you from the damnation of hell. God open your eyes, and persuade your heart unto the sight and obedience of His most holy 'faith once given unto the saints.' Amen."

After this, ensued an interval of three years without any interchange of correspondence, when a new challenge being put forth by some Roman Catholics, Henry wrote again shortly, to John, April 12, 1613, congratulating him on hearing of his "release out of bonds," and alluding to the new challenge, tells him "reason would, that the old be maintained, or let fall, before way be given to any new." John writes in return, in six pages, and tells his "loving friend" that his release was but a change to "banishment," and that all his books and papers had been taken from him. He resumes, however, and says, "We both agree, belike, in the intention; each seeking each other's conversion, though we are *ex diametro* opposed in our assertions. I wonder what hope you should have, by any thing you write, to pervert my obedience to the Church of God, that, you so scoffingly term 'Popery;' but therein you show your ignorance, distinguishing a Roman Catholic and a true Christian, although all papists, in your opinion, are not true Christians! But I could with better reason retort, and desire to convert you from heathenism, or Judaism, to true Christianity. For I take, according to your grounds, a man might prudently doubt, whether you are baptized or not; in that your parents or ministers might as much slight—as your Sect doth—the necessity of baptism."^a He adds, in another page, "But now, briefly to set down my arguments, which I maintain still, you have not satisfied in no one point. I will, therefore, briefly set them down in form, desiring an answer as brief, yet as solid and as substantial, as you can afford; only granting, denying, or distinguishing; which indeed is to answer in form, like a scholar. Your conclusion, as I take, was this—The written word of God contained in the Bible is the only 'sufficient rule of our faith.' My reasons were these, in substance, to prove the contrary, . . . That which is not known for God's Word, cannot be the only rule of faith."^b Elsewhere, he says, "That you write you are 'sorry' for my error, I wonder you should be so careful for my soul's good that are so negligent of your own. For, as I take, in the last of mine, I showed how full of fear the last resolution of your faith would be when you should give account at that eternal tribunal; in that all you can answer for yourself is, that your own fancy apprehended so!—your private spirit interpreted so!" He writes, at the bottom, "I received yours dated the 12th of April, the 26th of the same; and I send this, the 29th of April *st. vet.*, Justice-hall, in Newgate."^c

May 28th, Henry sent a copy of his "last writing," and restated the substance of the argument on both sides, "Not urging you to

^a P. 88.^b P. 90.^c P. 93.

answer, unless you think the goodness of your cause will bear you out."^a This was replied to, July 24th, "God willing, I will shortly send you the answer to your large discourse. . . God send you may recover yourself from your imminent *precipitium*, that dying out of the church of God, you do not eternally burn in the quenchless flames."^b These two, with the two previous letters, occupying ten pages, were followed "the 13th of September, *st. vet.* 1613," by an elaborate one of fifty-two pages, beginning thus, "Although your reply was slight and wily, rather seeking to transfer the question than to examine it to the true ground, bespangling the rough rug of your doctrine with multiplicity of wrested places of Holy Scriptures, which makes me fitly resemble you to some Ethiopian behanged all over, ears, eyes, nose, lips, and arms, with jewels and pearls, that by their lustre, beauty, and misplacing, make the negroe's foulness the uglier; yet, of such importance is the decision of this question, being the key and master-spring to all the other doctrinal and controversial questions of Religion; that, however your exploded doctrine and shuffling replication need no answer, being like a comet that consumeth itself; yet, to compete with the worth of the question, and to satisfy your followers' desires, I have once again returned you an answer."^c It ends thus, "So you say the sense of this or that parcel of Scripture is as *you* conceive, though against the letter—as 'Hoc est corpus meum,' &c.; and against all doctors and expositors, and records of time, showing the practice of the Church. As that client's cause shall be full of fear, his plea ridiculous, the sentence sure to pass against him with a hiss and contempt of the whole bench; so shall that irrevocable sentence of God pass against you, in following your own fancy against His word and the Holy Catholic Church the expounder thereof. I pray God to avert his judgment, and to wipe off the scales of your eyes, that you may see and embrace the true Church that, with the blasphemous breath of your nostrils, you have persecuted."^d

November the 6th, Henry addressed his long answer, of thirty-nine pages, to his opponent's longer Letter, "To Mr. John Aynsworth, prisoner in Justice-hall in Newgate: Grace and mercy from God, to find repentance unto salvation." Tracing him till arriving at this syllogism,—“That which is not known for God's Word, cannot be the rule of faith. But Scriptures, by themselves, are not known for God's Word. *Ergo*, Scriptures, by themselves, are not the rule of faith:”^e Henry writes, “I answer, first by imitating your argument, thus;—That which is not known for God's Word, cannot be the rule of faith. But Popes' traditions are not known for God's Word. Therefore, Popes' traditions are not the rule of faith! On the contrary, I reason thus; That which is known for God's Word, is to be the rule of faith. The holy Scripture is known for God's Word. Therefore, it is to be the rule of faith. The first proposition is, by yourself, here proved. The second was also by yourself granted, where you said of the Scriptures thus, 'We reverence them as God's

^a P. 94.^b P. 95, 97.^c P. 99.^d P. 148.^e P. 105.

holy Word, derived from the fulness of truth, &c.' The conclusion must follow of the premises : so the Truth hath won for the Book of God ; and your error for unwritten traditions must give place." ^a Further on, he writes, " So, you do not by your ' private spirit,' as you say, distinguish heretics from true believers ; but by the definitions and declarations of the Church, ^b that is, I trow, of the Pope ! I showed you a better way by the apostle, 1 John, iv. 1, 4, but you love darkness better than light. And, by your grounds, if you had lived in Christ's days on earth, you would have distinguished Christ as an heretic from true believing Jews, by the definitions of that church and priesthood. John ix. 22. Unto Jews, you confess you must show other grounds than your Popes' authority. But if they retort upon you your ' private spirit,' as you do to me, either your mouth is stopped, or your conscience, in pleading against me as you do, is corrupted." ^c

" When one asks you a reason, why you believe the Scriptures, or any doctrine, to be of God, you answer, that ' extrinsically' and in respect of yourselves, it is because your Church—that is, the Pope who is the head of your Church—telleth you so, and not by your own private spirit. Which is as if one should ask, Why you believe the sun to be the light of the world ? and you should answer, ' extrinsically,' because the Pope tells you so ; and not because of any private sight or discerning in your eyes. Ask you again, Whether you know the Pope to be a man of God, furnished with His grace and Spirit, that he cannot deceive you ? You answer, ' We hold not that the Pope is necessarily indued with God's holy grace ; for, in matter of fact, he may sin, as well as any other.' Ask you again, How then you trust such vile ungracious Popes, as many have been, by your own men's testimony ? You answer, You hold, ' the Pope hath a necessary assistance of the Holy Ghost, as he defines *ex cathedra*—out of his chair—as the head of the Church.' Ask you a proof of this paradox, and you cannot bring any one line of God's holy Scriptures to confirm it. You can neither find the ' Pope' nor his ' chair' there mentioned ; any more than Mahomet or the Koran ! Then you flee to late human testimonies of doctors, fathers, councils, which also you wrest. Yet ask you, Whether those doctors were necessarily indued with the Spirit of God, and could not err and deceive you ? You dare not say this ; nay, indeed you deny it, while you refuse any doctrine or exposition given by doctor, father, or council, which the Pope approves not of : and this ordinarily to be seen in your books. Follow you now still, Upon what assurance you stay ? And it is, Your Pope is Christ's Vicar, and cannot err *ex cathedra*, because himself saith so ! And this is to make him a god ; for only God is the ground of truth, Rom. iii. 4, on whose Word all creatures should rest. And so, by this argument alone, if there were no more, your Pope is proved to be that man of sin which exalteth himself above all that is called God." ^d

It does not appear that John received the above Letter till " about the beginning of June, 1614." ^e He returned, on the 18th, a short reply,

^a P. 157. ^b P. 108. ^c P. 160. ^d P. 186. ^e P. 189.

telling Henry, "You wrong yourself, and not I you, since you give just occasion to me to term the guide of your religion your 'private' spirit; for the word aptly befits your grounds, as I prove effectually; and I do convince [*sic*] that our faith is not subject to any such circular vagary; I, resolving my religion into no other grounds than St. Cyprian did his.^a And you might see, if you would, that the Pope doth not make what he will a matter of faith, but only doth declare it!"^b

The whole correspondence was concluded in a very brief Letter, in these words, "Because I am not willing to strive for the last word, I cease further writing about these matters; having nothing of weight left for to refute any more, seeing my opposite thus giveth over. I am content that not only Mr. John Aynsworth's last 'answer,' as he desireth, and mine, but also all the passages between us, be set down word for word, for any that please to see and compare: am willing also, to answer, as God shall give me means, unto whatsoever Mr. John Aynsworth shall further set down 'in form only,' as he speaketh; leaving the things that have passed between us, to the indifferent censure of the judicious reader.—Henry Ainsworth."

The order of time brings before us the latest productions known to be from the pen of him whom it suited certain Oxford Divines to revile,^c but whose reputation has been rescued from the ignominy which they endeavoured to cast upon him, by one of their own community; one who was rarely disposed to favour any *quondam* brother who had promulgated anti-hierarchical principles. "He was a person," says the Oxford historian, "most excellently well read in theological authors:"^d this praise is bestowed on HENRY JACOB, A. M. whose progress over gradations of expanding ranges of inquiry terminated in his settlement upon the Holy Scriptures alone as the only safe and solid basis of "Belief and Practice." When he returned from abroad, we have not discovered, nor have we been successful in finding the authority for what is related of his proceedings concerning the conference with friends which led to the ultimate resolution of setting up "a separate congregation," described as "the first Independent or Congregational Church in England," and which comprised, among its earliest members, the names of "Staismore, Browne, Prior, Almey, Troughton, Allen, Gilbert, Farre, and Goodal." These, with others, "having observed a day of solemn fasting and prayer for a blessing upon their undertaking, towards the close of the solemnity each of them made open confession of their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; and then, standing together, they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other, in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as He had already revealed, or

^a "They that separate themselves from the church of God, must needs vanish, fade, and dry up; in that they lack their *origin*, by which all unity is preserved." De Unitate Eccles. ^b P. 189.

^c See back, p. 221.

^d "Withal, a most zealous Puritan; or, as his son Henry used to say, the first Independent in England. . . . He left behind him a son, of both his names, who was afterwards Fellow of Merton College, and a prodigy for curious and critical learning." Anth. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. ii. col. 308, 10. Edit. 1815. 4to.

should further make them known to them. Mr. Jacob was then chosen Pastor, by the suffrage of the brotherhood, and others were appointed to the office of Deacons, with fasting and prayer, and imposition of hands."^a This latter part of the relation would seem not to have been proceeded in on the first day, from the repetition of "with fasting and prayer." That all this occurred, however, in the year 1616, we learn on the authority of an anonymous author;^b from whom the Oxford historian obtained the date.^c And this brings us to the first of the publications now to be particularized, and which it is evident could not have been seen or handled by either of the historians to whom we are beholden for the present information.

"Anno Domini 1616.—A Confession and Protestation of the Faith of Certain Christians in England, holding it Necessary to observe and keep all Christ's true Substantial Ordinances for His Church Visible and Political—That is, Indued with Power of Outward and Spiritual Government—under the Gospel; though the same do differ from the Common Order of the Land. Published for the Clearing of the said Christians from the Slander of Schism and Novelty, and also of Separation, and Undutifulness to the Magistrate, which their rash Adversaries do falsely cast upon them. Also, an Humble Petition to the King's Majesty for Toleration therein.—Colos. ii. 6. Psal. cxvi. 9, 10." 16mo. No imprint, and not paged, but pp. 69.

With no other preface than "*Vide et fide: fide, sed vide,*" this piece begins thus, "We who do believe and profess it to be Necessary, both for the glory of Christ and for the assurance of our own souls, to observe and keep CHRIST'S Substantial Ordinances for his Visible political Church; which are wanting Publicly among us; and yet are both His clear commandments, and also special means of Salvation, and of God's Worship for us under the Gospel;—do judge it most fit and reasonable to publish and testify to all men, in all plainness, (i.) Wherein particularly we do consent and do fully agree

^a Neal, *Hist. Purit.* Vol. ii. chap. ii. He might have had the account of the proceedings from some of the MSS. which Crosby had lent him; and which Crosby says in the Preface before his *History of the Baptists*, vol. i. p. ii. Neal "had in his hands some years."

^b "*Life and Death of Mr. Henry Jessey, Late Preacher of the Gospel of Christ in London, &c. 1671.*" 16mo. p. 7. Subscribed in p. 97, E. W.

^c That Wood had seen Jessey's *Life*, appears in his "*Fasti Oxon.*" col. 435, of vol. ii. of *Ath. Ox.* edit. 1815. Neal writes of Mr. *Jessey*, that he "laid the foundation of the first Baptist Congregation that I have met with in England." This must allude to the Separation which took place in May, 1640, when the church, formerly Jacob's, over which Jessey had been settled about three years, "divided equally," and harmoniously; the one Congregation "whereof, continued with Mr. Jessey, who did not receive adult Baptism before Midsummer, 1645: his congregation being firm, "most of them," for infant baptism. The other portion "joined themselves to Mr. Praise-God Barebone." *Life of Jessey*, p. 11, 83, 89. But Mr. W. Jones, a Baptist, and editor of the edition of Neal, 1822, 5 vols. 8vo., states in a note, vol. ii. p. 341, that "according to Crosby, [*Hist. of Eng. Bapt.* vol. iii. p. 41, 42.] this is a mistake, for there were three Baptist Churches in England before that of Mr. *Jessey*. One formed in 1633; another, in 1638; and a third which originated in 1639." Here no account is found of a separate Church under Helwisse. See back, p. 267.

with the Public Churches in England; and (ii.) Wherein we disagree and differ from the Doctrine Publicly received: and, also, finally, to show, (iii.) The enforcing Reasons that have driven and compelled us to take this way which we do."

After solemnly protesting that they "with all readiness and conscience, at all times submit in all things, either actively or passively" to the Civil Authority; and that they refuse not "an occasion" to communicate with the "Public ordinary Congregations," where neither their "assent nor silent presence" are given to any "mere human tradition;" they "declare and testify, in the presence of God and men, that, merely being constrained by the clear and irresistible evidence of Christ's Gospel," they "*dissent*" from the "Public Ecclesiastical Order and Doctrine" only in eight and twenty several Articles.

i. "Of Christ's Offices; namely, His Prophetical and Kingly Offices.—We believe," say they, Christ's prophetical and kingly offices, even in *outward* Spiritual, or Religious, matters, to be absolute and perfect." They define such "matters," to be those used, in the exercise of religion, not for any natural reason, nor for any civil use, but "mere voluntarily; . . . used only in and for the exercise of religion, and are appropriated thereunto." Therefore, they remark, "where, in this Article, we are contradicted by some who say plainly, 'That Christ in the Gospel, though he be the Prophet, King, and Priest to his Church, yet he is not the only or absolute Teacher, Institutor, King, and Lawgiver of his *outward* Church, nor of the visible administration thereof:' and, likewise, 'That Christians now have liberty and free choice for the said *outward* things in the exercise of religion, till Man's authority do determine them; and, that then such *outward* things are necessary to be observed, but not otherwise:'^a this we cannot consent unto."

ii. "Of the Allsufficiency of the Scripture.—We believe the Holy Scripture's Allsufficiency, even in the said 'outward' matters spiritual, now, likewise, as well as it was believed and professed by all the Faithful under the Law." And, "for that reason," they affirm that they "hold" this sense—"the only true sense" of the Second Commandment, That, "generally, it containeth only, in the exercise of religion, free and voluntary Ordinances; that is, having no cause, for their said use,—neither in civility, nor in natural reason,—but the mere Will of the Author of them. . . . They against us, . . . deny the Allsufficiency of Holy Scripture in the said 'outward' points;^b . . . they call them 'circumstances, and accidents to God's Worship:' but most unjustly. . . . Our matters in controversy are not 'circumstances' nor 'accidents' in God's worship; and therefore, also not 'indifferent!' . . . A matter Substantial, in the Worship of God, and which is a part of it, is of three sorts: either a thing not Civil, but properly pertaining to God's Worship, and yet a mere voluntary Ordinance

^a "The approvers of Gabriel Powel, *De Adiaphoris*. 1606. See back, p. 127.

^b "Dr. Whitgift, in Pref. against T. Cartwright, saith it is 'a rotten principle.'" The Defence of the Answer to the Admonition; against the Reply of T. C. 1574. fol.

therein : or, a thing having absolute necessity, in nature and natural reason, to be a part of God's Worship : or otherwise, which by the Scripture is plainly commanded or forbidden in God's Worship. Our matters in controversy are all Substantial of one of these ; . . namely, of the first : and, therefore, whatsoever of them is lawful must be commended to us in the Scripture."

iii. "Of Christ's True Visible Church generally.—We believe that . . the special Form of this, that is, Christ's Visible Political Church under the Gospel, and the particular kind of Government thereof, must be of Divine Institution: they are matters ordinarily necessary to Salvation, and they are matters of Faith, matters of the Second Commandment no less than they were under the Law. . . By these things one visible political Church differeth essentially or *substantially* from another; to wit, in the nature and kind of the *outward* spiritual administration thereof. . . 'Laying on of hands,' Heb. vi. 2., set for the Form of making Ministers under the Gospel, is counted one of the six 'foundations' and 'principles' of Faith there rehearsed; which, then, requireth that also the whole *outward* spiritual administration and government of Christ's Church now must be such: yea, and the Form itself of the visible political Church must, then, be a 'foundation' of religion; a 'principle' of Christian Faith; ordinarily necessary, and for ever unchangeable by Men. We do not here think that all who, of simplicity, do err in this 'foundation' and 'principle' of Faith are, of necessity, damned: we are not of so rigid and severe an opinion." . .

iv. "Of Christ's True Visible Political Church, in more special manner.—We believe that the Nature and Essence of Christ's true visible—that is, political—Church under the Gospel, is a Free Congregation of Christians for the service of God; or a true Spiritual body-politic, containing no more ordinary congregations but one,* and that Independent. . . It hath, from God, the right and power of Spiritual administration and government in itself, and over itself by the common and free consent of the People, independently, and immediately under Christ; always in the best order they can."^b

v. "Of Synods, and Councils.—We acknowledge . . that, on occasion, there ought to be, on earth, a Consociation of Congregations or Churches: . . but not a subordination, or surely not a subjection, of the Congregations under any higher Spiritual Authority absolute, save only Christ's and the Holy Scriptures."^c . .

vi. "Of a Catholic or Universal Church Politic; that is, indued with power of Outward Spiritual Government.—. . No such Church, say we, is found in all the New Testament."^d . .

vii. "Of a Provincial Church Independent.—. . We deny also, a National, a Provincial, and Diocesan Church under the Gospel, to be

* Matt. xviii. 17. 1 Cor. v. 4, 12, 13; xi. 18, 20; xiv. 23. Again, Acts i. 15; ii. 1, 44; vi. 2, 3, 5, 6; xv. 22, 25; also, Acts xiv. 27; xv. 30: moreover, Acts xx. 28; xiv. 23. Gal. i. 2, 22. 2 Cor. viii. 1. Rom. xvi. 1, &c.

^b Matt. xviii. 17, 19. 1 Cor. v. 12, 13; x. 15; vii. 23. 2 Cor. ii. 8. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. Acts vi. 3, 5, 6; xiv. 23; i. 23, 26; xv. 22, 25. 1 Thess. v. 21. 1 John iv. 1. Rom. xvi. 17. Col. iv. 17. 2nd and 3rd John 10. Gal. i. 9; v. 1; iv. 26.

a true visible political Church—whether we mean the whole body, or the representative part of such Churches,—though the public practice among us doth hold them for true political Churches. . . Only a Free Congregation, or ordinary assembly, is found in the New Testament.”

viii. “How True Visible Politic Churches are in England.— . . Each Company of true visible Christians associated together in one place—namely, a Parish,—and professing to serve God, according to his Will in Faith and Order, so far as they know—such as there are many in England,—the same is a true visible political Church in some respect : that is, though not in respect of the Order of the State—unless indirectly, and by accident to it—after which they walk, and under which they stand in Spiritual bondage ; yet in Christ, directly, they are free : and so, directly and essentially, they are a true political Church, as they are a Company of true visible Christians, united by their own consent to serve God. . . But, esteeming them, by God’s Word, in their direct practice and state according to the Public proceedings, they are not a true political Church, nor free, directly ; as they stand under and joined to the Lord Bishops’ Spiritual dominion over them ! . . Howbeit yet, all this—as we judge^a—doth not simply disannul that People’s being true visible Christians with us—so long as herein they err but of ignorance,—nor the Assemblies from being true visible political Churches in some respect and degree. . . And, therefore, we communicate also with them, on occasion : . . whereof further in Article xi.

ix. “Of Lord Archbishops and Lord Bishops, Diocesan and Provincial.—We believe that the Spiritual office ; calling, and power, and administration ; of Lord Archbishops and Lord Bishops, Diocesan and Provincial, with their inferior Hierarchy, is contrary to the Ecclesiastical Order and Ordinance of Christ established in the New Testament ; and not to be communicated with. The proofs whereof do stand on the grounds of the fourth and tenth Articles.”

x. “Of the Making of Ministers.—We believe that the Essence of Ministers’ Calling under the Gospel, is the Congregation’s consent.^b We speak of the ordinary ministry, especially of Pastors. . . We cannot but believe it to be simply unlawful and sinful, to fetch, receive, yea or to use, a Ministry formerly [formally] received from the Prelates. Seeing that hereby, and especially by the express opinion, that the Ministry of England descendeth from the Pope, beside the maintaining of Rome’s pride, the foreshowed Order of God, and the Church’s true right spiritual, is most plainly violated and defaced : yea, and as we doubt [not]—our persons most deeply endangered of our lives by the Law’s verdict in the rigour thereof. . . Upon this ground, we also believe, that a Minister, so reputed, without any particular Flock, is indeed no minister.”^d

^a Prov. xxv. 18 ; xvii. 15.

^b 1 Thess. v. 21. Rom. xvi. 17. 1 John iv. 1. Acts xiv. 23 ; vi. 3, 5 ; i. 23, 26. 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Pet. v. 3. 1 Cor. vii. 23 ; iii. 22. Matt. xviii. 17, 19 ; xxviii. 20.

^c 27th Eliz. cap. 2.

^d “There are, by the Word of God, at this time, no ordinary ministries ecclesiastical, which be not local, and tied unto one congregation. . . St. Paul

xi. "Of our Communicating with the Parish Ministers and Parishes, in England.—First; We believe that to think we do, or can, receive a Ministry essentially from a former Minister,^a or Prelate, in these days, is an error; and the thing received is a nullity in that respect: Secondly; This receipt in a Parish Minister with us, maketh not a nullity of the ministry in him in every respect besides; that is, it maketh not void all trueness of ministry in him, as a believing congregation, howsoever, consenteth to have him: . . . this consent of the godly there,—howsoever it be mingled otherwise with error,—is not wholly void: Thirdly; Concerning us when, on some weighty occasion, we join only to that which is true in the said ministry; and testify, in the best manner we can, that so we do; also, ordinarily leaving the Parish congregation and ministry for that their error, and other such like; . . . this quitteth us: . . . Lastly; It being no evil, nor any appearance of evil, justly, in us to join the Parish congregation and ministry, in such respect . . . as is aforesaid, . . . we sin if we do not."^b

xii. "Touching Plurality-Pastors, and Non-Residents.—We believe Plurality-Pastors, and Non-Residents, to be directly contrary to the order of God in the Gospel; and, therefore, that now they are simply unlawful; and likewise, deputed and substituted Pastors, by private authority, such as our Curates are; and mere Lecturers are little better."

xiii. "Touching Discipline, and Censures.—We believe the true administering of the holy Censures, to be by the Congregation's consent also; and, therefore, not to be lawfully done by an absolute Diocesan or Provincial authority; that is, if it be without any necessary concurrence or consent of that Congregation which it chiefly concerneth."

xiv. "Touching the Number of Pastors in each Church: and, Of the Pastor's ordinary Power and Authority, in *managing* the Church's Spiritual Affairs and Government.—We believe each Church . . . may have more than one Pastor, if the number of the Church and their means be fit for it. . . . Howbeit, we judge that it is best, and most agreeable to the last apostolic practice, that even where many are, yet that one have, during life, a precedency and priority, in order and place,—not in Power.^c Touching their Power and Authority in Church-government, we believe—whether they be, in each Church, single, or more than one,—they have . . . nothing more than what the Congregation doth commit unto them; and which they may, when need requireth, take away from them; yea, to their utter deposing, and, also, rejection out of the Church itself, if such necessity be. . .

defineth it plainly, Tit. i. 5; . . . St. Luke, in Acts xiv. 23, doth declare the meaning of this place. . . . Whereupon it appeareth, that both no pastor or bishop ought to be made without there be a flock, as it were a void place for him; and, that a flock is not a realm, a province, or diocese—as we now call a diocese—but so many as may conveniently meet in one assembly or congregation." A Reply to An Answer, made of M. Dr. Whitgift against the 'Admonition to the Parliament.' By T. C. [Thomas Cartwright, 1573] 4to. p. 42-44.—ed. 2 p. 60, 61.

^a Heb. vii. 7. ^b Luke xvii. 37. Heb. x. 25. 1 Cor. x. 32. ^c Rev. ii. 1, &c.

Each proper Pastor may and ought to be trusted by the Congregation, with the *managing* of all points of the ecclesiastical affairs and government, so far that he, with his assistants, when he hath any, do execute and administer the same; yet so that, in matters of weight, the whole Congregation do first understand thereof before anything be finished, and the final act be done in the presence of the whole Congregation; and also, that they, the said Congregation, do not manifestly dissent therefrom."

xv. "Touching the profane and scandalous Mixtures of People in the Congregation.—We believe, concerning Mixtures of the open Profane with some manifest Godly Christians in a visible Church, . . that what soul soever, in such a church-state, desireth to be in safety, ought, with all diligence, to leave that spiritual society wherein he standeth thus, and join to a better. . . A little leaven will leaven the whole lump; much more . . where there is a great quantity, . . as now with us it is: wherefore, in such an inevitable present danger of our souls, doubtless we ought to leave the worse society, and to enjoy one that is and may be sincere. For by no means may we dare to be of no visible ministerial Church,^a if but two or three, where we live, can be gotten to consent and join together in the Name of Christ,^b and in the freedom of God's Word."^c

xvi. "Of Traditions Human.—We believe all Ecclesiastical Unwritten Traditions and Ordinances of Men, being no circumstances, nor accidents, are—now, under the Gospel, even like as they were under the Law,—untruths and false positions, and errors in the Worship of God: and, that, simply, we ought not to be present in the practice of them, unless we might conveniently reprove the same. We much dislike, therefore, those who hold, at least, some such, to be now, in these times, both tolerable and profitable in God's Worship. . . Some particulars of these Unwritten Traditions are, 'a Catholic Church politic; a Provincial politic Church independent;' the proper 'offices' of their government, and the 'form, and parts' thereof: beside these, also, are the 'cope' and 'surplice;' the 'cross' in baptism; 'kneeling' in the communion; and the like."

xvii. "Of Traditions Apostolic.—We believe that every Ordinance or Institution Apostolic, . . out of Holy Scripture proved to be so, is . . of Divine authority; instituted of God; simply unchangeable by Men; and such that, of right, it ought to be used perpetually and universally among Christians, unless God himself—by his own work—do *let* it, and make it void. They, therefore, do err much who hold that it is, rightfully, in the Church's power, to alter, and take away, something—which hath been of Spiritual and Ecclesiastical use—appointed by the very Apostles, and that mentioned in the Holy Scripture: and they also err, no less, who say that something truly Apostolic may be proved so to be by Traditions only, without Scripture."

xviii. "Of Prophecy, as the Apostle calleth it.—We believe that the sober, discreet, orderly, and well-governed Exercise of expounding and applying the Scriptures in the Congregation,—by the Apostle

^a Eph. ii. 12.

^b Matt. xviii. 20.

^c John viii. 32. 2 Thess. iii. 1.

called 'prophesying,' and allowed expressly by him to any understanding Member of the Church but Women,^a—is lawful now; convenient, profitable, yea sometimes very necessary also, in divers respects: the Church's order and allowance therein for each particular person so employed being first had. For it being lawful privately by private motion,^b it must needs be more lawful in Public, when it is seen needful by the Church."

xix. "Of the Reading of Homilies in the Church.—We believe that with us, the Reading of Homilies in Divine Service is not lawful, but very unmeet for the Congregation of the Faithful; namely, where it is held for competent without the employment of a preaching Pastor: whereas a Pastor's diligent, discreet, and judicious preaching and applying of God's Word, is 'the power of God unto Salvation'^c ordinarily. Neither doth every of the allowed Homilies, in every point, contain Godly doctrine."

xx. "Of Christ's Descending into Hell.—After the usual and common sense of this English word 'Hell,' we believe that, in the Creed, this point is not rightly translated where it is said Christ, being 'dead, descended into hell:' for the Scripture saith only—and so, likewise, do the original words in the Creed signify—that He was then under the power of death, and was in the place where all other the godly deceased were;^d and that is all."

xxi. "Of Prayer.—We believe concerning Prayer, that though every Form of Prayer prescribed by men^e be not absolutely, nor simply, a sin; neither, as we judge, an idol, nor an invention of man, nor a transgression of the Second Commandment; yet we constantly avouch and profess a Prescribed Liturgy, or a 'Book of Common Prayer,' by commandment enforced upon a whole Church rightly constituted, to be used still in the very same words whensoever they assemble, in comparison of other Praying is not so profitable, but rather hurtful, in many users of it; as 'making holy zeal, true piety, sincere godliness, and other gifts of God's Spirit, in many of them, to languish: namely, where it is made necessary, and in perpetual use; and when it is so long as that the reading of it over taketh up the whole time fit for one usual meeting to Divine Service. And, therefore, we cannot think it any way convenient for ourselves, nor meet to be imposed or to be so received in any well-constituted churches: much less, to be imposed on a whole Nation; least of all, upon all Churches of the World! The New Testament teacheth no such matter, neither troubleth itself with endeavouring a Uniformity in this point, but leaveth all Churches, herein, to their godly liberty, wisdom, understanding, and diligent consideration of themselves. Besides, such Prescribed Liturgies were never used, in any manner, among Christians, till late after Christ: the soonest was after three hundred years. And, to be short, by experience we see too oft, most evidently, they breed both an idle Pastor and an ignorant and secure People. Therefore, to follow, herein, the

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 34, with verses 1, 39, and 31.

^b 1 Thess. v. 11. 1 Pet. iv. 10.

^c Rom. i. 16.

^d Acts ii. 31.

^e 2 Chron. xxix. 30. Psal. cii. xcii. Matt. xxvi. 30.

Christian liberty and discretion of the Churches in the Apostles' times, we hold it to be far the best."

xxii. "Of Holy Days, so called.—We believe that under the Gospel, there is not any Holy Day, besides the Lord's day; nor any Fasting-day, or Days constant, ordinary, and on certain seasons, or times of the year, continually to be observed. All such observing of Days we believe 'is against God's Word, not only as being religious ordinances instituted by 'Men,'^a—never thought on by Christ nor his Apostles in all their time, who yet had the Holy Ghost leading them 'into all truth'^b meet for Christian people, and had more reason to institute them than we,—but also as being directly forbidden in the Fourth commandment.^c . . And yet again, Days of Thanksgiving, or Fasting, which by men are appointed, upon some special occasion, and are to be used accordingly; . . in nowise constantly and continually; . . we approve and allow as having warrant from the Spirit of God both in the Law and in the Gospel." . .

xxiii. "Of Marriage, and Burying; and Churching as it is called.—Concerning making of Marriage, and Burying the Dead, we believe that they are no actions of a Church-minister; because they are no actions Spiritual, but Civil. Neither are Ministers called to any such business; neither is there so much as one example of any such practice in the whole Book of God, either under the Law or under the Gospel: without which warrant, we believe it to be unlawful whatsoever any Minister doth attempt at any time or in any place; especially as a part of his ministerial office and function. Wherefore, we profess and protest that we earnestly desire that the Solemnization of 'Holy' Marriage^d might be performed by some Civil Magistrate assigned by highest Authority thereunto. And, when Ministers do, in the Congregations solemnize Marriage, we testify that we believe that they do nothing, therein, neither can, but bless this Ordinance of God, as likewise they do sometimes, the initiation of a Magistrate; they do not essentially constitute either of them. And for 'Churching of Women,' likewise we know no ground for it in Scripture, nor good reason at all specially to make it a necessary part of the Minister's office in the public Divine Service."

xxiv. "Of Ministers made also Magistrates by the State.—We believe that the joining of Pastoral-Ministry and Magistracy together in one person, under the Gospel is simply unlawful, and contrary to the text of the New Testament."^e . .

xxv. "Of the Gifts and Offerings of the Faithful.—We believe that there is a holy Communion of the whole Church in communicating of their substance together by Gifts and Offerings. These Gifts and Offerings are given to God; . . he taketh them for his.^f Also they are given to that particular Church of God for which the givers do intend them. . . They are necessary means and duties required by God for the supportation, maintenance, and upholding of the said Church, and of

^a Matt. xv. 9—11. ^b John iv. 25. xiv. 26. xvi. 13. ^c Exod. xx. 8—11.

^d See the Book of Common Prayer.

^e Matt xx. 26. Luke xxii. 26. Rom. xii. 7.

^f Num. xxviii. 2. xviii. 8. Mal. iii. 8, 9.

the sincere Worship of God therein : . . real sacrifices to God,^a and parts of his holy worship and service :^b also, after they are given and received, they are holy and consecrated things ; not goods for common secular use.^c These gifts are some ordinary, and some extraordinary. The time of offering these ordinary gifts is every Lord's-day : the most fit and comely place for it, is, in the holy Assembly, then when the Church's use is to perform it. Nevertheless, they who are, on just occasion, any such day, absent, ought always to lay aside, for God and for his service, their portion, or rather God's part and portion ; and, in due time, to bring or send it . . . Though they be free and voluntary in the givers, touching the particular quantity, yet that they do thus give and offer every Lord's-day, . . is a very commandment of God, and a fruit of necessary obedience in man.^d The quantity is thus far pointed at in the Scripture, namely, according as the Lord ' hath prospered ' every one : and some are in high grace with God, who give to God out of their penury . . . All the Church's Members are givers or receivers ; they that receive are the Poor, and the Ministers, of the Church. Extraordinary Offerings and Gifts, . . are for the place, time, kind, and quantity, such as each giver seeth God may be the more honoured thereby. The Ordinary Offerings in the Assembly, are to be received by the Deacons, committed into the hands of the Elders,^e and with their direction to be disposed of by the Deacons. The Commandment of the Apostle, . . 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, . . showing what the Apostle then required of them, for an occasional relief of other Brethren far off from them ; doth show more, that he requireth them thus to do for their own constant, ordinary, and necessary supportation and maintenance."

xxvi. "Of Tithes; and, the Pastor's fittest and due and necessary Maintenance.—We believe that Tithes for the Pastor's Maintenance under the Gospel, are not the just and due means thereof: howbeit yet, we do not think these Tithes absolutely unlawful, if they remain voluntary; but when they are made necessary, we think them not so lawful. The same do we judge, also, of whatsoever other set Maintenance for Ministers of the Gospel, established by temporal laws. We grant [that] for the Minister's security, such established Maintenance is best; but for preserving due freedom in the Congregation, sincerity in religion, and sanctity in the whole flock, the Congregation's voluntary and conscionable Contribution for their Pastor's sustenance and maintenance, is doubtless, the safest and most approved, nay, it seemeth the only, way, wherewith the Apostles caused their times to be content . . . It is manifest that Almighty God commandeth the people to maintain with their goods their Ministers ;^f in the Gospel, their Maintenance to be free, yet honest, liberal, and plentiful, that they may be encouraged in the way of the Lord."^g

xxvii. "Of the Civil Magistrate's Duty and Charge, to oversee and order his Churches in Spiritual Matters.—We believe that we, and all

^a Prov. iii. 9. 2 Sam. xxiv. 24.

^b 1 Chron. xvi. 29.

^c Levit. xxvii. 16, 19. Exod. xiii. 3. Deut. xv. 19. ^d 1 Cor. xvi. 2. ix. 14.

^e Acts xi. 30. Num. xviii. 8, 14.

^f 1 Cor. ix. 7, 9, 11, 14. Mal. iii. 8, 9. Prov. iii. 9. Gal. vi. 6, 7. Deut. xvi. 16.

^g 2 Chron. xxxi. 4.

true visible Churches, ought to be overseen and kept in good order and peace; and ought to be governed, under Christ, both supremely and also subordinately, by the Civil Magistrate; yea, in causes of religion when need is. By which rightful power of his, he ought to cherish and prefer the godly and religious, and to punish, as truth and right shall require, the untractable and unreasonable; howbeit yet, always but Civilly. And, therefore, we, from our hearts, most humbly do desire that our gracious sovereign King would, himself, so far as he seeth good, and further, by some substituted Civil Magistrate under him,* in clemency, take this special oversight and government of us; to whose ordering and protection we most humbly commit ourselves: acknowledging, That because we want the use of this Divine Ordinance, that therefore most great and infinite evils both to us and even to the whole Kingdom do ensue; and, also, because of the Spiritual Lords, their government over us. And, notwithstanding, the Spiritual Lords do think it injury and wrong to themselves not small if the King should substitute Civil Magistrates to this business;^b yet, as it is said, that is God's own Ordinance; and to do otherwise,—namely, to commit either Spiritual or Civil government, Diocesan or Provincial, to Ministers of the Word,—is evil; and, as we believe, a direct transgression of the text of the Gospel above rehearsed in Articles iv. x. and xxiv."

xxviii. "Touching the Necessity that lieth upon us, to obey Christ rather than Man, in our Using of the true and in Refusing the contrary Ecclesiastical Ordinances above specified.—We believe that, by the Word of God, all Christians are bound, each for his own part, to keep and observe, actually and perpetually, the Affirmative Ecclesiastical Commandments and Ordinances in the Gospel, as well as the Negative; that is, so far as one person sufficeth to perform the same, singly and by himself, he ought so to do: and where some number are required, and are ready, for the observing of any such Commandment, there each Christian which can be present with other, standeth bound to give his consent, and to make one with them therein; always after the best order they can, and namely, that main order which is in the Gospel; notwithstanding whatsoever man's forbidding, or whatsoever affliction in the world should follow upon it. But that [point], touching the Use of Christ's visible political Church under the Gospel, namely, 'a free Independent Congregation'—prescribed in Matt. xviii. 17.—is such an Affirmative Commandment and Ordinance, and it agreeth to that order as forenamed, as we see in the Scriptures alleged for the second point in the Fourth Article. Therefore, every Christian is bound by God's Word to keep and observe the same perpetually, so as is before declared. And namely, this all are commanded, occasion requiring, namely, to 'tell' such a 'Church,' and to 'hear' such a 'Church;' therefore, all are commanded, and stand bound, by God's Word—so as before is declared—perpetually to have such a Church, and to be Members of it first.

"Further; all, simply, are commanded to do 'whatsoever' Christ

* An Humble Supplication for Toleration, 1609, p. 8, 12. See back, p. 224—6. The reference here, helps to fix Jacob as the author of the Supplication.

^b *Ibid.* p. 12.

'commanded the Apostles ;'^a and to 'try all things,' and to 'hold fast that which is good :'^b and, to 'try the spirits whether they be of God ;'^c and, 'Brethren, mark them diligently which cause dissensions' and offences besides [contrary to] the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them ;'^d These duties we may very well do according to that true order above noted, if we enjoy such a visible Church—a free Congregation—as is before described : but wanting such a Church, it is not possible for us to do them with any good order, as is showed. Therefore, we all are simply 'commanded to enjoy and use an Independent Church exercising Spiritual government—a free Congregation—according as is before described, that we may obey God and keep his commandment given in these places of Scripture. Likewise, all are commanded to 'stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free ;' and, not to be 'entangled in [with] the yoke of bondage.'^e Out of such a visible Church—a free Congregation—we cannot possibly observe and keep this general Commandment orderly and ordinarily ; but *in* it we may : therefore, here we are commanded also, to be actually *in* such a visible Church—a free Congregation—and to *use* the same. Again ; all are commanded to 'stand fast,' and to keep the Apostles' 'traditions' and 'ordinances :'^f but this form of a visible Church is one main and substantial apostolic Ordinance ; therefore, we are all commanded to observe and keep it, namely, so as before is declared. Again ; all are commanded to 'obey' their Pastors, to 'follow' their 'faith,'^g and to make much of such ;^h to 'seek first the kingdom of God ;'ⁱ to make our 'calling and election sure,'^k namely, by walking in the true outward way ; to observe the Second Commandment, in all the parts of it,—a main part whereof, under the Gospel, is this form of a visible Church and government.^l Lastly : this Ordinance of Christ, we ought to hold and keep most firmly, whosoever gainsay it ; because in this estate of a Church, the promises of God are given and received ;^m and nowhere else, directly and ordinarily : and there is no promise to any indirect and accidental constitution of a Church ! Wherefore, this direct and ordinary means of hope and faith, of grace and salvation, we ought to prefer before our life : remembering also, that willinglyⁿ to refuse and omit the same, is no less than damnation to any man.

"Thus, then, in all these so weighty points, we are clearly commanded to obey God rather than Man. And God commanding us to fear, and to love, and to serve Him ; he commandeth us the necessary means and way of doing so, even that Church in and by which, ordinarily, we must do so, that we may be accepted ; which, under the Gospel, is such a free Congregation as is before made clear.^o Where we see that this only is now Christ's true visible Church ; and no other form of a visible Church is : wherefore, we are all bound, with all care, to hearken to the express precept of the Holy Ghost concerning even this point, saying, 'This is the way, walk ye in it ;'^p which also, the 'Harmony of Confessions' teacheth ; namely, 'That

^a Matt. xxviii. 30.^b 1 Thess. v. 21.^c 1 John iv. 1.^d Rom. xvi. 17.^e Gal. v. 1.^f 2 Thess. ii. 15. 1 Cor. xi. 2.^g Heb. xiii. 17, 7.^h 1 Thess. v. 12.ⁱ Matt. vi. 23.^k 2 Pet. i. 10.^l See Art. iii.^m Psal. cxxxiii. 3. cxxxiv. 3. Eph. iv. 12.ⁿ Luke xix. 27.^o In Art. iv.^p Isai. xxx. 21.

this we ought to do, notwithstanding men of power and might shall say nay.^a These, with the branches depending on them, are our differences, even all the matters wherein we *dissent* from the usual and common opinion among us in this Land."

Having thus far declared and made public their "Faith," this body of PROTESTANT DISSENTERS advance to the third point, or division, of their "Protestation."

"Now therefore, we demand, and do most earnestly crave of every indifferent [impartial] Christian to answer us, What false things have we here affirmed? What, on our part, is evil? What is wicked, in all this? If nothing,—as we are firmly persuaded in our souls that there is nothing,—then we pray and earnestly entreat, in the bowels of mercy in Jesus Christ, every one to pardon our consciences in that, thus doing, we stand to give actual obedience to our Heavenly Lord and Saviour in his own Commandments and Ordinances: which also we do, that we may thereby, as by the only true complete means, get assurance^b of salvation to our souls, which otherwise we, for our parts, cannot find. And otherwise, while we omit thus to do, and keep not Christ's said Commandments, any, with reproach, may say unto us, 'Show us your faith by your works; through works is faith made perfect: but faith without works is dead.'^c and Christ saith, 'If ye love me, *then* keep my commandments';^d and, 'not he that *saith* Lord, Lord,' but he that *doeth* the will' of the Father^e is justified! Whence, verily, we see it plain, and we know well, that not the talkers, nor disputers, of Christ's *will*, but the doers, shall be saved,—yea, though men afflict them for it,—and they that will have Christ to 'reign over them,' not they that will 'not.'^f

"Wherefore, we humbly pray every upright-hearted servant of God to consider that it is not possible for us, knowing that which we know, to give this fore-rehearsed due obedience unto Christ, but by walking in this way which we do. Which, also, cannot be but, first, by eschewing the evil; and then, by doing the good. That is, *First*, by renouncing to be ordinary and constant members of any Diocesan or Provincial Church visible political; because the form of these, is wholly without God's Word in the Gospel; yea, contrary to it:—and then also, of the Parishes, as natural parts, depending on them and on their Lord Bishops: seeing these, likewise, do both want God's Word and add to it; and stand in bondage in those the above-noted substantial points and means most important to salvation, which before have been declared. Wherefore thus far forth only, we leave our said Parishes also, but no further; that is, to be, in them, no ordinary and constant members: but members in them occasionally, we refuse not to be, seeing in them we find, in many places, very many true visible Christians with whom we cannot, as we believe, deny public communion absolutely; and, therefore, on occasion we offer to communicate with our said Public Congregations, or Parishes, as before we have professed. Taking God to witness that this we do, not

^a French; Art. xxvi. Dutch; Art. xxviii. Helvet.; Chap. xi.

^b 1 John iii. 18, 19.

^c Jas. ii. 18, 22, 26.

^d John xiv. 15.

^e Matt. vii. 21.

^f Luke xix. 27.

through any pride or singularity, but merely out of necessity of our duty to obey Christ in his Word, as we believe that herein we do; and, to submit unto his Word and ordained means, and to keep his commandments, and to avoid abiding in sin; which otherwise, possibly we cannot see how we can avoid. Yea, again and again, we testify that being forced, merely by conscience, thus we do; not knowing otherwise, in our souls, how to answer it at the last day: where we know no Magistrate, nor Prince, shall be able to answer for us if, after the light manifested, we be found standing in a wrong way, contrary to Christ's sacred ordinance, as we believe this Diocesan political Church is. *Secondly*: Hence it is, that we do join, each person only himself, humbly and obediently, to the evident way of the Gospel; the most certain true Church-estate set down in the New Testament by Christ and his apostles; namely, to a free Congregation. Which truths, before, especially in the Fourth Article, we have sufficiently showed: binding ourselves to proceed, simply and only, by this sure rule, and therein to persevere until death: or else, when we swerve, we acknowledge ourselves justly worthy of the fearful Censure of Excommunication, from that holy society of Christians whereinto, by God's mercy, we are now entered; wherewithal, we acknowledge ourselves also worthily excluded from the Spiritual communion of God's people wholly and everywhere, till we return by Repentance. We say the fear of God constraineth us hereunto; seeing we cannot otherwise find in our hearts clearly, the safety of our souls: a matter, above all things in this world, which we and all people ought to have greatest regard of.—All glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, and good-will towards man. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with us all. Amen."

The accompanying piece to the above, is intituled "An Humble Petition to the King's most excellent Majesty; by the Christians notified in the fore-rehearsed 'Confession and Protestation,'—His Majesty's ever-faithful Subjects,—That, of His good and merciful disposition, it would please Him to give them Toleration and Peace under Him in their serving of God according to their said 'Confession and Protestation.'—Psal. lxxii. 1."

These Petitioners state, that they "being in most grievous dangers and heavy perplexities, ready every hour to be drawn into most miserable distresses and calamities for this their conscience, and obedience to God's Word, have their recourse to your Sacred Majesty, their only hope in earth; and to you, as they ought to do, they make their suit in most humble manner on their bended knees: Beseeching you, as in effect they formerly did,^a so now again, to give unto them this favour, That peaceably and quietly they may worship God and serve Him in your Highness' Dominions where they dwell, after the tenour of their Confession and Protestation." Among the "many reasons and strong enforcements" which move them thus to be "suitors," is that "Forasmuch as the contrary way unto us, the way of the Lord Bishops and their Followers, is such as giveth great and most apparent advantage to the Papacy and Church of Rome, and which leadeth

Humble Supplication. 1609.

many, in this Land, directly thither back again : partly, for that there is in the New Testament much more show and colour for a Universal Church visible indued with government, than for a National and Provincial Church independent, as this in England now is : partly also, because they openly profess that all the Ministers in England are by Succession derived and received essentially from the Pope !”^a They “crave” of his Highness, “That you would afford us and assign to us some Civil Magistrate, or Magistrates, qualified with wisdom, learning, and virtue, to be, under your Highness, our Overseers for our more peaceable, orderly, and dutiful carriage of ourselves, both in our Worshipping God and in all other our affairs, at your pleasure : to whom, with all readiness and subjection, we are willing to be accountable and answerable always. We have none, *under* Jesus Christ, in our wants and distresses to have recourse unto, but to your protection and goodness at all times. Yea, whether we obtain mercy at your Majesty’s hands or not, nevertheless, still to you do we apply ; your grace we do and will attend. And so, together, we offer, with all willingness, to receive the Oath of your Supremacy, and that of Allegiance likewise.”

To meet for worship in “the Public places, with peace and protection would,” they add, “be, in this world, the greatest blessing and benefit which our hearts desire, or which could come unto us. But we dare not expect, neither do we ask so great favour at your Majesty’s hands ; only, that in private, peaceably, we might serve God with clear and quiet consciences according to the effect of our fore-remembered ‘Confession’ we, in all lowliness, crave but your Toleration. . . This duty we cannot in any safety of conscience relinquish or neglect ; neither can our meeting thus, only in a competent Congregation, any way in the least measure be prejudicial or suspicious to your Highness’ peace or dignity. But by God’s grace, you, yielding us this favour, shall every way succeed to the advancing of God’s true glory, and your Majesty’s flourishing Government here ; and hereafter, to your more sure attaining of immortal honour.”

Simultaneously with the foregoing, and evidently from the same party, or parties, being but the former work varied in substance, and put into the syllogistic form like some of Jacob’s early pieces, there issued from the press “A Collection of Sundry Matters, tending to prove it Necessary for all Persons actually to walk in the Use and Practice of the Substantial Ordinances in the Gospel appointed by God for his Visible Church Spiritually political : Which Collection containeth 1. Twenty Reasons and Arguments.^b 2. Ten Conclusions. 3. Three Assertions.—1616.” 16mo. pp. 46.

The last of the *first* “ten reasons” runs thus, “It is not possible but, in the present Church’s state, if we remain and continue in it, we shall, as we do, give great offence and occasion of insulting, to all

^a “A Vindication of the Church of England, and of the lawful Ministry thereof : that is to say, of the Succession, Election, Confirmation, and Consecration of Bishops ; as also of the Ordination of Priests and Deacons. In five books. By Francis Mason. 1619.” *Fol.*

^b Nine, “gathered by another author.”

sorts of adversaries, who continually require of us a Warrant for the calling of our Ministers; which when we cannot readily show them, but are divided into four or five several kinds of answers or defences—as of necessity we are forced to vary and differ amongst ourselves, in answering this point,—then we seem to them in a labyrinth, and become ridiculous: and so they take occasion to scorn the whole religion and profession of the Gospel itself. What are, commonly, the answers of that demand? Some say, our Ministers have their Calling essentially from the laying on of hands of former Ministers;—some mean from Bishops; some, from others,—and so by derivation and succession from the Pope and Church of Rome, such as now they are. Which is a miserable defence for us against the Papists: it is rather a betraying of us into their hands. Others answer, our Ministers have their Calling from the power and authority of the Civil Magistrate. Which answer seems no less profane than the other; or rather more. Others say, that the Ministers' Calling is sufficiency of gifts, which savours of plain confusion and anarchy. Others say, the effects prove the Ministers' Calling; because they do good, and convert many by their labours. Which is much of the same stamp with the former, if they have no other good warrant; for private men^a can and may do so oftentimes: and, what shall become of those Ministers in the Land who can show no gracious effects from their labours? Last of all, others do defend the Ministers' Calling to be by the free consent of the several Congregations. Which is the best, and the only true answer; but is least regarded, nay [is] hated and persecuted by the present times. Neither is this to much purpose, unless we likewise practise the same. And therefore, from all these answers, the scornful and proud adversary taketh great occasion to despise the Gospel amongst us: neither can we be free from giving him just cause, while we remain as we do. *But*, it is commanded us, saying, 'Give no offence, to the Jew, nor Gentile, nor to the Church of God;'^b that is, give no offence to any at all:^c also, 'Woe to him by whom offences come.'^d *Therefore*, we are commanded, and ought not to remain as we do, but proceed to better."

The last of the *second* "ten Reasons" proceeds thus, "If our Practice may follow or depend on the mind of the Magistrate in the Nature of Christ's visible Church under the Gospel, and in the Form of government thereof; then our faith and belief concerning the Nature of the said Church, and Form of government thereof, may likewise follow the Magistrate's mind and will: for belief and practice cannot be separated. Faith and obedience do go together. *But*, our faith and belief may not follow or depend on the mind of the Magistrate concerning the Nature of Christ's visible Church under the Gospel, and concerning the Form of government thereof. *Therefore*, our Practice may not follow or depend on the mind of the Magistrate."

Passing over the "ten Conclusions," we select from under the "three Assertions" as follows: Among "fourteen scandals" enumerated, "committed by all persons, especially in England, who hold that a

^a Jas. v. 19, 20. ^b 1 Cor. x. 32. ^c 2 Cor. vi. 3. ^d Luke xvii. 1.

Minister, in these days, is and must be made essentially by a Bishop, or by a common Minister; and not by the consent of a Christian ordinary Congregation;" are these: "They hold that a common Minister is before and greater than the Church. A gross and harmful error; contrary to 2 Cor. iv. 5, and 1 Cor. iii. 21—23. They show, in them, no small folly and unadvisedness: such, indeed, as is unworthy of religion and piety; in that they hold it to be more religious, more reasonable, and more likely that Christ should give his power of making Ministers rather to Antichrist than to a Congregation of his Saints. In which, no man can see any whit of reason, and less religion. They commit herein, plain sacrilege: for thus they take from Christ's Congregation of Saints all power of sacred administrations—and, namely, that of making Ministers,—for their need; which Christ gave them without condition of having a Minister before." Not being content with these clear points grounded on plain rules and precepts of God's Word, they yet still resist and deny this truth, and all because there is no practice of it mentioned in the Scripture! Wherein, with great scandal, they cross many effectual Scriptures; Matt. xxviii. 18; Luke xi. 2; Acts ii. 39, &c.; for in these, are holy precepts and rules whereof no practice is in Scripture. . . But [it is objected], a Congregation of People without Officers and Guides cannot do anything with 'Order'! I answer, In the Church under the Gospel, 'Order'^b is twofold. First, there is an essential order: secondly, there is an order accidental. It is possible that some order accidental, may be wanting in a true Church, such as officers and persons in constant authority are: this order, also, is called 'integral,' because officers and guides do make the Church's state entire and complete. But without this, there may be essential order in a Church; that is, where, upon just cause, two or three at the least are joined together, in the Name and for the service of Christ, in one place; using, to all their purposes, their free consent in so peaceable and comely a manner as they can: this is essential order, in a Church of the Gospel. And, according to this only, they may and must sometime administer such holy things as are instantly necessary among them; and namely, the making of a Minister for themselves, if a former Minister be wanting to them."

CHAP. XVIII.

JOHNSON AND AINSWORTH; THEIR LAST CONTENTION.

And now we are arrived at the last production of another of those most influential individuals to whom their successors owe inestimable obligations. The intrepidity and talents displayed in the several other productions of Johnson, his labours under his privations and sufferings,

^a Matt. xviii. 18. xxviii. 20. Rom. xvi. 17. 1 John iv. 1. 1 Thess. v. 21. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14. 1 Cor. v. 11—13. 2 Cor. ii. 8. 1 Cor. iii. 21, 22. Rom. viii. 92.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

and the unimpeachable, though assailed, moral character which he sustained; with his evident success, amidst all, in ministerial duties; merit our special commendation, and have required of us an adequate account for their better information who shall seek, in our pages, acquaintance with the progress of religious liberty and opinions. That he did not view all the points relating to discipline and doctrine in precise accordance with some who laboured and suffered with him in the same great cause, nor with others who have succeeded to, and reaped, or are reaping, the immense benefit of all the good that our predecessors obtained and transmitted, is evinced in what we have heretofore recorded, and will be still more so in the ensuing particulars, selected from "A Christian Plea, containing three Treatises: The first, Touching the Anabaptists, and others maintaining some like Errors with them:^a The second, Touching such Christians as now are here commonly called Remonstrants or Arminians:^b The third, Touching the Reformed Churches, with whom myself [do] agree in the Faith of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."^c Made by Francis Johnson, Pastor of the ancient English Church, now sojourning at Amsterdam, in the Low Countries. Printed in the year of our Lord, 1617." 4to. pp. 324.

The author alleges, in this work, that Christ "derived" his ordinances from "the practice and particulars had among the Jews of old, varying therefrom as little as might be in such a different estate"^d They had, he says, "for government, besides priests and levites, Ruling Elders also, of the chief of the fathers of families among them; and we have for government, besides the pastors and teachers, the Ruling Elders also taken out of the People in that behalf. And so, as they had a synedrion, or consistory of Elders, consisting of priests, levites, and fathers of families of that People among them; so have we a Presbytery or company of Elders, consisting likewise of Pastors, Teachers, and Ruling Elders, chosen out of the People for the Church's government."^e

In discussing the first subject, Johnson meets eight objections concerning the baptizing of children;—That no child is mentioned as baptized, in the New Testament: That such are not included in the Jailor's household: That the command is, first to teach: That it is not right to reason from circumcision: That Circumcision was for males only: That Jews and proselytes were both circumcised and baptized: That Christ was not baptized till he was about thirty years old: That children do not understand the mystery of baptism.

He advances to the consideration of original sin in children, which, he says, the Anabaptists are driven to deny that children have, or that it is damnable in them. "If children," he remarks, "were not through sin, subject to death, yea, and to eternal death and condemnation, then

^a Pp. 220, See back, p. 168. ^b Pp. 24. ^c Pp. 60. ^d Pref. p. i.

^e P. ii.—Deut. xix. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 8. Jer. xix. 1, with 1 Tim. v. 17. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Acts xx. 17, 28. Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24. "Whereas sometimes I allege many Scriptures together, my meaning is not, that each of them proves the point in hand; but that to this end they are to be compared and laid together, and confirmation of the truth to be derived from thence by consequence and discourse of reason, as in questions of religion is wont to be done." *Ibid.* See back, p. 168.

should they need no Saviour: and why, then, needed Christ, in respect of them, to take part with 'children' of flesh and blood, 'that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil;' as the apostle teacheth?"^a

His method embraces, also, the question of the repetition of baptism, in the church of Rome, &c. And here again, he meets objections: That theirs is not true baptism. On which he writes, alluding to Ainsworth and Robinson, "Whereas they say, 'The outward washing need not be repeated;' and yet say also, that 'they have renounced the Romish baptism, as an impure idol in their abuse;' they use shifts, and contradict themselves: for if the outward baptism be an idol, why do they retain it?' If it be not not an idol, why have they renounced it? That which they speak of 'their abuse,' is a shift. . . Difference is to be put between a thing that is abused and between the abuse thereof. The Scriptures are the Word of God, and not 'an impure idol,' to be 'renounced,' though they be abused by the papists and themselves."^b That Baptism is corruptly administered in the churches of Rome and England: "If so, then how will they plead for the baptism among themselves, that it should not also be so esteemed and renounced in regard of their errors, and the corruptions in their estate and ministration that are among themselves."^c "Difference is to be put between God's ordinance and man's corruption; between the baptism itself and the manner of administration thereof; between the sign of God and the errors of men thereabout; between the sacrament which God hath instituted and given to his people, and between the church's estate where it is administered. God's ordinance, God's baptism, God's sign and sacrament, is holy, and so to be acknowledged; whereas man's corruption and unlawful ministration, the church's estate and erroneous opinions thereabout are sinful, and accordingly to be esteemed. And who dare, or can, annihilate God's ordinance, for man's erroneous persuasions; or the church's corrupt ministration thereof? Let these things be distinguished carefully, and the truth will appear presently."^d "Was the Lord's table, in the church of Corinth, a table of devils; or the Lord's supper an idol, and a lying sign and detestable sacrament, to such as ate it unworthily? Or was it not indeed the Lord's ordinance and his holy sacrament unto them, though sinfully abused by them? As is manifest, both by the apostle's words when he calleth it the 'not discerning of the Lord's body,' but becoming 'guilty of the body and blood of the Lord;' and by the Lord's severe chastising of them for this cause."^e That there is a mixture in anti-christ's christening, &c.: "The pretending likewise of 'the opinions and errors of the church and ministers,' whereas our question is of the Lord's ordinance still continued in the church notwithstanding those erroneous opinions and corruptions."^f "Keep still to the papists' opinion, as it is held by themselves hereabout, let us for better finding out of the truth, admit that some of years, not knowing better, do 'so receive it' as here is said, thinking that it 'conferreth grace and washeth away sins, &c.' yet, whereas once they are baptized in the

^a P. 27.—Heb. ii. 14.

^b P. 33.

^c P. 37.

^d P. 38.

^e P. 41.—1 Cor. xi. 27.—30.

^f P. 43.

Name of the Lord, as is aforesaid, with the profession that is made of the Christian faith in that church; and shall then afterward perceive their errors hereabout, let it now well be considered whether yet, notwithstanding the baptism thus received be, in itself, an idol, and a lie to be rejected, or that only the errors and corruptions brought in by men are to be renounced, and not the baptism itself; which is God's ordinance in that church,—as circumcision was in Israel,—though thus abused and perverted; and seeing that the very ground of baptism, indeed, is the covenant and promise of God, and not the understanding, much less the erroneous understanding and opinions of men."^a That Israel, in their apostacy, were not the church and people of God, &c. : "Let me ask, touching themselves," Johnson retorts on his opponents, "If they would that men should thus esteem of Israel's sinful departing from Judah, as here they write; how, then, would they have others to esteem; yea, what do they think themselves of their own estate in regard of their sinful division made from the church whereof they were? Do they think that they also are fallen 'from the Lord and his church, &c.?'^b and that, therefore, the baptism and other ordinances of God retained among them, are false and deceitful, and no better than the observances of the heathen, &c.?'^c

"That Israel are called 'the people of God,' . . . though not so in their apostacy, &c. : That if Israel were the church and people of God, then none might leave them but they should fall into schism: That the Church of Rome is not the Church of God, &c. : Seeing baptism is, among Christians, a visible sign of the visible church of God, as circumcision was of old among the Jews; how can we soundly defend and retain the visible baptism received in the Church of Rome, and that also with reference to the circumcision received in the apostacies of Judah and Israel; if we do not accordingly acknowledge the Church of Rome to be a visible church and the people of God, as Judah and Israel were in their defection? A visible church, I say, though miserably corrupted, adulterate, and apostate; having Antichrist set therein, &c."^d "Where, for further manifestation of the point, note and remember still, to put difference between 'the man that sitteth,' and 'the temple of God, wherein he sitteth.'^e Which not being observed aright,—besides many unsound speeches and assertions that have passed such as are otherwise good writers,—much error hath arisen hereabout, and great confusion of things that differ."^f "Note also, herewithal, how fitly Judah in her apostacy and estate, yea the case of Jerusalem and the temple there, have typed out unto us the apostacy and estate of the Church of Rome. Which I note the rather, because that this being observed, it will give great light for the right understanding of that church's estate;^g and for the better deciding of many questions thereabout."^h "The former angels and witnesses of old, though godly men and martyrs, yet continued themselves, many of

^a P. 47.^b Ainsworth's Animad. p. 70.^c P. 68.^d P. 123.—Matt xxviii. 18, 19, and Acts ii. 41, 47, with Gen. xvii. 7—12. 1 Cor. i. 13, 16, and x. 1, 2. Col. ii. 11, 12, and 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. with Dan. xi. 31, 36, &c.^e 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.^f P. 125.^g 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4. with Dan. xi. 31, 36—38, &c.^h P. 127.

them,^a in the apostate Church of Rome, and other churches that were corrupted with the like apostacy; preaching the Gospel unto and among them, calling them from idolatry, denouncing the fall of Babylon, &c.: whereas the latter angels and witnesses that followed after,^b called others, and were called themselves, to separate from that estate, and to return to the ancient faith and way wherein the churches were set of old. Which also hath been, and yet is performed by degrees; as we find that Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Bradford, and the godly with them, went further than John Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome of Prague, and others before them: also, that the Church of England goeth further, in many things, than the Lutherans; and, that the other Reformed churches proceed further than the Church of England; though yet all the corruptions of the apostacy be not wholly taken away, and the churches brought to that heavenly sincerity wherein they were planted by the apostles at the first; whereunto we ought all earnestly to strive, what in us is."^c "'The people of God' which are called and come out of Babylon, need not a new plantation of a church, but a reformation only. In which respect, the term of the 'Reformed churches' is very fit and godly, and the proceedings accordingly; whereas the curse and dealing of the Anabaptists, and all such as either begin all anew, or aver such assertions as do necessarily imply it, are not only preposterous, but exceedingly sinful and erroneous."^d

Johnson's fourth chapter is a logomachy or lengthened contention upon the intepretation of certain passages, between himself and Ainsworth, chiefly concerning equivocations relating to "apostacy" applied to the Church of Rome, till Johnson brings himself to the conclusion, that having showed "that even the Church of Rome is the church and temple of God, as Judah likewise, and Israel of old, were in the time of their apostacies: how much more then, should we so esteem of the Church of England; yea, and of the Lutherans; who have, in so many things, now left the apostacy of the Church of Rome, and have received the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ alone, with many other precious doctrines of truth that are yet still miserably depraved and corrupted among the papists."^e To the inference that then "it is schism to leave those that are the churches and people of God," he replies, in part, "If this objection were sound, then might none leave the present estate of the Church of Rome, seeing they are the church and temple of God; yet the men that do thus object, have, many of them, left it themselves!" He admits, however, that "indeed well may it be, that some 'Protestant' writers otherwise of great and good judgment, have heretofore the more desired it to be the church of God, because they thought if that were granted, it would then follow to be schism for any to leave it: as the papists themselves are wont usually to object." But he affirms, notwithstanding, that "the consequence is not good."^f

Remarking on the two essential properties of a true church, "faith"

^a Guliel. de Sancto amore; Mar. Patuvius; Dantes; Franc. Petrarcha; Eckhardus; J. Wickliff, &c.

^c P. 131.

^d P. 137.

^b Luther; Viret; Calvin; Latimer; &c.

^e P. 215.

^f P. 216.

and "order,"^a he reminds his reader that the worship of God may "in divers respects be referred to the one or to the other, or to both... Albeit they entreat and deal ill with us sundry ways, yet we hold them to be our brethren in the Lord, and in the 'faith' of his Gospel. But as for the church's 'order,' worship, and government ecclesiastical, we hold and profess that they stand yet still greatly corrupted."^b "Seeing that, in the present estate of the Church of England, neither ministers nor members can observe 'all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord,' how can it be but we must needs leave that estate unless we should still continue in sin against the law of God? And, how can that justly be counted 'schism,' which is our bounden duty to the Lord?"^c "Lastly, whereas Conformity is much urged, and such as do not conform themselves are charged with 'schism,' we are still to remember that there is a double conformity, touching the outward worship of God: the one,—of rites and order which the Lord requireth and prescribeth in his Word; the other,—the laws and constitutions of men... To the former, all are bound;... to the latter, we are bound no further or otherwise than as it agreeth with the Conformity prescribed by the Lord himself."^d

Johnson's concluding paragraph, which seems out of place in this treatise, is substantially, a petition or "suit to the King's most Excellent Majesty, that it would please him,—now after our long exile, and other manifold afflictions,—to vouchsafe us that gracious sufferance that we may be permitted to live in peace, under his majesty's government in our own native country; there to observe all the ordinances of Christ given to his Church, without being urged to the use or approbation of any remnants of the apostacy of Antichrist, or other human traditions whatsoever."^e

The second of the three treatises in this volume relates, as the general title shows, to the "Remonstrants" or "Arminians;" and here Johnson discusses the *five points*, of election, reprobation, general redemption, free-will, and the perseverance of the saints; all occupying twenty-four pages, on the last of which, the discussion is summed up thus: "The Arminians derogate from God's glory, and advance frail man;... in the two first of the points aforesaid;... while they ground not the eternal decree of God wholly and only on the good pleasure of his Will; but upon the faith and holiness, unbelief or wickedness of men, foreseen. In the third, by extending the redemption of Christ further than the intendment of God; yea, even to the reprobate themselves. In the fourth, by ascribing our conversion and salvation, in part to ourselves and our own free-will; and not wholly and only to the free-gift of God, and powerful work of his grace in us. In the first and last; by debasing, indeed, the unchangeable decree and firm promises of God; the mighty power and faithful custody of Christ our Lord; the comfort-

^a Col. ii. 5.^b P. 216.^c P. 217.^d P. 218.—Matt. xxviii. 18—20. 1 Tim. vi. 3—5, 13, 14, comp. with Exod. xx. 4, 6. Deut. xii. 32. Mal. i. 7—14. And Deut. iv. 1, 2. Psal. cxix. 101, 128. Isai. xxix. 13. xxx. 21, 22. Matt. xv. 9. Hos. iv. 15, 17. Amos v. 4, 5. 2 Cor. vi. 14—17. Col. ii. 23. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.^e P. 220.

able presence, assured pledge, and gracious work, of the Holy Ghost, in his saints and faithful people."^a

The third treatise relates to "some things" which concern especially the "Reformed Churches." Johnson tells us here, "There are some particulars, of weight, touching the worship of God, and policy of the Church, wherein I think they are not as yet come to the sincerity of the primitive churches' constitution... That he will, in time accomplish this his work already begun,—whether before or together with the conversion of the Jews to the Christian faith, the Lord sheweth, and time will manifest,—therefore have I thought it good herewithal to note some few things thereabout."^b

"Touching Book-prayer," he instances in eleven sections, and says in the fourth, "It derogateth from the honour, fruit, and benefit of the ascension of Christ; who ascending 'up on high' hath given 'gifts unto men for the work of the ministry;' and therefore as well for prayer as for doctrine and preaching, &c.^c If any be not indued with such 'gifts,' there is no warrant to choose them to be ministers of Christ. If they be so indued, there is no warrant for others to prescribe, nor for themselves to read over such stunted prayers." He writes, in the fifth, "The Spirit of God is the only help which he giveth us to help our infirmities in the time of prayer; not books, or beads, or any such thing."^d And he asks, in the tenth, "Do not the apostles, in their writings,—Paul, James, Peter, John, and Jude,—every of them in the epistles, speak of Prayer, and the manner and use thereof? Yet where doth any one of them teach the churches, or particular persons, to whom they write, to read their prayers out of a book; and so to use set forms of prayer devised by men, for their spiritual worship of God, and making their requests known unto him?"^e And he refers, in conclusion, to his "Quæstiones de Precibus," and to two epistles between Mr. Carp. and himself; besides Greenwood's Treatise of Read-Prayer.

That God has not ordained any other than "particular" churches which may ordinarily come together in one place, Johnson infers from the instances of the seven churches of Asia generally,^f and further at Jerusalem,^g at Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch,^h at Troas,ⁱ at Ephesus,^k at Rome,^l at Cenchrea,^m at Corinth.ⁿ In Galatia,^o at Philippi,^p at Colosse and Laodicea,^q at Thessalonica.^r

"If any ask," he writes, "to whom the churches shall be subject if there be no diocesan or other prelates set over them? I answer, That the churches and all the officers and members thereof are to be

^a P. 244. ^b P. 245. ^c Eph. iv. 8, 12, with Acts vi. 4.

^d Rom. viii. 26, 27. Gal. iv. 6. Zech. xii. 10. Eph. vi. 18. Jude 20. And see 1 Thess. v. 17—19. Isai. xxix. 13, compared with 1 Sam. i. 15. Zech. xii. 10. Phil. iv. 6. ^e P. 249. ^f Rev. i. 4, 12, 13, 20, with ii. 1, 8, 12, 18; iii. 1, 7, 14.

^g Acts i. 13—15. vi. 2, 5; xv. 22, 23; xxi. 18, 22.

^h Acts xiv. 21, 23, 27; xv. 30. ⁱ Acts xx. 7, 8.

^k Acts xx. 17, 28. Rev. ii. 1, with 1 Tim. i. 8; iii. 15; v. 20.

^l Rom. xii. 3—8.

^m Rom. xvi. 1.

ⁿ 1 Cor. i. 2; iv. 17; with v. 4; x. 16, 17; xi. 20, 22, 23; xii. 18, 19—27;

xiv. 23, 33, 40. ^o Gal. i. 2. ^p Phil. i. 1. ^q Col. iv. 16, 17.

^r 1 Thess. i. 1, with v. 12—14, 27, &c.

subject to the Princes, States, and Magistrates, under whom they live; according as the apostles do teach.^a The Magistrates are under the Lord, to be the keepers of both the tables of the law of God; to whom all persons ought to be subject, even for conscience' sake, and to yield obedience unto them; yet always in the Lord, and not against the Lord by any means."^b

He argues, in his third chapter, the right and power of "particular" churches, from eight considerations; the second being, because "The Congregation of Israel had, of old, likewise their right in the election of their officers, and such other weighty and public affairs; which, therefore, is not now to be denied unto Christians.^c And, in the apostles' days, Christians newly converted from paganism, and therefore as unfit and unexpert as men in these times, yet had and used this their right and liberty."^d

The chapter succeeding is opened with the proposition involving the very *crux crucium* of the argument concerning the preeminence of the ecclesiastical or of the civil power. Johnson's words are "Whether it lie not upon the pastors and all others that bear office in the Church of God, to fulfil their ministry, and to perform all things pertaining to their office, according to the Word of God; and not according to the statutes or edicts of princes and states, the canons of prelates, the constitutions of synods, the pleasure or voices of the people, or any other way invented, or obtruded upon them, by men."^e This proposition resting on Scripture, we are compelled to instance the references, numerous as they are. But we content ourselves with the fifth and sixth only of his nine sections in explanation: "V. Moreover, the Scriptures alone are sufficient for the direction of the pastors and other officers' administration; being 'given by inspiration of God, and profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work.'^f And Christ himself,—who alone is the Head and Lawgiver of his Church,—bath left sufficient direction in his Word, both for the faith and order of his Church. Neither may any men whosoever superordain to his Testament, nor any way disannul it or add thereunto.^g VI. Otherwise the pastors and other officers of the church should sin not only against God himself, but also against themselves, and against the princes, prelates, and people whomsoever,

^a Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14, with Tit. iii. 1.

^b Deut. xvii. 18, 20. Rom. xiii. 1—7, with Matt. xxii. 21. Dan. xiii. 14—18. Acts iv. 18—20. Rev. xii. 10, 11.

^c Levit. viii. 2, 5. Deut. i. 13; xvi. 18; xvii. 2—7, comp. with other Scriptures, and particularly with 1 Cor. iv. 17; v. 13; x. 18, &c. ^d P. 253.

^e 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. Col. i. 17. Acts xx. 17—24—32, with xiii. 24, 25. Rom. xii. 7, 8. 1 Thessa. v. 12—14. 1 Pet. v. 1—4, with Matt. xxviii. 18—20; vi. 24. The Ep. to Tim. and Tit. *passim*. Heb. iii. 1—3; xiii. 7, 17. John xv. 14—16. Gal. i. 8—10. Rev. ii. iii. xiv. 4, 6, 9, 12, comp. with Lev. x. 1—3. Deut. iv. 2; xii. 32; xxxiii. 8—11. 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16—21. 1 Kings xxii. 13, 14. Psal. xix. 7, 9; cxix. cxxxii. 9, 16. Prov. xxx. 5, 6. Isai. viii. 11—20; xxxiii. 22; lv. 4. Jer. i. 17—19; vi. 13, 14, 16; xxxiii. Ezek. ii. 6—8. Mich. ii. 11; iii. 5, 8. Rev. xxii. 18, 19. ^f 2 Tim. iii. 15, 16. Psal. xix. 7—9.

^g Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. Eph. i. 22, 23. Col. ii. 2—23. Isai. xxxiii. 22. Heb. iii. 1—3; xii. 25—29, with Gal. iii. 15. Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

whose prescription and pleasure they should so follow. And that, both in making them to be the lords of our religion and in corrupting them, —or suffering them to be corrupted by themselves and others,—in religion and conversation; and so to be in continual danger to be seduced and drawn into errors, heresies, superstitions, and iniquities, &c. Whereas the ministers and officers of Christ should, in all things, be careful so to walk as they may be means and instruments, under God, to bring them to the obedience of Christ in this life, and to eternal salvation by him, in the life to come."^a

Under section IX, Johnson writes, "Chrysestom, speaking to those that ministered the Communion, saith, 'No small punishment hangeth over you, if knowing any man to be wicked, you suffer him to be partaker of this table: his blood shall be required at your hands. If he be a captain, a consul, or a crowned king, that cometh 'unworthily,' forbid him, and keep him off; thy power is greater than his.' And again, 'I will yield my life, rather than the Lord's body to any unworthy person; and suffer my blood to be shed, before I will grant that sacred blood to any but to him that is worthy.'"^b Many the like things, about the sacraments and censures, might be showed out of the ancient writers. But to let them alone, the Scripture is evident and undeniable."^c

Chapter the fifth is "Touching the distinction of the pastors and teachers' offices." He argues here from the "sundry things of perpetual equity and morality" in which they agree respectively, with the priests and levites, or the levitical teachers, in Israel; and, also, from their diversities of function and authority in the church: and further, from Eph. iv. 11. 1 Cor. xii. 5, 8, with Rom. xii. 7, 8. "The Syriac translation," on Eph. iv. 11, which, he says, "is most ancient, useth a distributive particle; distinguishing as well between 'pastors and teachers' as between apostles, prophets, and evangelists."^d He adduces the sentiments of Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, and Jerome; of Calvin,^e Piscator, Beza, Ursinus, and Fenner.

The sixth chapter involves the whole of what is inferred from the term "episcopate." Running a parallel of Scripture texts, and citing also the primitive fathers, with Eusebius, Johnson desires it to be noted "how every church or parish had, at the beginning, their own pastor or bishop; and how those bishops were much unlike the diocesan, provincial, and œcumenical bishops, had now." Reverting to his theory respecting "the priests and levites," he inclines to the opinion that a whole synagogue of Jews, on conversion to Christianity, may retain the Ruling Elders; but that the priests and levites were necessarily to leave their levitical office, and, being fit, continue in the ministration of the Gospel. And by parity of reasoning, he conceives "the difference"

^a Ezek. iii. 16, 21; xxxiii. 1—9. Mark viii. 34—38. 1 Sam. ii. 12—36; iv. ch. 2 Kings xvi. 10—16, with 2 Chro. xxviii. 23. Dan. vi. 10—22. Psal. ii. 10—12; cxxxii. 9, 16. Deut. xxxiii. 8—10. Jer. i. 17, 18. Mal. i. 6—14; ii. 1—9. 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2. Gal. i. 10. 1 Tim. iv. 16.

^b Hom. lxxxiii. in Matt. xxvi. ^c P. 258.

^d See Doddridge's Family Expositor, *in loco*.

^e Inst. lib. iv. cap. iii. sect. 4.

should "still carefully be kept up between the Ruling Elders, and between the ministers of the Gospel, the 'pastors and teachers;' as there was heretofore in Israel."^a After awhile, he remarks that "however it be for the matter in hand, touching pastors and other elders of 'particular churches,' yet still it lieth on them who receive or plead for diocesan and provincial churches, pastors, or bishops, that they show such churches and pastors planted by the apostles, at the beginning. For, if it cannot be showed, . . . who then, may establish, or submit unto them? . . . Yea, the higher and greater that the members and functions are which the Lord hath set in his church, the more undoubted it is that they are specially described in his Word; and the more needful, both for the church and the officers themselves, to have certain knowledge and assurance thereof."^b

Johnson comes next, in the seventh chapter, to define, so far as he could, the different senses of the Scripture words 'Teachers or Prophets,' teachers of 'particular' churches, as treated of in his fifth chapter; and such teachers as professors in Universities, and others not tied to any 'particular' churches, as chaplains, &c.

On the "exercise" of Prophecy, in the subsequent chapter, by men of "fit gifts," he writes, "The apostle, teaching the divers use of men's gifts, sheweth that they may be used either out of office, or in office; Rom. xii. 6—8."

The four succeeding chapters relate to the Sacraments; the qualification; the administration; the elements in the Supper; the minister's communicating. And the thirteenth chapter concerns the "ministering the sacraments," by other than Ministers; and he defines here, the Ruling Elders of the Christian church, of whom he now writes, to be "answerable to those Elders in the church of Israel, which were called the Elders of the People; the Rulers of the Synagogues, &c.,—as being chosen out of the People, by the People, and for the People, &c.,—and were distinct from the other ministers, Priests and Levites, which ministered the Word and holy things of God in Israel." Whereupon Ambrose saith on 1 Tim. v. 'Both the (Jewish) Synagogue, and afterward the Church (of the Christians) had Elders, without whose counsel nothing was done in the Church. The which, by what negligence it is out of use, I know not, unless it be by the sloth or rather pride of the Teachers, while they alone will seem to be somewhat.'" The offices of ministers, deacons, and elders, "are reckoned as distinct by the apostle Paul, Rom. xii. 7, 8," and Johnson concludes that the "difference should still be kept, between the ministers and the people;" instancing Polanus,^d and particularly Piscator and Junius, who write that "to consecrate the people to minister unto God, whereunto God appointed the Levites only, were against the right worship of God, and a perverting of all order."^e

He maintains, chapter xiv., that the Lord's Supper should be cele-

^a P. 271.

^b P. 274, 275.

^c 1 Tim. v. 17 and Rom. xii. 7, 8, with Jer. xix. 1. Acts xiii. 15; xviii 8, 17. Deut. xxxiii. 8, 10. Isai. lxvi. 21. 2 Chron. xiii. 10, 11.

^d On Ezek. xliii. 18—27. p. 785, 787.

^e Piscat. Schol. in Ezek. xlv. 19. Junii Annotat. in Ezek. xlv. 20.

brated "every Lord's day; besides the churches continual serving and worshipping of God daily." The time of the day, he infers to be indifferent. He condemns, however, chapter xv., fasts and the sacrament of the Supper, being observed on the same day, from the reason of the case. And, in chapter xvi., he admits that "love-feasts" were used on such days; which feasts he holds to be "indifferent, either to keep them or to leave them." "Holy days, besides the Lord's day," have no propriety in Johnson's judgment. The Nativity, he argues, in chapter xvii., would be more correctly observed in September.

Our author has next, a long chapter "Of dealing with Sinners, for their reclaiming or censuring," and "of suspension, and the kinds of excommunication." He remarks that "greatly they err, who hold 'suspension' to be a 'corruption' and 'device' of men."^a But because there has been "in this matter," and still is "great question and controversy, among Christians of all sorts, about Matt. xviii. 17, he proceeds to inquire further into the meaning hereof," in the chapter following.

Chapter xix., commences with the hypothetical propositions, "Whether those words of Christ 'Tell it to the church, &c.' may not be applied to the estate of the Jews, as it was when Christ thus spake; and to the estate of Christians succeeding afterward."^b And, first, applying them to the estate of the Jews, Whether they may not, then, be understood of the Synedrion, or Congregation of Elders, had in Israel." We cannot, ourselves, feel the force of Johnson's logic with his subsequent remarks, to overturn Ainsworth's position, that though the phrase "congregation of elders" occurs in the Old Testament, in some few places, that Testament "now is changed;"^c when Johnson asks "What if another now should arise and say, in like sort, that 'in the Old Testament' he hath observed the word 'church' to mean the congregation of the People; but that 'now' the Old Testament is changed?"^d Launching into a discussion upon the Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, of the word rendered "church" in the disputed text, and of the word 'council' in Matt. v. 22, he comes to consider the second application of the words in Matt. xviii. 17; "to the estate of the Christian church, Whether, then, it may not also consequently be understood of the Christian Presbytery and congregation of Elders, or fitly applied thereunto."^e Pursuing the argument here, on the grounds and authorities of the Puritans, he instances Penry by the way, who, he says, "expounds"^f in accordance with Brightman "that the 'church' spoken of, is not the whole congregation, but the synedrion, or council."^g Arrived, in course, at a third point, Johnson writes, "Another exposition there is, though disliked by divers; which yet, in a good understanding may be admitted, so far forth as was or might be in Israel; namely, to take it of the whole congregation, of elders and people; so as things be carried according to order and the rules of government."^h This point he assents to, reluctantly indeed, and with the following reservation, that

^a Robinson's Justif. of Separation, p. 185, 187. ^b See back, p. 217.

^c Animadversion to Mr. R. Clyfton's Advertisement, p. 13.

^d P. 308. ^e P. 310. ^f In his Answer to Dr. Bancroft's Sermon, p. 11, 12.

^g In Cant. iv. 3.

^h P. 313.

"so it be according to good order and the rules of government, it cometh to a like end, being rightly understood."^a Then,—having enumerated what he calls thirty-five "errors, abuses, and erroneous" courses, by divers gathered, received, pleaded for, and urged earnestly hereabout;" instancing, in the margin, "Ainsworth, Robinson, Jacob, Smyth, &c."—at the end, alluding to Ainsworth and his followers, he adds, "Some are so very peremptory and stiffly conceited in their opinions concerning these things, as they fear not to make schismatical divisions and notorious scandals thereabout; . . for which cause, they are to be marked and avoided, of all that love the truth and seek their aversion and amendment!"^c

Arrived at his twentieth chapter, Johnson treats "Of the duty of all Churches, and of the Members thereof, every one, according to their ability, to give Maintenance unto their Ministers; and, as there is occasion, to the Elders also, that rule the Church; and to the Deacons and Deaconesses that serve and minister therein." Having remarked on poor churches being assisted by others "of better means," he adds, "It doth, indeed, lie also upon Kings and all other Magistrates, within their dominions, cities, and jurisdictions, to have special care of the estate of the Ministers and Churches under them, as of all other duties concerning Religion appertaining unto them; after the example of Hezekiah, king of Judah, and Nehemiah the prince, and other the like." But he puts in a sort of *caveat*, "That this duty be carefully performed by themselves, where by the flock and church itself, it can be done; according to the examples aforesaid." This point, concerning the Ministers' maintenance, he says, will enable those who are faithful and laborious to be encouraged; but, "what in us is, the way may be stopped" of maintaining "erroneous" Ministers. "Besides, that where the Ministers have their maintenance only of the Magistrates," it draws such as are "weak, or not sincere," so as to "please the Magistrates."^d

Touching the remnants and monuments of idolatry, or Superstition, chapter xxi., Johnson tells us that "In Israel it sufficed not to remove images and altars alone, but they were also bound to abandon the idol-houses;" and, that "The Reformed Churches also now blame the Lutherans for retaining images and altars still in their temples, whereas they retain the idol-temples themselves! In which respect, they should be the more careful." A place, he writes, being "a general circumstance that pertaineth to all actions, it hath in this case, as clothes also have, a civil use; commodious and necessary for people to meet in together, and to be kept from injury and unseasonableness of the weather, &c."

The Solemnization of Marriage, constitutes the subject of the next chapter. "It is a civil thing, in the nature thereof; and accordingly to be used with thanksgiving, being sanctified by the Word of God and prayer;" but there is no law given since to the contrary that "of old it might be done by the Fathers, Tutors, or Civil Magistrates; and the very nature and institution of Marriage is such as it appertaineth unto all;" Turks, and Pagans, &c. The Papists, who think it to be a Sacrament are "the more confirmed in their error, while they see

^a P. 314.^b "Sinful," in the Margin.^c P. 316.^d P. 317.

that the solemnization thereof is, by the Protestants, annexed to the ministry of the Word, and required to be done of the Ministers, in the churches' meetings, by a prescribed Liturgy; as if it were a part, or peculiar duty, of their ecclesiastical ministration." Johnson suggests "Whether it may not also be solemnized by the Ministers, as well as by others, and a blessing by them be pronounced upon the married persons; so as it be not imposed upon them as of necessity, nor observed with superstition."

The twenty-third and last chapter is "Of the general duty of all Churches and People, in these parts, concerning Religion." Johnson reminds us here, in reference to the Church of Rome and its apostacy, that Christ has promised to restore his Church, which all should therefore further, "being assured that such as come nearest to the sincerity of the Primitive Churches, both in the faith and order thereof, they are in the best estate; and that the nearer and nearer we come thereunto, it is still the greater blessing of God upon us, and the more acceptable to God and comfortable to ourselves; however it be with us otherwise for our estate and troubles in the world." And Johnson remarks, finally, "That no princes, nor prelates, synods, churches, or any persons whatsoever, can make that lawful which God hath made unlawful; nor that unlawful which God makes lawful."

He exhorts all, in "The conclusion," to "carefully retain and follow that manner of reasoning which is taken from the example and estate of Israel, and often also used in the Scriptures of the New Testament; however it be rejected, or little regarded, by divers, in respect of the use and account which all should make thereof: which we may learn by the apostle's manner of reasoning when he saith, 'Behold Israel, &c.' 1 Cor. x. 18."

Johnson closed his literary labours and his life with the work our account of which occupies so considerable a portion of this chapter. That work was calculated to provoke a reply from its author's former colleague; it was accordingly composed forthwith, but did not appear in print so soon as it might or would have done, had not Johnson's unexpected demise suspended that purpose. The date of the publication of the reply presents, however, no impediment against our notice of the contents in this nearness of connexion with what occasioned the production, and which are embodied under the title of "A Reply to a Pretended 'Christian Plea' for the Antichristian Church of Rome: published by Mr. Francis Johnson, Ao. 1617. Wherein the weakness of the said 'Plea' is manifested; and Arguments alleged for the Church of Rome, and Baptism therein, are refuted. By Henry Ainsworth. Anno 1618.—Jer. li. 9.—Printed in the year 1620." 4to. pp. 184.

The Preface begins with reminding us that "Two things, good Reader, have been heretofore controverted between Mr. Johnson and me; the one, concerning the Power of the Christian Church, which he would have installed in the Ministry thereof;^a the other, concerning the antichristian church of Rome, with the ministry and baptism thereof, which he hath pleaded to be true, though corrupted,—I have proved to be false and deceitful.^b These things have passed publicly, through

^a See back p. 249.

^b *Ibid.* p. 252, 253.

my opposite's occasion, in Mr. Richard Clyfton's "Advertisement,"^a and my 'Animadversion'^b thereto. The former of these two points, Mr. Johnson hath left unanswered; so the prudent may judge of the strife by that which we both have said: the latter, he hath sought to maintain by a colourable 'Plea' for the Roman Church, chiefly underpropped by two reasons; first, Because Antichrist should 'sit in the temple of God'; second, And because apostate Israel, the figure of this antichristian church, was the church of God,—as he pretendeth. These, with his other like reasons, I have laboured to refel in this treatise following. His order of handling them I have altered; beginning with the Church of Rome, then with the baptism of that church. . . His bold and bitter taunts, I pass over; being not willing to answer any man, and least of all the dead, to such things. As also, his marching us among the Anabaptists,—for our more disgrace; his dissembling of his own former judgment and accord with us in the things now controverted, imputing them to us and others, when himself hath formerly spoken and written for the things which he now would pull down, but hath not taken away his own grounds! Only whereas, in his preface, he intimateth 'sundry manifest untruths' published in the 'Animadversion,' but nameth none, I signify, in a good conscience, that to my knowledge I published not any one untruth, but rather spared him than pressed things in extremity. That which I suppose he aimeth at, I set down from the report of honest faithful witnesses." . .

Ainsworth complains, in his introductory paragraph, thus,—“My opposite hath inveighed much against me in his last book, called ‘A Christian Plea:’ wherein, though in many things he deserved sharp blame, yet having ended his life with his work, and not being now to answer for himself, or make use of that which is written, I will omit the just reproofs which might, through God’s mercy, have been a benefit unto him;^c and will address myself to remove the stumbling blocks out of others’ way, and to clear the truth which is darkened with the cloud of error.”

Adverting to the accomplishment of prophecies in the church of Rome, Ainsworth shows^d that Johnson had prayed “all to take knowledge, that his mind and desire, in himself, is to plead against the present estate of that church, and not for it; acknowledging it to be fallen into most sinful and deep defection and apostacy.”^e And Ainsworth remarks, elsewhere,^f “Though the church of Rome be ‘the temple of God’ which Paul speaketh of,^g yet followeth it not that it is God’s *true* temple, or true church; which is the point that should be concluded: seeing, the Scriptures often speak of things as once they were, though so they continue not still; as also, they speak of things according to the outward pretence and show that is made of them, though indeed and in truth they be nothing less;” or, as he writes in the next page, “though they be indeed false.” A little lower in this latter page he proceeds to remark, “Now mine opposite hath given us a good rule, . . he saith, ‘The Word of God is not the bare letter or outward syllables, but the intentment and meaning of the Holy Ghost by whom it was

^a Ib. 241.^b Ib. 245.^c Psal. cxli. 5.^d P. 3.^e Plea, p. 120.^f P. 21.^g 2 Thess. ii. 4.

given : which should carefully be observed by the due consideration of the Scriptures, with the circumstances thereof. . . Which, while the Anabaptists neglect, they look on the Scriptures partially, and press the letter extremely, without consideration of the true and right meaning thereof.^a These words of his are true ; the more it is to be lamented that he himself would so 'press the letter' against me, and not weigh the meaning of the same, by itself, and other Scriptures, and the proportion of faith, laid together."

"There can no church be called the *true* temple of God, but in respect of Christ, the 'chief corner-stone' and foundation of the building ; for he is called the 'living stone,' and his people are 'living stones, built up a spiritual house' in him, and so grow up to a 'holy temple in the Lord.'^b If, therefore, Antichrist sitteth in the *true* temple of God, he sitteth first in Christ the head ; and, secondarily, in his body and people : but Antichrist is no otherwise in Christ, than in a feigned profession of him, whom indeed he 'denieth ;'^c therefore he is not in the temple of God, but in respect of his profession of Christianity and of the Christian society in his people, both which are false and deceitful, 'after the working of Satan,—and in all deceivableness of unrighteousness.'^d Now it followeth, that I defend my former writings against which he excepteth : as for the reproaches which he layeth upon myself, and his trifling exceptions against words and phrases, I will omit [them] as fruitless."^e

"Christ's kingdom beginneth in the kingdom of Satan, and is perfected in the kingdom of God ; and Antichrist's kingdom beginneth in the kingdom of God, and is perfected in the kingdom of Satan."^f— "This thing not being observed, How Christ beginneth in the world, and draweth men out of it into his church ; and Antichrist beginneth in the church, and draweth men out of it into the world again,—as the dragon's tail draweth the stars of heaven, and casteth them to the earth ;^g my opposite thought it absurdity and contradiction in me for writing thus, 'When the apostle therefore telleth us, that Antichrist sitteth as God in the temple of God,' it is to be understood, first, of their invading and destroying of God's church and people, as the heathen of old dealt with Jerusalem and dwellers therein ;^h secondly, of their own vain ostentation, while they will have it called the 'Christian catholic church,' and the pope the 'head' of the same !'ⁱ Upon this, he thus inveigheth, 'What have we here ? Doth himself now by 'the temple of God' understand God's church and people ; yea, such as was answerable to Jerusalem and the dwellers therein of old ? Why, then, hath he so eagerly oppugned us hereabout ?'^k Answer,—I oppugn the *present* Church of Rome, which Antichrist destroyeth not, but buildeth and adorneth as an alluring harlot. The Christian church which was in Rome, *of old*, that hath he invaded and destroyed long since ; for they then were 'saints,'^l such as he hateth. These now, are worshippers of him, and of idols, and devils, and are

^a Plea, p. 8.

^b 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5. Eph. ii. 20, 21.

^c 1 John ii. 22.

^d 2 Thess. ii. 9, 10.

^e P. 27.

^f P. 37.

^g Rev. xii. 4

^h Psal. lxxix. Dan. viii. 11 ; xiii. 11. 36. Jer. lii. 12, 13. Lam. ii. 7, 9.

ⁱ Animad. p. 80.

^k Plea, p. 159.

^l Rom. i. 9.

a 'habitation of devils.'^a So there is as much difference between the Church of Rome now and the church then, as between the bishop of Rome now and the bishops then! They were Christ's ministers; this now, is 'Antichrist,' as my opposite himself confesseth. And what cause hath he to insult, as if he had got the victory, let wise men judge."^b

"As in the 'new man,'^c the true Christian church, Christ the head hath in all things the pre-eminence; so in the 'man of sin,'^d the antichristian church, the pope, Christ's pretended Vicar, hath in all things the pre-eminence,—exalted for power and pretended holiness. As the 'new man,' the true Christian church, is to be esteemed in the state of salvation, though some secret hypocrites and reprobates closely creep in among them here on earth; so the 'man of sin,' the antichristian church, is to be esteemed in the state of damnation,^e though some of God's elect and hidden ones are in the same."^f

"To reason, therefore, from the creatures and ordinances, unto men which abuse them; and, to gather, because the creature or ordinance abideth good in itself, therefore the person that abuseth it abideth good also; or, to wrest a type, as mine opposite doth, from a creature or ordinance *of old*, to a most sinful people *now*, and make them alike holy,—is a high abuse of God's ordinances, and a taking of his name in vain."^g

"When God calleth his 'people' out of Babylon,^h it is not meant out of Rome only, or Italy, but Spain also, and all other places, where popery reigneth. Neither is it meant in regard of Civil Polity, as if the subjects in Italy, Spain, and other lands, might not remain in those commonwealths still; but they are called out from the heresies, idolatries, and extravagant jurisdiction of the Romish church. So the civil bondage of the Jews, in the old Babylon, typed the spiritual bondage of God's 'people' in this new Babylon, the Church of Rome; and out of it are men called, not out of the Civil State, or material place. For, who will deny, but Christian churches may dwell in Spain, Italy, yea and Rome itself, if the magistrates will suffer them, and yet not disobey this precept, 'Come out of her, my people.' It is a doctrine of grace, and necessary unto salvation, to 'come out' of the church estate of this Romish Babylon; but to understand it of the commonwealth's estate, and to call men out of it, were a doctrine of rebellion; contrary to Rom. xiii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14."ⁱ "All Civil States, though governed by popish, yea or heathenish magistrates, are sanctified to God's 'people';^k they may lawfully continue under them; have the use and benefit of them; they are all of God, and none of them from 'the bottomless pit,' or of the devil, as is 'the Beast,' the empire of Antichrist,^l from which God calleth all his 'people.'"^m

Ainsworth agreed in much that Johnson advanced concerning Baptism in the Church of Rome; but he felt obliged to help his "opposite" to distinctions of importance in the discussion pending between themselves. Remarking, accordingly, on the place where Robinson

^a Rev. ix. 20; xviii. 2. ^b P. 37.

^c Eph. ii. 15.

^d 2 Thess. ii. 3;

^e ver. 10—12. ^f Rev. xviii. 4.—P. 49.

^g P. 52.

^h Rev. xviii. 4.

ⁱ P. 69. ^k Acts xxv. 10, 11.

^l Rev. xvii. 8.

^m P. 71.

and himself are accused by Johnson of saying—"The outward washing need not to be repeated, &c.,"^a Ainsworth replies, "I have formerly showed the *shift* and *contradiction* to be in himself, who pleaded against the Anabaptists, that there is but 'one baptism,' and now, against us, would have two. I have also showed, that God's ordinance turned into an idol, or lie, the lie, the idol, is to be renounced,—the truth of the ordinance retained: so do we: . . . the Scripture, in itself, is always pure; yet popish heresies falsely gathered from the Scriptures, are most impure; these we reject, but hold fast the Scripture! Water, in popish baptism, is God's good creature; Antichrist hath turned it, and the action with it, into an abominable idol, as if it gave grace, and washed away sin, by the work done of a sacrilegious priest: this abomination we reject! The creature of God is, of his grace, sanctified unto us, and we retain it!"^b

It might afford additional gratification to minds capable of appreciating the skill and perseverance with which Ainsworth repels Johnson in polemic strife, did not other considerations induce to desist from an enlargement of particulars under this division, which Ainsworth closes thus,—“By his figure of repetition and multiplication, he hath added, from the former grounds, ‘Contradictions,’ ‘Abuse of Scriptures,’ ‘Vain distinctions, and anabaptistical assertions;’ all which being but the same things turned and repeated, and by me before cleared, I count it needless labour to make the same answers again to his empty calumniations.”^c We pass over, also, the remaining portion of this treatise; and say of it and of Johnson's, that they could only have proceeded from men conversant, far more than ordinarily, with Scripture, so that the advanced Biblical student, if disposed to encounter, side by side, these productions alone of their respective authors, will find innumerable illustrations of texts, with ingenious turns, and much also that a more complete theologian would have regretted he had never seen.

CHAP. XIX.

PAGET AND AINSWORTH, OPPONENTS.

No sooner was one "opposite" called to his rest, than another rose up, in the person of a captious Puritan, who, with his partisans, following the example of the "virgin queen," did what they could to prevent the Reformation from proceeding faster and further than they chose.^d "July 12th, 1617, *n. st.*," an epistolary controversy was commenced by the compiler of the volume on which we are about to remark, who had addressed four Letters to Ainsworth, and received three in return, all dated the same year,^e and extending through three hundred and thirty-seven pages. The whole title is, "An Arrow against the Separation of the Brownists: Also, an Admonition touching Talmudique

^a See back, p. 310.

^b P. 131, 132.

^c P. 158.

^d Fuller's Church Hist. bk. xi. p. 51.

^e The last is by a misprint dated 1618.

and Rabbinical Allegations. By John Paget.—Printed at Amsterdam. Anno 1618." 4to. pp. 476.

The advertisement, "To the Christian Reader," tells us that "Of those that separate from the Church of God [!], there are many sorts; though the 'Brownists' assume unto themselves the title of Separation, and call themselves the 'Churches of the Separation;'^a yet is not this title sufficient to distinguish them, separation being common to so many.

"Of the Brownists also, there are sundry sects. Some separate from the Church of England for corruptions, and yet confess both it and Rome also to be a true church; as the followers of Mr. Johnson.^b Some renounce the Church of England as a false church,^c and yet allow private communion with the godly therein; as Mr. Robinson and his followers.^d Some renounce all religious communion, both public and private, with any members of that church, whosoever; as Mr. Ainsworth,^e and such as hearken unto him, being deepest and stiffest in their schism.

"The evil of this Separation is great. First, the minds of many are troubled and distracted hereby,—even of such as do not separate, but have some liking thereof,—especially if it be true which Mr. Robinson writes of them, to wit, that they 'seeing it not to be for their purposes, that the world should so esteem of them, do undoubtedly strain and wring the neck of their consciences and courses, to look the contrary way, &c.'^f What can be more miserable than to have the necks of 'consciencs' thus broken by the doctrine of Separation? Secondly, for those that separate, but do not yet join unto them,—or being joined do withhold actual communion, living alone, and hearing the Word of God in no church, as some do,—how great is their misery also? Mr. Robinson himself shows it at large, noting them to be 'idol-members; such as break the commandment of Christ, lose the fruit of his ascension, and fail their own edification and salvation many ways, &c.'^g Thirdly, for those that being joined unto them do also live with them; seeing they have, in effect, excommunicated themselves from all other churches of Christ; and, consequently, from the fellowship of Christ Jesus himself, and from the participation of his grace and glory, so far as he reveals the same, by dwelling in those churches. It is, therefore, no wonder to hear Mr. Johnson complaining of the evils among them, as 'emulation, debate, and other sins, which daily arise, and spread themselves, to the great dishonour of God, &c.'^h Fourthly, for further and greater evils into which they are given up; it is apparent that *three or four hundred* of the Brownists have brought forth more apostate Anabaptists and Arians sometimes in one year, than *ten thousand* members of the Reformed Dutch Church, in this city, have done in ten years or more, though tempted and compassed about with

^a "The differences of the *Churches of the Separation*," Title: See back, p. 178.
^b "A Defence, &c." p. 1. See back p. *sup*.

^c "A Christian Plea," p. 216, 217: See back p. 312.

^d "A Justification of Separation," p. 339, 340, 347: See back, p. 204.

^e "Of Religious Communion," p. 1, &c.: See back, p. 256.

^f "Counterpoison," p. 197: See back, p. 170.

^g Of Relig. Com. Pref. p. iii. *sup*. ^h *Ibid.* p. 36—39.

ⁱ Treat. on Matt. xviii. Pref. p. ii.

seducers as much as any other. And this I may justly witness, for the time of my abode in this place, Amsterdam, where I have ordinarily been present in the classical assemblies, and seen the number of such as have fallen away, so far as is known unto the ministers hereof. And, many other are the scandals of this schism, both towards them without and against the Reformed Churches whose communion they disclaim.

"My purpose, at this time, is to defend the lawful communion of that particular congregation whereof I am a minister. Reason and religion require that we should first look unto our own estate, and to the flock that dependeth upon us.^a This controversy being first discussed, I doubt not but the lawfulness of communion with the Church of England will in great measure be manifested hereby; and a way prepared for them, that are yet in error, to discern the same. Mr. Ainsworth, in his writings against me, doth very often appeal unto and call for the judgment of the reader; herein I agree with him, and do therefore, also publish and present these things unto the view of Christian readers; and have divided his last writing into sections,—not leaving out, to my knowledge, any one of his words,—for their help that would compare things together, and so judge the more perfectly."

Paget states "the occasion" of this publication to have arisen from a female lately arrived from England, having made application for communion with the church over which he was set; and who being requested "first to procure a testimony" from England, demurred, on which "it was signified unto her, that she could not be admitted for a member" of that church! "After this, also falling into speech of marriage with one of the Separation, she then began to leave Paget's assembly, and went unto the Meeting of the Brownists, pretending scruple of conscience." And Paget adds, "partly through her request, and partly through other provocations, I wrote as followeth: 'Mr. Ainsworth,—I understand, by divers witnesses, that I am often and odiously provoked to confer with you; and, in special, by Mr. Baker; . . and this upon occasion of a certain maid who pretendeth that she is troubled to join our church because of the use of the Lord's Prayer among us; because of my calling unto this church whereof I am a minister, which calling he tells her is 'unlawful;' and, because there is no difference betwixt us and the Church of England! . . If, therefore, you will take upon you to prove that she hath just cause to refuse the communion of our church, either for any of these three causes; or, afterwards, for any other, if these will not serve; I am ready, by the grace of God, to defend the contrary against you. And this, . . not for any desire that I have to bring her into the communion of our church, . . but to remove offence, and to stop the mouths of such as causelessly do insult against me and against the church of God. [!]. . . July 12. n. st. 1617.'"

Ainsworth replied, instantler, That as he was ignorant alike of the "provocation" and of the "woman," it should be at Paget's "own choice" in what way and on what points to confer; protesting against "controversy," but declaring his readiness to do any good, and to defend any point of truth, when "duly called thereunto."

^a 1 Thess. iv. 12. Acts xx. 28. 1 Pet. v. 2.

Six days after, Paget wrote again, adding to his former grounds of provocation, "I take it that I am by yourself also much provoked, and that divers ways; not only by your general doctrine of Separation, which is, in itself, a common provocation unto all the churches of Christ, and a 'beginning of controversy;' but, in special, by your particular mentioning of my name in your public congregation." He calls upon Ainsworth to prove, in writing, the allegations mentioned already, with this in addition, that they and "the 'Temple' where we meet for the worship of God," are "just causes" of refusing communion "with us." When he shall have received the "reasons," he continues, "I will also endeavour by mine answer to do *you* 'good;' and, if the Lord will, to bring you unto the comfortable communion with the churches of Christ from all which you are yet a stranger." [!]

July 25th, Ainsworth wrote largely, commencing thus, "I have no reason, Mr. Paget, to hold that a sufficient 'provocation' unto me, which never was. No one hath ever solicited me to controvert with you, but now yourself." He refers Paget to what is "in public" on the "general doctrine of Separation;" and tells him, "you needed not have called upon me for more." His mentioning Paget's church, he says, "was necessary;" and he reminds him that "there was like cause offered us by you," instancing "aged Mr. P." and "that *religious* young man, J. S." of whom Ainsworth says, "I suppose a man shall scarcely find such measure at the hands of any bishop, minister, or court, in England!" That Paget's church "continueth one with the Church of England," Ainsworth brings "for proof" that "besides the public doctrine among you, which proclaimeth us for 'schismatics,' &c. I report me to that *charitable* libel which C. Lawne, J. Fowler, and others, with their penmen, have printed amongst you. There, in the title, they profess to be 'returned into the bosom of the Church of England,'^a their true mother. Now they suck the breasts of your church, and in 'the bosom' thereof they most of them rest, and some of them have stood in election, to bear office among you; so there will be found a unity between the daughter and mother!" In allusion to Paget's challenge, Ainsworth writes, "When we have published so many 'Reasons' in that one book of our 'Apology,'^b besides others yet unanswered, it is strange that you call for more;" and he comes presently to the point, "Yet now, to satisfy your desire, I set down this—That Separation which is only from sin, and communion therewith, is of God; and is all men's duty: But our Separation is only from sin, and communion with sin, wherein we were entangled in your Mother Church: Therefore our Separation is of God, &c."

Ainsworth affirms that "the first proposition" in his syllogism, "is proved by the ten Commandments, .. and by the apostle's doctrine, which forbiddeth all 'communion' with sin."^c

The second, he says, is proved thus, "The things we have separated from, are 1. A human Liturgy, translated out of the pope's mass-book; a read, and dead Service which we were constrained to offer unto God instead of his spiritual Worship. Wherein also, we were bound to observe many Romish traditions; to keep holy days which God never

^a See back, p. 239. ^b See back, p. 118. ^c Eph. v. 11. 2 Cor. vi. 14—16.

sanctified; to have the sign of the Cross, Gossips, &c. with baptism; to kneel before bread and wine; to hear vain, lying, and apocryphal Jewish fables read in the church, instead of God's Word; with many other particular impieties. Against which Liturgy, we have set down many reasons in our 'Apology.'^a—2. The Matter of that Church; which was not taken of Saints only,—which every Christian Church ought to be, as is proved in our 'Apology,'^b—but was first gathered and still continueth of a Mixed Multitude and their seed; whereof the most part was popish, profane, and wicked; who, with the rest, were by Human laws forced to be members of that Church, as the Public Acts and Muniments show; and is further proved and manifested to be sinful in 'A Justification of Separation.'^c—3. The Form and Order of this Church; which is not the Order set of God,—as we show in our 'Apology,'^d—but the Order left by the pope in parishes, dioceses, provinces, and all conjoined in a National Church, with courts and governors according: disproved in 'Justification of Separation.'^e—4. The Ministry of that Church; both superior or governing, with their courts and canons; and inferior or servile: which is not the Ministry appointed by Christ in Romans xii. 1 Cor. xii. Eph. iv., but a strange Hierarchy and Ministry derived from Rome. Against which, we have produced many Scriptures and 'Reasons,' yet unanswered, in our 'Apology.'^f—From these, and the like evils in that Church, have we separated; not from any truth or good thing that is in the same. With these sins we were defiled, and could not but be defiled, when we walked with that Church. Whereupon the Conclusion followeth, That our Separation was necessary; is of God; and, the duty of every one that would obey God!"—"These things, Mr. Paget, have been long since by us published, and by none hitherto disproved. . . It is needless to set down any other, or more, till those be refuted."

Having advanced thus far, Ainsworth enters upon explanation, in these words, "Now to your Particulars: 1. You require my reasons against 'the use of the Lord's Prayer' among you.—I answer, I have not laid this as a cause of refusing communion with you; so you have no reason to require this of me. We hold it good and holy to use, aright, any of the Lord's Prayers; or any words of Scripture; or those, or any of those petitions taught us in Matt. vi., or Luke xi., . . as the Spirit of God, which 'helpeth' us to pray,^g leadeth us to any of them. If thus *you* do, I blame you not: but if, after prayer by the Spirit, you read that part of Scripture for a prayer, or say it over by rote, . . that, I approve not; it being neither the intendment of Christ, nor practice of his apostles, that I can find; and I desire *your* proofs from God's Word for so using it. What our reasons are against that abuse

^a P. 64. Ninth Pos. See back. p. 114.

^b P. 44. Third Pos.

^c P. 69—91, 459, 460. See back p. 204.

^d P. 60. Eighth Pos. "and the 'Reasons,' annexed to the first branch thereof." See back p. 114.

^e P. 195—197.

^f Confession of Faith, art. xxix.—xxxii. And after in p. 46. Fifth Pos., and Proofs of the latter branches of the same. And Treat. of the Minist. against Mr. Hildersham, p. 98—105.

^g Rom. viii. 26.

are to be seen in our 'Apology.'^a . . . — 2. About the 'lawfulness' of your Ministry, . . . I pray yourself to say, whether you still have, or approve of that Ministry which the Bishop gave you; and the oath or promise which you made to him? . . . Supposing you had a new ordination here, by the Eldership of another church, . . . I desire your defence thereof by the Book of God; for I am yet ignorant what authority the Eldership of one church hath to make, or ordain, Ministers in another, now that apostles' and all extraordinary functions are ceased.—3. For your 'agreement with England,' I have showed, from the work printed among yourselves,^b that the bosom of your church and of the Church of England is one, so the 'Reasons' before noted,^c which warrant our Separation from England, are a sufficient ground to keep us from you, till you bring a difference, and show how you separate also!—4. For 'the Temple' wherein you worship, which is, as I take it, the Nun's chapel; built for the worship of their breadden god and other idols; . . . see in our 'Apology.'^d—Other things there are, . . . as your keeping of holy days besides the Lord's-days. . . Marriage, a civil duty, is performed by your Ministry in your church: . . . your Eldership sitteth and judgeth matters apart from the congregation; and this your Court I suppose will find no better allowance by the Church or Courts of England, than doth our church which you count 'schismatical!' Of these things, you may see yourselves reprov'd and convicted, in our 'Apology' aforesaid.—Finally, you shape your church according to the time and place wherein you live. . . Now, I hold, that the constitution, worship, ministry, government, holy days, of the church should be uniform, and not variable in every coast. But to the things by you propounded, I have given answer. . . God guide you into the way of truth and peace."

Paget replied to the above Letter, in another of more than five times its length, dated August 21st. We are necessarily compelled to use compression, but aim notwithstanding to preserve what is needful in the controversy, and what may sufficiently elucidate the practice and position of the parties. "You needed not now," he tells Ainsworth, "in this second writing, to have excused yourself by such a 'provocation' and soliciting of you as I never mentioned nor implied in my writing. . . I have not denied, neither do I deny, but that our not admitting of such for members of our congregation, as would have liberty to hear in your church as well as ours, might be some occasion also to move and provoke you to desire to deal with us likewise hereabouts. . . As for J. Sh., that *unquiet* and *unstable* young man,^e he is not kept from our communion 'because he holdeth it in his judgment' that he may hear you, . . . but for his unpeaceable walking and breach of promise."

"For proof that our church continueth one with the Church of England, you 'report' yourself to the '*charitable* libel which C. Lawne, J. Fowler, and others, with their penmen, have printed.' . . 1. The principal penman, or scribe^f of the Separation, that hath

^a Ninth Posit.

^b See back, p. 328, n. f.

^c *Ibid.*

^d P. 75. Twelfth Posit.

^e See back, p. 327.

^f "Mr. Clyfton." See back, p. 238.

written most and purposely against the book which you call a 'libel,' hath long since acknowledged his fault for the same; .. acknowledging the great fruit that comes by publishing the personal sins of them that continue in error. . . —2. As for the other penmen which, in their writings, here and there, have snatched at the same book; there is, for them, an Answer in readiness. . . —3. That part of the title objected by you, namely, of returning into the 'bosom of the Church of England, their true mother,' with the words going before, are an addition foisted into the title by some falsifier; .. and consequently your device to turn away the question from the state of our congregation unto the Church of England, .. stands upon a mere forgery, .. signified heretofore unto you in that 'Declaration' prefixed before the book written in defence of Mr. Brightman, against the vain collections of John De Cluse, your Elder.^a . . . 4. . . We are one with the Church of England in the doctrine of faith and salvation; and the members of our church .. communicate with them as occasion is given. . .

"A great number of the doctrines and reasons thereof, contained in that book of your 'Apology,' are revoked by Mr. Johnson himself, the chief author thereof. . .

"To come now unto your syllogism; I deny your second proposition, namely, That your Separation 'is only from sin, &c.' .. You do not separate 'only' from these things,—sin, and communion with sin,—but as you separate from these Dutch and French Reformed Churches, .. and censure those of your people that come unto us. . . Show us those sins which are just causes of forsaking our church: for those four things above-mentioned are not to be found in our church.^b

"It is manifested unto you by Mr. Robinson, that your Separation is not *only* from evil, but also from many good things, in that you separate from 'private communion' with the godly in England.^c . . If you see your error, why do not you acknowledge it, and give satisfaction unto Mr. Bernard,^d against whom you have witnessed this point of private Separation?^e . .

"Your error about this 'public communion' also hath been, by sundry men, refuted, and this in divers treatises, .. which yet remain unanswered.^f

"At length you come unto the particulars, where I expected you should have begun at first: and first, concerning 'the use of the Lord's Prayer' among us. . . Our manner is,—as you cannot be ignorant,—ordinarily, before or after every Sermon, or both, to conclude our prayers with the Lord's Prayer. After we have prayed by the help of the Spirit, we persuade ourselves that we also conclude by the help of the same Spirit in this use of the Lord's Prayer. If you call this

^a See back, p. 260.

^b See back, p. 328, 329.

^c "Relig. Com., from p. 1 to p. 17." See back, p. 256.

^d See back, p. 170.

^e Counterpoison, p. 197. "As a false church generally, so the members thereof particularly may not be communicated with in spiritual actions."

^f "Of later time, the 'Second Manuduction for Mr. Robinson:' the 'Unreasonableness of the Separation;' .. also, by a Treatise written in defence of Communion with the Church of England, one part whereof was so imperfectly published by Mr. B.: with sundry other."

saying it 'by rote,' and hold it to be sin, . . I pray you tell me plainly, and then I will . . give answer unto those nine 'Reasons'^a in your 'Apology;' . . for there is no soundness or truth in any of them! Suppose we should 'say over' the Lord's Prayer 'by rote,' even in that worst sense—without understanding and feeling; . . yet should it not be the sin of the people that join with us, and therefore no cause of refusing communion with us. . .

"Touching 'the lawfulness' of my 'ministry,' . . I do not at all 'administer,' neither 'in whole nor part,' by 'virtue of that calling' which I had in England, though not 'of the Bishops:' neither yet have I 'renounced' the same. But as, throughout these Reformed Churches, he that is called from one congregation to another doth administer by virtue of his new calling, and his former calling ceaseth, though without renunciation, so it is with me. . . Touching my 'ordination,' wherein our church used the help of the Dutch Reformed Church of this city, . . suppose there had been such an error, as you pretend, yet doth it not follow that it is unlawful for any one to hear me. . .

"To help your ignorance, which you confess herein, I propound unto you, . . 1. Either Ordination is not simply necessary, or else the help of other churches and elderships may be sought for, and lawfully used therein; for, otherwise, Christ should not faithfully and sufficiently provide for the necessities of his churches, seeing many of them do want fit and able persons to perform that work of ordination which consisteth, principally, in public prayers, and exhortations to be made both to officers and people touching their mutual duties; imposition of hands being but the outward sign of the charge imposed by exhortation, and of the blessing imposed by prayer.^b This, for example, may be seen in many churches which are in the 'dorps,' or villages, here in these Netherlands. . . The wisdom and faithfulness of Christ in his Father's house,^c will not stand with so strait an order as you plead for. . . By your own practice and confession^d in seeking and procuring the Eldership of that separate company at Leyden, to come and help you in your controversy with Mr. Johnson, why may not also one church desire the help of the Eldership in another, for the consecration of their Minister? . . Why may one church receive help from the hand of a Deacon,^e rather than from the mouth of a Teacher that is in any other congregation? If those that have the gift of prophecy, being out of office, may interpret the Scriptures, by occasion, in divers churches; as yourself do acknowledge^f from Acts xiii. 15; why may not such men, upon occasion of Ordination, in the necessity of any church, apply their doctrines and exhortations to that purpose? . . If the Members of one church may lawfully receive the Lord's Supper in another, upon occasion,—as by your own practice you do acknowledge,—then why may not the pastors, &c. . . administer the same

^a P. 69, 70. ^b Exod. xxix. 1—35. Levit. viii. 1, &c. Num. xxvii. 18, 19, 23. Deut. xxxi. 7. Acts vi. 6; xiii. 2, 3. ^c Heb. iii. 2. Isai. v. 3, 4.

^d "Animadversion," p. 107, 109. See back, p. 254.

^e Rom. xvi. 1. 1 Cor. xvi. 3. 2 Cor. viii. 19, 22, 24.

"Confession, Art. xxxiv. in Apol."

also, in another, when need requireth; seeing the state of people and minister doth consist in an equal relation one to another?^a . . . And why not Ordination also? Forasmuch as particular churches,—though in respect of their particular covenants they be distinct bodies, yet in respect of their ‘common faith,’^b—are all members of the same ‘body,’^c of the same city, and the same family and ‘household of God;’^d this general bond directeth them to perform all possible help to one another in all the works of edification,^e so far as they are not restrained by some special commandment of God. . .

“Touching our agreement with England, . . . we are a distinct body from the Church of England; and are no more under the authority and government of the prelates than any of the Dutch or French churches in these countries are. The ‘bosom’ of the Church of England is embraced by these churches, and their bosom, again, is open to the members of the Church of England, as well as ours; and therefore you cannot without great partiality, in this respect refuse our communion rather than theirs. You have condemned the communion of our church, before the forged addition in the title of that book so misprinted,—not among us, but in England,—was published; and therefore your former injury cannot be justified by that which is done afterward. You would have us ‘show’ how far we separate; I answer, We profess separation from known evils, but not from the churches of Christ for evils among them; and for ourselves, our covenant hath been, from the first establishment of our church unto this present, ‘to serve the Lord in the Gospel of his Son, so far as is revealed unto us.’

“Touching the fourth particular, namely, our ‘Temple,’ . . . though it be uncertain whether this chapel was built for the worship of the ‘breaden god,’ yet doubt I not but that much idol-worship hath been performed therein; and therefore I come to examine your ‘reasons’ against the use of such places, having now the true worship of God exercised in them.”—As the argument occupies here six pages, it is referred to Ainsworth’s reply.

“Thus far for answer unto the ‘Reasons’ in your ‘Apology.’ Hereunto I have thought it meet to annex three or four reasons taken from your own practice: . . . First, . . . you have not refused, after your division and rent from Mr. Johnson, to meet together, for the service of God, in the idol-temple of the Jews, where they had exercised their idol-service before you! How comes it to be lawful for you to assemble where the Jews have served their God, and not for us where the papists have been before us? Secondly, Whereas you have rejected the ministry of Mr. Johnson’s company as ‘a new established hierarchy;’^f and do, elsewhere, condemn such ministers, as ‘idols;’^g . . . yet, even in that same place, . . . you are now content to come, . . . they being dispossessed: why may not that ‘place,’ 2 Kings xviii. 4, be now urged against you? . . . Thirdly, . . . The members of your church receive the alms of the Dutch; which is a sacrifice,^h and this in the same

^a Heb. xiii. 17. ¹ Thess. v. 12. Acts xx. 28.

^c Eph. i. 23; iv. 4. ^d Eph. ii. 19; iii. 15.

^f “Animadv.” p. 98. ^g “Counterp.” p. 196.

^b Tit. i. 4. 2 Pet. i. 1.

^e Jude, 20, &c.

^h Phil. iv. 18.

place which you condemn as an idol-temple ! If you will also allow them, at the same time, to bless, in the name of God, those that distribute so mercifully unto them,^a . . . do ye not, hereby, allow the worship of God in 'idol-temple,' as you call them ? The answers which you give unto Mr. White, concerning this matter, are insufficient.^b . . . Fourthly ; Your own staggering and waverings about this matter are worthy to be observed. 1. The doubting of H. Barrowe.^c . . . 2. Mr. Johnson's wavering is recorded in his book against Mr. White.^d . . . And since that also, he hath, of late, tolerated sundry of his people to hear in those places. 3. Mr. Robinson, though he have written in such high words against these 'Temples,'^e though he plead against them as 'idols, &c.,' yet hath he, for this long time, tolerated Mr. Brewster to hear the Word of God in such places. . . And now of late, this last month, . . . begins openly, in the midst of his congregation, to plead for the lawful use of these 'Temples.' . . 4. For yourself and your own congregation ; do you not know, . . . that there are of your own people that sometimes hear the Dutch ministers, even in these 'Temples ?' . . . Doth not W. S. profess that he will continue also thus to do ? . . . Do you suffer that person to walk on in such an accursed course as you make it ? . . . Besides this, there are of your people that have holpen to repair our Temple, and to make it fit for our use, by mending, and making new seats for the people, and new pulpit for the minister ! . . .

"After these four Particulars, you say, 'Other things there are,' &c."^f . . . First, . . . Greater differences than these, there are also betwixt us ; as that you allow not your people to marry with the members of the Reformed Churches, as we do : . . . That you allow Marriages made among yourselves, without consent and authority of the magistrates ; and this, both in England and here also, where the laws do hold the children of such as are so married to be illegitimate : That you also allow Divorces among yourselves, without the authority of the magistrate : That you turn the Lord's-day into a Session or Court-day ; omitting and thrusting out, in part, sometimes, the administration of the Word and Sacraments, by spending so much time in controversies, and contentions : That you condemn the set Maintenance of ministers ; —with sundry other Differences, which I know not whether you maintain as causes of Separation from us. . . Secondly, . . . Some of your people, upon the holy days by you mentioned, shut up their shops : others not ; as is acknowledged by yourselves unto Mr. White.^g Some of you hold an enforced divorce ; and, that the parties innocent,^h either husband or wife, which forgive one another, being guilty of adultery, and still live together, are to be excommunicated ; others holding the contrary. Some of your people are of your mind in denying 'private communion' with the godly in England ; and yet some, even of your own congregation, do allow such communion, holding rather with Mr. Robinson. . . So that if . . . you can yet hold communion among yourselves and with Mr. Robinson, it may seem that

^a Phil. iv. 19, 20. 2 Tim. i. 16. 2 Cor. ix. 12, 13.

^c "Discov." p. 138.

^d "Inquiry," p. 66, 57, 79.

^e See back, p. 329.

^f "Inquiry," p. 59, 60.

^g "Inquiry," p. 56.

^h "Justifi." p. 443.

ⁱ *Ibid.* p. 32, 33.

these three last differences above noted by you, are not intended as causes of Separation, and so belong not to our question. Thirdly, . . . We hold all 'days,' except the Lord's-day, to be alike 'holy.' If our people, at the magistrates' appointment, do shut up their shops without putting holiness in the day, it is confessed that your people do the same also. That ordinary day of the week which we have for a sermon is sometimes changed into one of those holy days, as they are called; and we preach on the same, to redeem time for men's labour, and to win opportunity to preach the Word unto many 'in season' or 'out of season;' and this also, as I hear, is done by you; and that, by a memorable token at one time especially,—the time of your rending from Mr. Johnson being on a Christmas-day so called, unto which day you had changed the ordinary time of your assembling in the week. . . . This being granted lawful, the rest, if it be any thing, will follow.—For 'Marriages;' we do not hold it as a thing of necessity that they should be celebrated by Ministers in the church; we judge them lawful marriages that are made by the Magistrates, without Ministers; but yet we hold it lawful, more convenient and comfortable, that they be accomplished in the church by the Ministers, both for showing the duties of the persons married, and for obtaining a special blessing by the prayers of the congregation.—For our 'Eldership,' . . . though our eldership, . . . do sit 'apart,' as is meet, yet do we not exclude or debar any from hearing and seeing the conviction of any sin; . . . and further, before any sentence be given for the cutting off of any offender, we first propound the matter unto the whole church; requiring their prayers, advice, and consent, without which never yet any judgment of excommunication hath been executed against any amongst us. . . . And even this sitting of our Eldership 'apart from the congregation,' seems to have been allowed by yourself: . . . you, and your Elder, Mr. Th., have not refused to come and appear before this our 'Eldership,' and there to give what light and evidence you could unto the matter in question; . . . and have, so far, communicated with our government! . . .

• "Though our 'Eldership' should find no favour, nor 'allowance,' from the prelates or 'courts of England,' yet have we comfort in God's allowance: we depend on Christ, and not upon prelates.—The 'allowance' of the Reformed Churches which give us 'the right-hand of fellowship,' being laid in balance with the disallowance of prelates, is enough to countervail the same: a comfort that you are far from.—Even the chief defenders of the prelacy cannot but give 'allowance' unto our 'Eldership,' confessing that this government 'may be admitted, and that it is as silver, good,'^a though they prefer their own, as gold, before the same..

"You add, that of these things, we may see ourselves reprov'd and convicted in your 'Apology.' . . . This, we rather see, that Mr. Johnson, the author of your 'Apology,' is, in his conscience, 'reprov'd and convicted' of divers of these errors that he hath written. We see some of his people coming unto our sermons, even on those 'holy days' you speak of. We see others of them willing and desirous to have their

^a "Dr. Downam's Sermon at Lambeth," p. 95.

Marriages celebrated in our congregation, even while they remain with him still. We see his government changed, but who knows what it now is? We see him broken and confounded in his courses, but without such true repentance as should bring him plainly to confess, to revoke, and to refute, his errors, wherewith he hath been a means to ensnare so many. And the sight of this confusion in him might be sufficient to serve for *your* just reproof also, if you consider it aright.— Suppose you had sufficiently ‘convicted’ us by your ‘Apology,’ . . yet is not your refusal of our communion for the same, justified thereby: that is the question that remains unproved.—In fine, That we ‘shape’ our church ‘according to the time and place’ wherein we live, . . I answer for myself, that when I lived in England, I testified against the evils which I conceived to be in the order of that church; and when I was called hither, I rejoiced to find those things that I had desired before, and this without variableness. And the communion which we still, upon occasion, hold with the Church of England, can no more destroy the truth of our church, than it doth other Reformed Churches which practise in like manner. But if you come to speak of *variableness*, and shaping a man’s self ‘to the time and place,’ you give us occasion to remember your own levity and scandal in this behalf. But I spare you for this time.

“To conclude; . . God’s destroying angel is come into our streets, so that many fall both on the right hand and on the left, through ‘the noisome pestilence,’^a . . let us therefore so write as if the ‘arrows’ of the Almighty did ‘stick fast’ in us:^b let us, with all our might, seek those things that may serve for the edification of the church of God, with his praise, and our peace, therein: even so as if each of our writings were to be sealed with our present dissolution.”

The chief importance of this dispute before us, arises from its furnishing minute particulars which illustrate real character, and from bringing before us incidental and concomitant varieties of information, which present parties and things in their solitary states, or in contrast with each other.

Paget being the last who engaged our attention, we turn to the reply of his opponent, dated November the 9th. It is broken into nineteen chapters and sections, by Paget, who appended his own replication to each. The first, embraces the “Preface Matters;” the second, relates to “Separating from Sin only;” the third, to the “Use of the Lord’s Prayer;” the fourth, to “Communion with such a Minister as hath not renounced his Ministry in the Church of England;” the fifth, to “Ordination;” the sixth, to “Separation from such as hold Communion with the Church of England;” the seventh to, and including, the thirteenth, concerns “Temples;” the fourteenth, relates to the “Jews’ Synagogue;” the fifteenth, to “Mr. Ainsworth’s present Meeting-house;” the sixteenth, to “Alms, in an Idol-temple;” the seventeenth, to the “Waverings of such as impugn our Temples;” the eighteenth, to “Some other Differences;” and the nineteenth, to “The Conclusion.” The whole occupies three hundred and three pages.

^a Psal. xci. 3.

^b Psal. xxxviii. 2.

Chap. i.—Ainsworth begins by saying, "I like well of your counsel, Mr. Paget, in the conclusion of your writing, . . . So, to end the strife about the 'provocation' to this controversy: . . . by instances of some that could not be admitted to the Lord's Supper with you, for that they heard the doctrine of our church, or thought it 'lawful only,' as was said, though they never did it: this, I yet think to be more severity on your part against us than 'any Bishop in England' would show. . . . And as for the 'provocation' of our people, whereon you insist; I know it not: . . . but now that you have taken such an occasion, and we are entered into these lists, let us proceed. . . ."

"As you know that 'the chief author' of our 'Apology' had revoked some of his doctrines and reasons therein, so you might have known that I and others, interested in that book, held to the things therein published. . . . My argument and reasons, . . . in that they are directed against the Church of England, . . . they are also against yours. . . . Now the removing of your dwelling into another land, removeth not your sins from you, nor you from them. . . . Papists, . . . belong to the Church of Rome, till they break themselves off by repentance. . . . So, though you here practise not the idolatries done in England, . . . how much more do your sins remain, which oppose and speak evil of us, privately, publicly, and in print, for departing from the evils wherein we sometime walked among them. . . ."

"Of that book, published by your own proselytes, which saith they 'are returned into the bosom of the Church of England, their true mother;' these words, with some other in the title, you disclaim, . . . the thing itself you disclaim not. . . . And Christopher Lawne, the first pretended author of that book, is known to live in 'the bosom' of that Church, according to the title. And what will you answer to other words contained in the pamphlet; . . . will you say that all these words were also 'foisted in by some falsifier'? If not, why seek you now to turn away the discussing of the reasons of our Separation from that Church of England? Especially considering what profession we make in the Preface to the Confession of our Faith,—printed with our 'Apology,'—of our agreeing with other Christian Reformed Churches round about us,—some of which we there name,—and of our Separation only from the antichristian Church of England for the causes *there* manifested. . . . Wherefore they returning unto you, with this renunciation of their covenant; who would not now expect, at your hands, a justification of the Church of England?"

"But you desired 'reasons' of our Separation from *your* particular church: whereas we rather might desire the reasons of your Separation from our particular church! For, besides that some of your members were first members of us; our church is before yours, being, through God's mercy, seated and established here first. . . . If now one of us must needs be counted separators from another, . . . the 'Separation' must lie upon yourselves!"

Paget interrupts the narrative, and calls upon Ainsworth "to stay" his "new translation of the Bible, with annotations upon the same," and "in the fear of God, first to examine" his Separation "more

* "As in p. 1, 3, 7, 8, and also p. 2"

soundly." "Unless you take this course, . . either you must make an unclean work, or have an unclean conscience. . .

"I answer you again, in the behalf of our church, that if you mean by living in 'the bosom' of the Church [of England], to live under the ecclesiastical censure and government of the Church, then do we not live in 'the bosom of the Church of England;' but are here, in these Low Countries, a distinct body and church from them. If you mean a retaining of Christian communion with them, in this sense we do remain; . . and hold them guilty of Schism that refuse to do the like. . .

"There is none that hath written any book in defence of this particular church whereof I am a Minister; neither is any man so much bound hereunto as I am. . . and I doubt not but you, being convinced of your error in separating from this particular congregation, will thereby be prepared and holpen to discover the error of Separation from the Church of England also!

"You insert yet a new reason why I should rather discuss the reasons of your Separation from England, namely, 'Considering what profession' you 'make in the Preface to the Confession, &c.'; of your 'agreeing with other Reformed Churches round about us;' and of your 'Separation only from the antichristian Church of England; &c.' But, O Mr. Ainsworth, what truth is there in these words? . . If you separate 'only' from the 'antichristian' Church of England, why do you, even in this very writing, maintain the Separation of your Elder, Decluse, from the French Church? Why are not such of your people as understand their language allowed to hear in their Churches? Yea, why do you publish, in print, concerning the Dutch and French Churches in these countries, that for the members of your church, they cannot partake with them; no, not in hearing the Word, 'without declining and apostacy from the truth which you have received.' . .

"The reason why we consulted not with you at our first coming into this city, was because you had already, before my coming, declared yourselves to be open adversaries of the truth, by disclaiming and renouncing the communion of all the churches of Christ [!]. . . Suppose here had been, in this city, a *lawful* English Church before our coming hither, and that we had offended in not communicating our proceedings with the same; yet had not this fault been like unto your Separation: it is one thing to neglect the counsel of some godly men; another, to renounce communion of all true churches! . .

Chap. ii.—Ainsworth continues, by referring to his syllogism, "Consider, I pray you, how soundly and directly yourself do answer unto those four heads of transgression which I named; when you neither ingenuously answer them, nor take upon you to convince them, but put a supposition only, That if any inconvenience follow, you may, hereafter, turn the tenor of your speech, and say we did unjustly in separating. Thus, you will walk at large, and I must be bound in cords; I must prove directly, you may answer indirectly! It was expected, not only by me, but by some even of your own flock, that you would try your strength to prove us schismatics from the Church of England; but, lo! how you withdraw at the first. . . You have no

* "Inquiry," p. 26.

more reason, if so much, to say that we have separated from the Dutch Churches, than that they have separated from us. For, we being called of God while we dwelt in England, entered into covenant there, and became his church and people; and so had equal right in Christ, his gospel and ordinances, with all other churches in the world: for, came the Word of God to Dutchmen only? came it not to the English also? . . . There is in Mr. Cluse and us no other blame to be found than in you and yours; who, professing, in your last writing, to separate from 'known evils,' have gathered here another church, and do receive such as separate from some evils in the Church of England. And why, then, condemn us for receiving him that separated from 'known evils' in the French Church? . . .

"You would urge me to answer that book of 'Private Communion;' . . . and why, I pray you, might not I as well urge you to answer the things written in that book against 'Public Communion,' which you maintain? Or, to answer Dr. Bilson's book of 'Perpetual Government,' bent directly against your Presbyteries and Church-government; which hath been many more years in public than this which you mention to me? Or, Mr. Hooker's eight books of 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' written to overthrow yours? Those last books have turned many from your side to the prelates'; and where there is one of us, there are a thousand of you, and more, to make answer! As for me, if I would answer it, you and others take a course to hinder me by such private controversies as you begin and prosecute with me. And having in hand another necessary work,—as is partly known to the public,—besides my private writings to you and sundry others, you yet would load me with more; showing yourself like a hard task-master, to lay so much work on me, and do so little yourself. . . .

"Your former writings to me were about Church communion, my argument is also concerning the same. Now, to ease yourself, you come in with 'private' communion; which the author of the book you mention plainly distinguisheth from Church communion; which he disproveth evidently in the same book, as you may see. And, whereas you say I have affirmed, if 'private' communion be granted, 'public' will follow; you are mistaken if you apply it to the Church of England. This I hold, That public communion of such persons with us will follow; but not our public communion with their Church, where so many gross evils are practised. You insult therefore in vain! . . . All 'private' communion with the godly in England, I deny not. Such as are come to that measure of grace as that they are worthy in Christ to be received into the true visible church, in that estate; with them, I hold it lawful to have 'private' communion, even before they be joined to the [our?] church. But such as for their antichristian estate and walking, are by the rules of God's Word debarred from admission into the church of Christ till they repent and leave their sin; with them, I hold it not lawful to have 'private' communion, though some good things appear to be in them, which I will labour to cherish. And this is that which I intend in my answer to Mr. Bernard, in that place of my book which you cite;* and I never held otherwise."

* "Counterpoison," p. 197.

To these sentiments Paget sets himself in opposition thus,—“It is enough to show the falsehood of any argument, if we show any part of the first or second proposition to be false. . . Doth not your argument of ‘separating from sin only,’ fall manifestly unto the ground, and the honour of it lie in the dust, when I give you some instances wherein you cannot prove that you separate ‘from sin only?’ . . Oh, but you complain that I ‘will walk at large,’ and you must be ‘bound in cords;’ you must ‘prove directly,’ and I may answer ‘indirectly!’ . . Did not you offer me to reason with me of ‘what points’^a I would? Why do you now grudge to perform it? . . If it be a pain unto you, that you are bound, it is but in the ‘cords’ of your own offer, and of your own argument; you must blame yourself for it. If I walk at liberty, it is but in the pathway of direct reasoning: let men of learning judge. . . It is you, which, speaking of our entering into ‘lists,’^b which were described by me, and approved by yourself, do yet, at the very first encounter, start aside, . . and, at one skip, leap out of Germany into England! . . To salve, or to mitigate a little, the pain of your discontentment,—if it may be!—I do plainly signify unto you, that my resolution and purpose are,—the Lord assisting me with life and strength,—to deal with you about your Separation from the Church of England; . . when once this controversy about our particular congregation shall be finished. . .

“The blame which you impute unto me for the *allegation* of human testimonies, to ‘dazzle’ the eyes of men, &c., is justly to be returned upon your own head. . . Yea, you follow and imitate the vainest sort of them, the Cabalists, in their curious speculations, as in your translation of the Psalms; where you show that ‘Israel’ is a name of power and principality, you note further, that ‘it may also be observed how, in this word, Israel, are contained the first letters of the names of Abraham and Sarah his wife, of Isaac and Rebekah his wife, of Jacob and of both his wives, Leah and Rachel.’^c If this were a lawful or tolerable observation, you might as well, for the countenancing of your schism, make the like observation upon the name ‘Separation;’ . . you might likewise observe how, in this word, are also contained the initial, or first letters, of the names of those seven saints, . . the first Deacons of the new-planted church in Jerusalem;^d . . but also the first letters of the names of the four later ‘patriarchs’ of new churches, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Smyth, Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Robinson; . . with many other mysteries!” Paget continues by instancing out of Ainsworth’s various publications, and then remarks, “How just is the reproof of H. Barrowe upon you, when he inveigheth against those that ‘fetch the ornaments of their style, and of their books, from profane writers,’ though it were but to ‘exemplify and illustrate’ that which they said.* What would he have said, think you, if he had seen you paint and varnish the margent of your books with such *allegations* as these? . . Your manner still is, throughout your writings, to upbraid us, . . with that which yourself are more guilty of! . .

^a See back, p. 326.

^b *Ibid.* p. 326.

^c “Annotations on Psalm xiv. 7.”

^d Acts vi. 5.

^e “Refutation of Giffard,” p. 120. See back, p. 67.

"If the Dutch have also separated from you, this might be an occasion of repentance unto you, by making you to consider your ways more seriously; and so to find out your scandal condemned by the Word of God. And the papists, arians, and anabaptists, may say, as well as you, that 'the Dutch Churches have separated from them, as well as they have separated from the Dutch.' . . . If 'the Word of God came not to Dutchmen only,' as you say, then are you for this chiefly to be humbled, that have made a Separation contrary to that 'Word' that came unto you also! . . . Did they not—the Reformed Churches—discern your contentious disposition in other dealings before as well as afterward, when the deputies both of Dutch and French churches, dealing with your Eldership about the cause of Mr. John Johnson, to have staid your pastor from the excommunication of his father, if it might have been, do yet testify^a that they could not get a 'plain or direct answer from you?'^b . . . Lastly, as Mr. Johnson himself writes, that 'experience, the mistress of fools, teacheth many things,'^c so might the Dutch Eldership consider that the same school-mistress might teach you that which you would not learn of others! . . .

"Of the causes for which Mr. Cluse, your Elder, left the French Church, . . . that for these 'sins,' according to your 'main argument,' he left them 'lawfully,' . . . it were expedient the Reader should know the circumstances thereof, and how it began in a most pregnant and remarkable discontentment; how it was concluded with shameful and false boasting. Of these things I have ample testimony from Mr. La Vigne, the ancient and reverend pastor of that French Church. . . . He did not, according to your argument, separate from 'sin only,' but from all that was good amongst them; [!] and left their whole communion. . . . We, on the contrary, do not leave communion of true churches for corruptions and sins, according to his example; but only abstain from the practice of evil in our own persons, and witness against it in others, still holding communion with the churches of Christ. . . .

"You send me unto such a book of Mr. Robinson,^d as he himself doth begin to revoke publicly, as being unsound in divers things; whereas I refer you unto a later book of his,^e made with riper deliberation, and in no part, that I hear of, publicly revoked. . . . What equity, or honesty, is there in this dealing? . . . For your now urging of me 'to answer' the things that concern 'public communion' in this afore-said book; do you not consider that, upon the coming forth of this book, there was presently published a 'Manuduction' for Mr. Robinson, to lead him unto public communion; and this, by the same person that had convinced his 'private separation' to be unlawful? . . . For your urging of me to answer Dr. Bilson's and Mr. Hooker's books, as well as I urge you to answer Mr. Robinson; I answer, There is not the like reason. There is no minister, or learned man, to answer Mr. Robinson, but only you; Mr. Johnson being against you also in this, and no protestant minister in the world that holds such an

^a "Profane Schism," p. 60.

^b "Categoricum Responsum."

^c "Pref. to Dr. B. sect. vi., before Answer to Mr. Jacob."

^d "Justif. of S.p."

^e "Relig. Com."

unchristian error against 'private communion' with the godly besides yourself, that I can hear of. . . For the answer of Dr. Bilson and Mr. Hooker, there are many more fit and meet than I am. . . The substance of that which is in those two men's books hath been answered already in many writings." . .

Chap. iii.—Touching "the use" of the Lord's Prayer, Ainsworth resumes, "I misliked the 'saying' it over 'by rote,' as is the fashion of many. To this you say, if I mean 'without understanding and feeling,' *you* 'condemn' that also. I answer, I mean not that only; for men may also read it, yea may read human liturgies with 'understanding and feeling,' and yet offend in so praying: other things are requisite to true prayer. . . I mean, therefore, by 'rote,' after the common manner, without book; when men, having committed it to memory, say it over for their prayer, after they have prayed by the Spirit, as God enabled them. I granted a lawful and holy use of that or any other part of Scripture in our prayers, 'as the Spirit of God leadeth to any of them.' . . For Mr. H., in speech with myself, about the same time, before two that came with him, he signified his dislike of 'reading' prayers, without any such limitation as you allege." . .

Paget responds, "The reason why I spoke not of reading *that* prayer out of the book, was because we do not, in our church, so use to read it on a book, but utter it without a book, as we do the other part of our prayers going before: . . therefore it is you rather that go beside the question in this your mentioning of it. . . A Christian man ought to be led by the Spirit of God in all his other actions and conversation,* as well as in prayer. . . We are no otherwise taught to 'pray with the spirit and with understanding,' than as we are taught to '*sing* with the spirit and understanding;^b which singing I think you will not deny but that it may be done in set words ordinarily.^c . . We do not contend that the same words and number of words in the Lord's Prayer are always precisely, and of necessity, to be used: . . our tenet is, That either the same words, or to the same purpose, may lawfully be used of us. . . Though 'the apostles' did not 'bind themselves to these words,' yet doth not this prove that they never used the same as their prayer: they might pray according to their several 'occasions;' . . and yet with the words of the 'rule.' . . Our Saviour appoints either the same words for our prayer, or such as tend to the same purpose; and both ways is his commandment fulfilled. . . Though our Saviour had said, 'When ye pray, use these phrases, and these very words, for your prayers,' yet had he not thereby absolutely tied us unto them alone, and excluded all other; for the word *ἄρα* doth oft note unto us as much as 'sometimes,' or 'for the most part,' as is evident in these instances,^d and might also be showed in many more such like. . . Touching Mr. Hu., where doth he teach? Is it not in the Church of England? You do wisely not to name the place; . . and is not his public ministry there a sufficient proof that he allows praying on books, even the Book of Common Prayer? . . Of his speech with

Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 16—25.

^b 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

^c See back, p. 286.

Luke xi. 24—26; xii. 54; xiv. 12, 13.

yourself, before two that came with him, how he signified 'his dislike of reading prayers, without any such limitation as you allege,' . . . 'limitations' are not always expressed, but oftentimes to be understood nevertheless. . . .

Chap. iv.—Ainsworth says, "I condemn the Romish ministry, and I hope you do so too; yet of some things about their Calling and Orders, I suppose we may, without folly, inquire. . . . Whereas you profess that you have not 'renounced' the Calling you had in England, you therein bewray the unlawfulness of your present estate. . . . God alloweth not such to declare his statutes as continue in their idolatry. 'No man can serve two masters.' The Temple of God hath no agreement with idols;^a nor God's true spiritual worship with human idolatrous Liturgies. That you had no 'Calling' to the work of your ministry by the bishops in England, is not easy for me to believe. . . . If you had it not, I suppose the Church of England, which you account to be Christ's, will esteem of you as a creeper into the office you executed: whereof you would entwit me!"

Paget says upon this, "Whereas I showed your folly and sin in rash condemning of that thing which afterwards you begin at last to inquire of; for this, you bring an excuse or two in vain. . . . Your reason from my being 'a public minister there,' to show my administration by the Book of Common Prayer, is insufficient; for there have been many 'public' ministers in the Church of England that have not been urged to read the Book; . . . though it be 'imposed on all the parishes,' yet hath it not, heretofore, been 'imposed' on all the ministers in every parish. There be, in many parishes, two ministers; and formerly it hath been required no further than that one of them should use the same. And so it was in the parish from whence I came, . . . so that it was not 'imposed' on me. Though you may except that I was a partaker of that worship, or did upon occasion use that Book, yet always this shows the unsoundness and untruth of your collection touching my particular administration by the same. . . . Suppose I had sinned either in the use of the Book of Common Prayer in my own administration, or by allowing it in others; yet so long as this sin is only of ignorance, and I know it not to be sin, the want of particular repentance, in this case, doth not make my present ministry unlawful. . . . According to your own doctrine, you must be the only pure and unpolluted 'angel' in all the churches of Christ; and of all the angels of the churches besides, not one that may be lawfully communicated withal. Name, if you can, any one minister, either pastor or teacher, in the whole world, with whom you dare communicate in the Lord's Supper, or hear a sermon from them, and also can do it without transgression of your own doctrine? You being, then, such a rare and extraordinary 'angel' doth it not become you to 'fly in the midst of heaven,'^b or to 'stand in the sun,' and openly, 'with a loud voice,'^c to cry unto the Christians in every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, that they beware and take heed of their polluted and unlawful ministers, lest they be defiled by them?

"There was a promise, or show, made some years since, that your

^a 2 Cor. vi. 16.

^b Rev. xiv. 6.

^c Rev. xix. 17.

book of the 'Communion of Saints' should have come forth in Latin,^a . . had it then been printed, your doctrine is concluded therein so closely and obscurely, that none who knew you not before could have found out your meaning thereby. If you will keep a good conscience in the profession of that truth which you think is revealed unto you, you are then plainly to admonish your brethren;^b to 'take a great roll, and write in it with a man's pen.'^c Make speed to separate! make haste to renounce all your ministers! You are to 'write the vision' of your Separation, 'and make it plain upon tables, that he may run that readeth it!'^d . . As you found means to publish your 'Confession' both in Latin and Dutch, so if you had zeal and conscience of this doctrine that you profess, you could soon find means to publish a few arguments in Dutch and Latin also, to call away the faithful people in this city, where you live, from their unlawful ministers! . .

"Of John De Cluse, your Elder, . . his injurious and false dealing in the printing of Mr. Brightman's book^e is a public scandal: so are his manifold erroneous collections which he printed in his own book against Mr. Brightman;^f whereof he is also convinced in that book which was, shortly after, written for the refutation and reproof of him! . .

"If the Church of England be such a false church, such a Babylon and Egypt, as you would make it; if their worship be such gross and abominable idolatry, as you yourself do describe the same;^g then are you, for your divers 'apostacies' and declinings unto the same, to be excluded and kept out of the ministry. They that 'bear the vessels of the Lord' ought to be 'clean' and holy in special manner.^h . . Now you being such an apostate as, according to your present profession, have, sundry times, turned back unto the 'idolatrous, false church,' as hath been, by divers persons, witnessed—neither could Mr. Johnson deny the same when he was most desirous to excuse you therein,ⁱ though it was objected that you had turned your coat as oft, if not oftener, than Dr. Perne,—the unlawfulness of your calling and ministry doth then appear thereby. Let it be well observed, that you are thus noted to have turned your coat and changed your religion *five* several times; namely, first, being of our religion, and a member of the Church of England, you forsook that church and separated; secondly, that being separated, you did again in London, being in the hands of authority, yield to join with the worship and ministry of the Church of England; thirdly, that after this, you did again slide back unto the Separation, and renounce the Church of England; fourthly, that after this, when you were in Ireland, and in some danger of punishment for your scandal, you did again return unto the communion renounced by you,—whether feignedly, or unfeignedly, I leave unto yourself to consider; fifthly, after this, you change your profession again, and fall back unto Separation, and stick now, presently, in this schism! And thus, while by this often revolting, you dishonour and disable yourself and your ministry, you will yet exalt yourself above all the ministers of Christ in the world; and by your profession, maintain that yourself only may be

^a See back, p. 273. ^b Levit. xix. 17. ^c Isai. viii. 1. ^d Hab. ii. 2.

^e "Shield of Defence," p. 6, 7.

^f See back, p. 260.

^g "Counterp." p. 127—152.

^h Isai. lii. 11.

ⁱ "Inquiry," p. 41, 42.

joined unto... Think not that I write these things in any hatred of your person, which I love ; but for good,—for your humbling, and the warning of others...

" Touching my 'calling' in the Church of England, notwithstanding the license and allowance which I had from the Bishop, yet did the substance of my calling consist in the free and general consent of the People, who being publicly assembled together, did then choose me to be a Teacher unto them...

" You, being deposed from the office of a Teacher, by Mr. Johnson and his company, for your schism and rending from them, as they testify, having 'a sinful usurpation of all the holy things of God used among you,'^a and standing in this 'heavy estate,' as he calleth it ; it were now more meet you should look unto your own usurped office, than to seek to seduce the people of God from their lawful ministers, wheresoever they are. . . Suppose they erred in the change of their government, and in some other matters which you impute unto them, yet was that no sufficient warrant for you to separate from a true church. Godly men may keep their 'garments' and 'walk in white,'^b even there where others continue in open sin. And, therefore, your Separation from them being unjust, your deposition by them is just upon you, and your present estate and ministry unlawful! . .

Chap. v.—Ainsworth pursues his course, by telling his opponent, "Your reasons do not satisfy the question ; which was about 'authority' of 'the Eldership' of one church to make, or ordain, Ministers in another. As for mutual advice, counsel, help, and the like, I account them good and lawful. Therefore, the help of other churches may be sought for and used, . . in all holy duties : but not to do those actions which are peculiar for every church to do in itself ; neither do any of the Scriptures which you cite, prove otherwise. Moses and the apostles had extraordinary callings of God to do things which ordinary ministers may not do. If churches, at their first gathering, want knowledge to do their duty ; let neighbour churches direct them, by the law of God, how to do it ; but not usurp their power . . The churches in the villages of Netherland, may not be urged for our pattern, unless they cannot err in their practice ; but the churches in God's Book, obeying him, are to be our 'example.'^c . . I grant that the prophets of one church may prophesy in another ;^d and may apply their doctrines, exhortations, and prayers, to any actions of the churches where they speak ; but this only by way of doctrine, &c., not to do the work which belongeth to the church. . .

"I confess, and it is our practice, that the Members of one church may receive the Lord's supper in another, coming thither occasionally ; yet will it not hereupon follow that the Ministers of one church should administer the Sacraments, or ordain ministers, by virtue of their office, in another church. My reasons are, The ministers have a peculiar relation to their flocks only.* Apostles, and all universal ministers, are now ceased. As a husband is no husband but to his own wife ; a

^a "Advertisement of R. Clyfton," p. 58.

^b Rev. iii. 4.

^c 1 Thess. i. 6, 7.

^d Acts xiii. 15.

^{*} Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. 17. Pet. v. 1, 2.

father, to none but his own children, &c.; so a shepherd, or minister, to none but his own flock ! But, for the seals of the covenant, the case is otherwise : for a baptized person is baptized not to that particular church only, but to all churches . . . Now all 'circumcised' persons had right thereby to eat the passover in any society, 'in the place' which God should choose to put 'his name there ;'^a so all baptized persons have right to the Lord's Supper in every true church where God hath set his name. But the rulers of particular synagogues had not the same authority in all synagogues ; nor pastors now, in all flocks. So, when a Christian cometh to a flock where their pastor feedeth them, he joineth himself to them for that time and action, and is fed with them, as one of Christ's sheep. Show you the like warrant for 'Elderships' to do the works, peculiar to their office, in other elderships or churches ? Show, that any eldership may ordain Ministers in their consistories, and send them as ministers to other churches,—though those churches, upon trial of their gifts,—be content to accept them for their ministers,—as I have heard the practice is of some consistories, unto the 'dorps' or villages of Netherland ; whose example you alleged.^b . .

"If the apostles, who had a large ministry over all, yet would not 'boast of things without their measure, . . in another man's line ;'^c much less may the ministers of particular churches : although, in the general bond of Christianity, they may afford any help not passing the bounds of their calling ; as before, I granted. But the Ordination, or making of ministers, is a work of 'power' or authority ;^d which power is not given to one church or minister over another ; and, therefore, cannot, by virtue of the common faith, be by them performed . . . I have heard it testified by some, that have been long members both of the Dutch and French, that they never did see the ordination of the ministers, though sundry were taken into office in their time. Finally ; In this your plea, how do you disable your own church and the three other Elders that with you are authorized to feed your flock ; as if there were not one, amongst you, which could perform this work of ordination, or show the minister and people their mutual duties."

Paget resumes : "How comes it, that you insist upon this dispute about my 'ordination,' and yet acknowledge that for 'this error, it is not unlawful' for any to 'hear' me ? Had you confessed so much, or had I known so much at the first, I would not have propounded any arguments concerning this point ; but would have held only to the pretended causes of your Separation from us . . . You pervert my allegation of Scriptures from Moses and the apostles ; . . I alleged them only to show that the work of 'ordination' did consist 'principally' in such 'public prayers and exhortations' as that 'many churches' did want 'fit and able persons' to perform the same.^e . . Rather than all the churches be deprived of Ministers, by *staying* till some among themselves were able to preach at their ordination, according to your counsel ; I would think it meet that ministers, being lawfully chosen, should proceed unto their administration without any solemn confirmation at all ; according to the distinction which I propounded in the beginning of

^a Exod. xii. 4, 48. Deut. xvi. 1, 2.

^b See back, p. 331.

^c 2 Cor. x. 13, 16.

^d Mart. xxviii. 18, 19. Heb. v. 1, 4.

^e See back, p. 331.

this first argument, namely, 'Either ordination is not simply *necessary*; or else, &c.'^a For where is there any proof from the Scriptures for such a *necessity* of ordination, that the work of Ministry is to be *stayed* for want thereof? Another work,—of 'examination,'^b—is as requisite, if not more, in the 'calling' of a Minister, as is 'ordination'; and doth also as much belong to the power of the church, as ordination: yet experience shows that many godly and simple Christians are not able to perform this work, considering the subtilty of many deceitful and learned heretics which creep into churches. And, therefore, help to do the same from the ministers of other churches, is oft most *necessary*; and not only to inform the churches herein, but to perform this action for them... If Vorstins had been Minister in some of the weakest congregations in this country,—which yet I think you acknowledge true churches,—and should have seduced the wisest and greatest part of the church to his manifold errors; what appearance is there that the rest could, by their disputations, have convinced him? If you could allow others, in this case, to come and undertake the disputation for their help, then is the ecclesiastical action of convicting a sinner to be performed and done by the help of other churches... If the prophets of one congregation may approve the act of another church in their ordination, by word in doctrine and prayers; why may they not also, by their hand, declare the same approbation? We see that the 'prophets' in the church of Antioch, though they were no 'universal ministers,' did yet lay 'hands' on Paul and Barnabas for their confirmation in that 'work' of ministry which was to be exercised in other places!^c..

"As for Rev. ii. and iii., with Acts xx. 28, . . if this taking 'heed' must be restrained unto their own particular churches only, you may from hence as well conclude that it is unlawful for a minister to make a sermon; seeing both these kind of duties are, in like manner, included in this exhortation of Paul. For Heb. v. 4, this, condemns not those that are desired to help their neighbours in distress; but those that intrude themselves without desiring. . .

"To deliver you, if it may be, from your vain conjectures and doubts, I will show you a little more plainly and expressly the manner of my ordination; which was this,—Being elected to be pastor of this congregation by the free and voluntary consent and choice of the members thereof, . . some of them were then appointed, by the rest, to go unto the Dutch Eldership in this city, and to desire both their counsel and help. . . Hereupon, three reverend and learned ministers were deputed; . . also, by our desire, a minister of the Church of Scotland, Mr. Douglass, who, . . did publicly preach concerning the 'mutual duties' both of people and pastor, and accordingly applied his prayer unto the action in hand: and, herewithal, did the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, at the same time, give unto me their right-hand of fellowship in the midst of our people, . . and prayed also for the blessing of God upon this my calling.^d And this they did at that

^a See back, p. 331.

^b 1 Tim. iii. 10; v. 22.

^c Acts xiii. 1—3.

^d "April 29th, 1607" Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam; &c. By the Rev. W. Steven, M. A. 1833, 8vo. p. 273.

time of the first gathering and establishing of our church; not assuming authority unto themselves over us, but in our name, and by our request. Being now established, whenas, of late, another minister was called unto this our congregation, we used not their help herein as before; but his ordination was performed, by our own ministry and eldership, without them. . . Our Elders, . . were not, at that time, chosen into office, neither were they ordained or 'authorized' with me, . . but a good while after. . .

Chap. vi.—Ainsworth tells his opponent further; "As for your Covenant which you mention, to separate 'from known evils, &c.'^a . . there can be no discerning, much less approbation of your church hereby. We have, in our 'Confession' and 'Apology,' showed the particular evils which we separate from; and order, in the Gospel of Christ, which we submit unto: till you do the like, we have no reason to approve of your church, especially knowing your opposition against us, for the truth which we profess. Neither 'separate' you from all 'known evils;' . . from the false worship by human Liturgies, or communion with the unlawful ministry and church-estate of the parishes and dioceses in England. . . Yea, you, in this your plea, disclaim not the authority and government of the prelates as sinful, simply, but in comparison; as do the Dutch and French churches." . .

Paget answers, "Whereas you require us to show 'the particular evils' we separate from; . . know you not that we are one with the Dutch Church; that we are a member of their Classis kept in this city; that we hold the same faith described in the Belgic Confession, &c. . . Doth it not hereby appear unto you, what 'particular evils' we separate from? And what need we, then, to print any new Confessions, as you have done? . . Sundry people of our church were never members of the Church of England, but came out of Scotland, &c. . . Many, yea, and the greatest part of our church, at the first gathering, were such as in their persons were then members of the Dutch Church, and were from them translated unto us. . . How vain, then, is that which you except! . . When your Separation from one particular congregation hath been well examined, I doubt not but your Separation from England also will thereby appear, in a great measure, to be unwarrantable; and then, the way being so prepared, my resolution is, the Lord assisting, if need be, to proceed further with you in showing your Schism from England! . . Our Saviour hath taught us to hold communion with wicked men, for the godly' sake that were among them; . . yea, with such as did manifestly live and die in their sins, without repentance.^b Why do you, then, seek to lead men into the crooked path of Schism; contrary to the example of Christ? . . Seeing Mr. Robinson and his people do now, as divers of themselves confess, receive the members of the Church of England into their congregation, and this, without any renunciation of the Church of England, . . how can you hold them to be a true church, and communion with them lawful? . . At every turn, your partiality appears. . . Further; when Mr. Johnson, in his public doctrine, had expounded Matt. xviii. 17, contrary to your practice; . . howsoever you cover the matter under

^a See back, p. 332. ^b John viii. 21, 59, with Luke xxii. 7, &c.

the phrase of 'difference of judgments,'^a yet cannot you deny but that he openly taught false doctrine, and that in a matter of great weight; and that, therefore, he was tied in the cords of his sin, though he abstained from the practice of his doctrine; and yet, signify that you are content to 'retain' communion with an unrepentant teacher of false doctrine! . . . According to your own plea against us, your own people cannot, with good conscience, communicate with you that maintain so great partiality."

Chap. vii.—xiii.—These six chapters relate to but one topic, and constitute more than half the quantity of the whole matter contained in this Letter. Ainsworth resumes the subject of "Temples," grounding an argument upon 1 Cor. viii. 10, against what he calls "an idoly; or, as the apostle nameth it, 'Idol-house.'" He had previously started the subject by noticing the circumstance of Paget's place of worship having been a chapel occupied by Nuns;^b on which, Paget justified the occupancy "of such places, having now the true worship of God exercised in them."^c The disputants defended their respective positions with equal pertinacity. Ainsworth weakened his argument by undue extension; while Paget,—besides urging against his opponent the *argumentum ad hominem*,—combated every point in its order; till both disputants were alike obscured with the fogs of the Talmudists. It were impracticable for us to do more than refer readers to these several chapters, for such illustrations as they may be desirous to acquaint themselves with.

Chap. xiv., xv.—These are a kind of appendices to the six former chapters.

Chap. xvi.—Paget, seeking every occasion to retort Ainsworth's own practice against himself, had introduced, extraneously, into his remarks on Ainsworth's Letter of July 25th, an extract from Francis Johnson's "Inquiry," where, Paget says, "You would have us to put difference between the ordinary public worship of the church in such places, and the occasional receiving of Alms therein by the poor."^d Ainsworth, in this chapter,—first reminding Paget that his defence that "the distribution of this Alms is not 'occasional,' but an 'ordinary' public work of mercy,"—replies, "I answer, The public worship of the church is ecclesiastical; the 'Alms,' here spoken of, is political and civil: to put no difference between these, is manifest error and ignorance. . . This Collection is not by the appointment of the church, who have an ecclesiastical collection by their deacons; but by the appointment of the magistrate. . . They collect it not for the church, but for the city; and so for the poor of the church, not considered as members of the church, but as members of the commonwealth." Paget meets this, by remarking, "There be many ecclesiastical actions which are done 'by the appointment of the magistrate,' as the holding of an ecclesiastical synod; the observation of solemn and religious fasts; . . . yea, the ordinary worship of God in Preaching the Word, and other services here, are and ought to be 'commanded' by the magistrates."^e . . . In the

^a "Animadversion," p. 123. ^b See back, p. 329. ^c *Ibid.* p. 332.

^d "Inquiry and Answer to White's 'Discovery of Brownism.' 1606." p. 56.

^e 2 Chron. viii. 14; xiv. 4.

'Alms' spoken of, . . . they may therefore be called 'the benevolence of the church,' though appointed by the magistrates."

"Whereas," Paget says, afterward, "you seem to doubt whether I think that it is unlawful to walk in the temples in Rome and Spain, where, 'ordinarily,' mass is sung; . . . I told you before, as yourself also repeat, that 'in idol-temples where idol-service is still ordinarily performed, we cannot lawfully walk up and down as men use in Paul's.' Was not this enough? . . . What colour of reason had you to imagine that I should not think the Romish and Spanish temples to be idol-temples, and their service, idolatry?"

Chap. xvii.—Ainsworth treats now, "Of such as heretofore have written against these Idol-temples, and after that 'wavered,' or changed their minds."^a "First," he says, "Mr. Barrowe 'wavered' not: . . . let his writings be viewed. As for others whom you speak of, if they have changed their minds, I leave you, if you please, to demand the reasons of themselves. I am to answer for myself, according to the grounds which I maintain by the Scriptures; which, if you cannot take away by the Word of God, the weakness of men will little avail you. And for such amongst ourselves as walk not aright, we shall look unto them as there is cause. If I should take this course with *you*,—to gather the variety of things written about Religion by men of your side, and the change of their judgments afterward, and their weak walkings, &c.; and put them upon *you* to answer;—you should have work more than enough! . . . I maintain our 'Reasons' set down in our 'Apology,' and refute your answers given unto them; but with that question of 'Read-prayer' you meddle not." . . .

Paget: "There is not the like reason that I should be required 'to answer' for all the differences and contradictions that have been, or are, betwixt the ministers that are of the same Religion with me; they being so many thousands; . . . whereas these, whom I object unto you, are but three or four in all . . . The thing which I object here unto you is not so much your disagreement and differences as your inexcusable and blind partiality in the same, while you suffer such things among yourselves for which you condemn, disclaim, and renounce, the communion of other churches. . . . If you can find the like partiality in me, then press me with it, and call for answer. . . . In the mean time, consider that this cloak of partiality is the robe of confusion wherewith you array and bewray yourself and your profession. . . . You tell me of 'Read-prayer,' which is not the question betwixt us at this time." . . .

Chap. xviii.—Ainsworth continues: "You disclaim our Separation as a schism, in your pulpit, in private, and in printed works; how can we now give you the right hand of fellowship, seeing 'repentance from dead works' is one of 'the principles of the doctrine of Christ?'^b And for this your particular congregation, here gathered, you cannot say we renounce it, or separate from it, who were never of it; but if any separation be, I have before showed it is first upon yourselves." . . .

Paget remarks on that place, "For our 'particular congregation,' though you 'were never of it,' yet may we justly say that you have renounced the communion thereof!"

^a See back, p. 333.

^b Heb. vi. 1.

Chap. xix.—Ainsworth writes, in conclusion, “I shall put you in mind of that which in part appeareth in this your writing, and more fully in the disguised pamphlets that come out of your congregation; how you take a special delight, and think it for your vantage, to upbraid men’s differences, to rake into particular men’s sins and infirmities; yea, though they be repented of; and to blazon them abroad to the world, for the discredit of the cause which they profess, or have professed. If the ‘arrows’ of the Almighty did ‘stick fast’^a in you, and you felt your own misery, you would not write after this manner. If a Jew, or Julian apostate, should gather and publish all the open professed differences in Christendom,—yea, among them that err from the truth; what would this tend unto, but to the disgrace of Christ; and yet help Judaism nothing? But if the contentions and particular sins, I say not of all Christendom, but of England, or the churches in Netherland, or the like, which you acknowledge ‘true churches,’ were thus blazoned; what a sink of ill savour would be smelt? And, are there no personal sins amongst yourselves may we think; that you take such a course? If God herein should reward you according to your works, where should you appear? I counsel you therefore to take a better course. Error may be repented by the Word of God, without any such ‘leaven of maliciousness;’^b and the Truth needeth no such fleshly means to maintain it. If you like not of this counsel, you may walk on in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that you have kindled,^c but my soul shall not come into your secret;^d though I shall not cease to wish your welfare, so long and so far as I may.”

Paget replies in conclusion also, “As for the publishing of the notorious scandals of such as continue in Schism, and labour daily to seduce men from the church of God,—which you call ‘a raking into particular men’s sins and infirmities,’—you have not brought any one Word of God to refute this course... If need were, I might produce unto you a multitude of examples from all stories, divine and human, of the ages past and of the times present; and even your own example both against others and against yourselves, for your conviction herein: but this would require a whole volume!... The books which you seem to aim at, are such as, for the matter of them, are taken out of your offensive Company; and do, in part, show the disguised practices of your Separation. For the persons that published them, they also were such as came out of your Company, who leaving their Schism which they once professed with you, were more fit to witness such things as they had heard and seen among you. For the helpers which they had herein, they had, besides others, Mr. Th., now an Elder of your congregation also, but then a Deacon; out of whose writing^e which he communicated with them, they received sundry things which they published, and many more which should have been published, had not their book been misprinted, contrary to their minds. For the manner of printing and publishing one of those books, great injury hath been done unto them, as hath been noted before.^f... When the time of their visitation is come, that the Jews shall be called and grafted in again,

^a Psal. xxxviii. 2.

^b 1 Cor. v. 8.

^c Job. xviii. 5. [Isai. l. 11.]

^d Gen. xlix. 6. ^e “The Hunting of the Fox.” pt. i. ^f See back, p. 330, 332.

this knowledge of the differences among Christians may be a great means to direct them into the Truth; for the godly shall rise by the thing whereat others stumble.^a . . . If you expect a place in the Church triumphant, according to the place which you take unto yourself on earth; separated from all the churches militant here; then must you also look for some solitary place in Heaven, separated from the common saints, and exalted above the rest!

"As for your counsel to me, it is such as Christ Jesus hath taught me not to embrace; for he hath taught us to beware of error, and to know false teachers the better by their scandalous and wicked practices which He publisheth unto men.^b This his practice, in your language, is the 'leaven of maliciousness,' and a 'fleshy means.' . . . By this Schism you have shut out yourself from the secret of the righteous, and from their assembly. The Lord show mercy unto you in raising you out of this pit; and keep the feet of his saints from falling into this, or the like snare.—Farewell in the Lord."

The treatise appended to this volume of Paget's, "Touching Talmudique and Rabbinical Allegations," he writes, in his preface before it, arose from Ainsworth's "allegations of Rabbins" against him "in this controversy." He allows "some use of the Rabbins for understanding and learning of this holy tongue;" but he affirms that "a principal use of them is thereby to refute the Jews themselves from their own writings; and he adds, "not them only, but all such also as dote upon their writings in such manner as you do." Paget has employed much labour to show his own reading in this branch of literature; and so far as it is designed to prejudice^c readers against Ainsworth, the display which this "most uncandid adversary"^d makes here is discreditable to his feelings and judgment; while, at the same time, the "innumerable dotages, presumptuous and vain traditions, lying visions, feigned miracles, prodigious and monstrous fables," which he has collected, are calculated to subserve the cause of Truth. But of the generosity and fairness with which those collections are made to apply to Ainsworth's design, this single specimen may suffice:—"In respect of the authors alleged, you are very partial, while you allege Infidels rather than the most learned Christians endued with the spirit of wisdom and understanding: yea, so far, that in your 'Annotations,' even in Genesis and Exodus alone, you have alleged these Jewish writers more than a thousand times in exact number; whereas, among them all, I find not the name of one christian writer, from the apostles' time unto our age, once alleged by you. But to prevent this blame, you say, 'The Christian Fathers and Doctors, because they are usually cited by other expositors, abundantly, I thought needless to repeat; and the rather for brevity, which is requisite in annotations.'"^e Such is the open declaration of Ainsworth in the Preface to his Annotations on Genesis; and such is the treatment he received from John Paget!

^a Rom. xi. 11. ^b Matt. xiii. 13, &c. 2 Pet. ii. 3, 10, &c. Rev. ix. 7, &c.

^c We use this word with the more deliberation, because, if there were nothing else to justify it, Paget's postponement of Ainsworth's words, explaining his own design, given below, to the last chapter of Paget's volume, confirms our censure.

^d Stuart's Life of Ainsw. p. lx.

^e Chap. viii. p. 471.

Ainsworth made no other formal reply to Paget than "An Advertisement touching some objections against the sincerity of the Hebrew text, and the allegations of the Rabbins," added to his Annotations in the Pentateuch; and which Dr. Stuart found enumerated separately, in the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.^a That a more lengthened reply was contemplated we find from an advertisement "To the Reader," dated 1623, prefixed by an unknown editor to "A Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists."

"One Mr. Paget, that lived in the same city by him, being a chief leader to another Congregation there, who, being of a quarrelsome disposition and envious-hearted towards Mr. Ainsworth and the truth professed by him, having unjustly picked quarrels against him, afterward, without his privity, while matters were in debating, published a book against him; laying to his charge things which he knew not, even gross untruths and palpable reproaches, making divers false charges upon him, as if he neither shamed nor feared to be Satan's instrument to blow abroad whatsoever envy and malice had scraped together; in likelihood expecting no other reward than gratifying the world by the Gospel's disgrace in our subversion: yea, labouring through his sides to smite the Text itself, which I trust Mr. Ainsworth hath well cleared, himself, in that little 'Advertisement' published in his lifetime with those books of Moses, besides a particular answer to his book he had well begun, and had finished long before his death, had not his infirmity of body hindered."

An analysis of this tract will be found in another place.

CHAP. XX.

ROBINSON AGAINST YATES.—BOOK OF SPORTS.—EURING.—SYNOD OF DORT.

AFTER having attended for so long a space to the various incidents arising out of the controversy which we have just seen in what way terminated, it will operate as at least some relief or mental diversion, that though we cannot quit the like *arena*, yet that we shall have changed the combatants, and have found the matter disputed narrowed to one particular alone, as it is in "The People's Plea for the Exercise of Prophecy: Against Mr. John Yates, his Monopoly. By John Robinson—1 Cor. xiv. 1.—Printed in the year 1618." 16mo. pp. 77.

The Preface is addressed "To my Christian friends in Norwich, and thereabouts." Yates is charged, in it, with pleading the cause of "Antichrist's clergy, as of Christ's ministry. And, as the Clergy's exaltation is not a little furthered by usurpation on the People's liberty, . . . so in all his pleading for the one, he doth necessarily implead the other; and, as in other things, so especially in 'the exercise of Prophecy,' or teaching in the church by an ordinary gift.^b .

^a Life of Ainsw. p. lviii. lxiii. lxiv.

^b P. v.

"The Arguments in his writing,—sent unto me by W. E. with his consent, and that before the magistrate,—I have set down word for word, and answered; and therewith confirmed what I have elsewhere published^a in justification of this 'exercise.' . .

"Now if any shall ask me, Why I have not rather answered Mr. Hall, his large and learned volume^b against me and the general cause which I profess; my reasons are, First, Because it is a large volume so full *farced* by him, as it seems that he might prevent further answer! Secondly, His treatise is as much, and more immediately, against the 'Reformists' and their cause in the main, as against us and ours. Thirdly, The Truth requireth not that persons but things be answered; and, thing in it, know I none not answered in my 'Defence against Mr. Bernard.' Lastly, I do put as great difference between him and Mr. Yates, as between a word-wise orator,—both labouring more, and being better able to feed his reader with the leaves of words and flowers of rhetoric, than with the fruits of knowledge; as also, striving rather to oppress the person of his adversary with false and proud reproaches, than to convince his *tenet* by sound arguments;—and, between a man sincerely zealous for the Truth, and by his simple and solid dealing by the Scriptures, as Mr. Yates doth; giving testimony of his unfeigned love thereof.^c . .

"And for you, my Christian friends, towards whom, for your persons, I am minded even as when I lived with you, be you admonished by me,—which I also entreat at the hands of the Lord on your behalf,—That you carefully beware, lest, in any thing, you fall from your steadfastness. . . The means amongst you, are far more for conversion than preservation; and for birth than nourishment: whereas 'they,' by the Lord's gracious dispensation in the orderly state of things, 'who are planted in the House of the Lord,—in the Courts of our God,—shall flourish;' yea, 'shall sprout in old age.'"^d

The first page of the tract is headed "An Answer to the Arguments laid down by Mr. John Yates, Preacher in Norwich, to prove ordinary Prophecy in public, out of office, unlawful."

"That 'all prophecy in public,' and in private also, is for the remitting and retaining of sins, &c., I acknowledge; but that 'Christ grants this power to none but such as *he* sends and ordains' by the 'commission' given, John xx. 21—23, I plainly deny, and require his [Yate's] proof. He should then grant it to none but to apostles; for the commission there given is peculiar to such, conveyed to them immediately from Christ, confirmed by the miraculous inbreathing of the Holy Ghost, and by them to be exercised and dispensed principally towards unbelievers: of all which, nothing is common to *ordinary* officers. As Christ then, gives power of binding and loosing sins to the apostles there, so, elsewhere, to ordinary pastors;^e elsewhere, to the whole church gathered together in one;^f and, lastly, in other places, to every faithful brother confessing Jesus Christ.^g And, since the power of binding and loosing sins is only by way of manifestation and

^a See back, p. 261. ^b See back, p. 185.

^c P. vi.

^d P. vii. ix.

^e Eph. iv. 8—12. ^f Matt xviii. 17, 18. 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. 2 Cor. vi. 6—10.

^g Matt. xvi, 18, &c. xviii. 15. Luke xvii. 3.

declaration of the Word of God, the Law and the Gospel, look ! unto whom the Word of God is given, unto him the power, &c., is given, though to be used by divers states of persons after a diverse order ; which order doth, in no sort, abolish the being of the thing, but only preserves it from confusion.^a

“ For the word ‘ Sending ’ which he so much urgeth ; it must be known that, as all that teach lawfully, whether in office or not, are sent by Christ in respect of their personal gifts and graces ; so ordinary officers are not sent, by those who appoint them, to minister as were the extraordinary apostles sent by Christ who appointed them. ‘ Sending ’ importeth a passing of the sent from the sender to another ; and so the apostles were sent, by Christ, to preach the Gospel to the Jews and Gentiles ; but so are not Pastors sent by the church which calleth them, unto other, but, by her, appointed to minister to herself ! They who were in their time apostles, were first called in their persons, by Christ, to be disciples ; that as apostles, afterwards they might be sent to minister :—they who are pastors, are sent, by Christ, first as members, or in their persons and personal gifts ; that as pastors, they may afterwards be called to minister. And that Mr. Yates may have, for the calling of our ‘ prophets,’ whereon to insist ; thus we practise,—After the exercise of the public ministry ended, the Rulers in the church do publicly exhort, and require that such of their own, or other church, as have a gift to speak to the edification of the hearers, should use the same : and this, according to that which is written, where Paul and Barnabas coming into the Synagogue, ‘ the Rulers,’ after the work of the ordinary ministry was ended,—considering them not as ‘ apostles,’ which they acknowledged not, but only as men having gifts,—‘ sent unto them,’ that if they had ‘ any word of exhortation to the people ’ they should ‘ say on.’^b

“ Why doth he [Yates] not make Christ’s breathing upon the apostles, and the descending and sitting of the cloven fiery tongues upon them,^c causes of prophecy, as well as imposition of hands ?^d . . . It is indeed no more than a sign denoting the person, not a cause effecting the thing. . . . The gift of prophecy comes not by the office, but being found in persons before, makes them capable of the office by due means.^e

“ His affirmation, that the ‘ gifts ’ mentioned, 1 Cor. xii., are only ‘ extraordinary,’ I do deny. . . . The gift of ‘ discerning,’ ver. 10, both of doctrine and manners, is in a measure, required of every Christian.^f That is bestowed, by the Giver thereof, upon some, more liberally ; sometimes extraordinarily, as then upon some in some cases ; sometimes ordinarily, as both then and now, on all such as had and have more Christian discretion than other men. That ‘ interpretation of tongues,’ ver. 10, was as ‘ difficult as strange tongues immediately inspired,’ is not true. They who, Acts ii. 4, heard the apostles speak in their own tongue, and were able to speak the Jews’ language then in use, might interpret these ‘ strange tongues ’ unto the Jews without any extraordinary gift ; as Mr. Yates hearing a glorious Formalist

^a Page 2. ^b Acts xiii. 14, &c.—Page 6. ^c John xx. 22. ^d Acts ii. 3, 4.

^e Acts viii. 17 ; xix. 6. Tim. iii. 1, &c.—Pages 8, 9.

^f Phil. i. 9, 10. 1 John iv. 1. Heb. v. 14.

speak much Latin in a bad sermon, can interpret that strange tongue of his unto the people, without any extraordinary gift of interpretation : and so might it well be in the church of Corinth with some, though the tongue were given extraordinarily. It doth not show 'plainly' that 'prophecy' was 'more difficult' than 'strange tongues,' though all were true which he speaks of the difficulty thereof. For, by all reason and experience, a man then might, and now may, become an ordinary prophet, for ability by ordinary helps ; but so, neither could, nor can he speak a strange tongue, as there meant, but by extraordinary inspiration. That simple necessity of 'Commentaries, and Interpretations,' which he requireth for a man's becoming an ordinary prophet, I dare not acknowledge ; of great use they are, but not of simple necessity : " that prerogative royal of *simple necessity*, I would challenge as peculiar to the Holy Scriptures ; which are able to make 'the man of God perfect, fully furnished to every good work.'^b But where he adds that 'the Christian church had not the original tongues translated,' it is something for his, yea and for the Pope's purpose also, if it be true ; and, that the church, especially some good space after her constitution, might be without the Scriptures in a known tongue. But how unadvised and unskilful is he in so saying ; how detracting from God's gracious Providence towards his church ; and how partial on the Clergies' part, and against the Commonalty of God's inheritance ! . . The Corinthians had had Paul's, and other apostolical men's preachings and conferences amongst them a long time ; which were incomparably better than all the 'Commentaries' in the world. And for the Corinthians' ability for this work, it is but reason we respect this apostle's testimony of them, which is that they were 'enriched in all utterance, and in all *knowledge*.'^c In which two gifts, as the ability for ordinary prophecy doth properly consist, so to appropriate them unto extraordinary prophets, considering the generality of the apostle's speech and drift, with other circumstances elsewhere observed, were to fetter them in unjust bonds of restraint.^d

" 'Tongues,' considered in themselves, how rightly soever used, are not comparable for use, and so for excellency, unto *ordinary* prophesying or preaching considered in itself ; seeing that by *it*, as well as by extraordinary, saving 'faith' is wrought,^e which none can say of 'strange tongues' in themselves, without a strange tongue both from truth and sense ; no, not of any other spiritual gift !"^f

" For 'music,'" he says,^g "as without doubt many in that most rich and delicate city [Corinth], were expert in it, so what reason he [Yates] hath to require for the church-singing then in use, such study

^a Yates' words are, "How should either you or I come to be able to prophesy, except there were some skilful in the original tongues ; as likewise, the helps of commentaries and interpretations ? You see, God appointed these as means to help us to prophesy ; and where they are wanting, it is *simply impossible* for any man to become an ordinary prophet. Indeed, the Holy Ghost can supply the want of both these ; and, therefore, will you, nill you, it must be granted that this prophecy was extraordinary. For take away the ordinary means of prophecy, and then the thing itself will cease." Arg. iv.

^b 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

^c 1 Cor. i. 5.

^d Pages 18, 16, 19.

^e Rom. x. 14—17.

^f P. 28.

^g P. 28.

and art, I see not, except it be because he dwells too near a cathedral church! He may see for the plainness of singing used in former times,—and before the spouse of Christ, the church, in all her ordinances was, by Antichrist, stripped of her homely but comely attire, and tricked up with his whorish ornaments,—that which Austin hath of this matter.”^a

Yates remarks, in his eighth Argument, on the order which those who “prophesy” should observe so as not “for one prophet to disgrace another.” Robinson answers, “Now the exception of ‘disgrace’ to the former, by the latter’s speaking, is well to be minded, that it may appear how evil customs do infect the minds of godly men, so as they think it a ‘disgrace’ that one should give place to another to speak after him further, or otherwise than he hath done. But it was not so from the beginning; but since they who, under Christ, should be servants of the church have been her masters, and have exercised this magisterial teaching now in use, where, ordinarily, one alone in a church,—divers others, in divers places, better able than he, sitting at his feet continually to learn,—must be heard all his life long; thinking it a ‘disgrace’ to have another speak any thing further than he hath done; which was the very disease in the church of Corinth, wherein he that spake first would take up all the time himself.”^b To the ninth Argument, Robinson replies, “It is true that ‘spiritual men are called prophets;’ or rather prophets, spiritual men; by a gift of the Spirit; . . . whereupon it followeth, undeniably, that so many with us, or elsewhere, as have the ordinary gift or ability to prophesy, are prophets, though ‘out of office:’” and he quotes Rom. xii. 6, 7, inferring that “they, then, that have a gift, must prophesy according to their proportion.”^c

On considering “The Confirmation of the Scriptures and Reasons” brought in his Book, “to prove public prophesying out of office, by an ordinary gift,” Robinson had necessarily to retrace much of his former ground; but, though occupying many pages, nothing adapted to our present use offers itself, if we except the close, where he says, “The Lord give unto his People courage to stand for this ‘liberty’ amongst the rest, wherewith Christ hath made them ‘free;’ and, unto us who enjoy it, grace to use the same unto his glory, in our mutual edification.”^d

^a Confess. lib. x. cap. 13. ^b P. 32. ^c P. 33.

^d P. 77.—The controversy on the subject of these tracts of Yates and Robinson, was revived several years after; as exhibited in the following titles, “An Antidote against Lay-Preaching; or, The Preachers’ Plea.—In a Discourse answering such Objections which were given to a conscientious friend; who, for his satisfaction, requested a resolution. In which Discourse is proved, That Preaching of the Word is a Peculiar Calling, to be undertaken by none without a Special Call; and, That more is required in such who undertake it than Abilities: in which, likewise, other Incidental Questions and Cases, concerning the Profession of Preachers, are discussed.—Psalm lxxviii. 11. Heb. v. 4.—London. 1642.” 4to. pp. 44. Subscribed, “so says your friend, the servant of Jesus Christ, and of his servants which are in *Bengeo*, John Bewick.”—“A modest Examination of Laymen’s Preaching, discovered to be neither warranted by the Word of God, nor allowed by the Judgment or Practice of the Churches of Christ in New England. By Giles Workman, M.A. 1646.”—

Turning aside, for a little while, from the consideration and representation of what had been transacting in that country where our religion and liberty were still being cradled, we take occasion to draw attention to some particulars at home, commemorated, in our national histories, for showing the then state of morals and manners, and perceived now to have been the real causative preliminaries of those extraordinary events which will pass under review in their turns, but which kept as they happened successively, our forefathers and their contemporaries in one long gaze of amazement and horror.

James, after having practised so much of his boasted "king-craft" on our own countrymen as he was able, determined to visit his native land, to inflict upon it the curse of his presence and authority. He was discomfited, however, both here and there, by the "something" described to be "supernatural and unaccountable." Returning from this ill-fated visit to Scotland, in 1615, the king resolved upon that ill-omened measure which may be said to have sealed the fate of the dynasty of which he was the head. That we may be secured from the effects of being charged with misrepresentation, we shall set down the particulars of the matters under present notice, in the very words in which they are related by writers of eminence among the Episcopalians; Doctors Heylyn and Fuller, with Bishop Kennett.

The first of those historians informs us, that "The king had published a Proclamation, in the first year of his reign, prohibiting some rude and disorderly Pastimes,—as, namely, bull-baitings, bear-baitings, and common interludes,—from being followed on the Sunday, because they drew away much people from God's Public Service. And he had caused the morality of the Lord's-day-Sabbath, to be confirmed among the rest

"The Preacher Sent: or, A Vindication of the Liberty of Public Preaching, by some Men not Ordained. In Answer to two Books; 1. 'Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici, by the Provincial Assembly of London;' 2. 'Vindiciæ Ministerii Evangelici. By Mr. John Collings, of Norwich.' Published by John Martin, Minister of the Gospel, at Edgfield, in Norfolk. Sam. Petto, Minister of the Gospel at Sandcroft, in Suffolk. Frederick Woodal, Minister of the Gospel, at Woodbridge, in Suffolk. 1658." 12mo. pp. 359.—"Quo Warranto: A moderate Debate about the Preaching of Unordained Persons: Election, Ordination, and the Extent of Ministerial Relation. In Vindication of the 'Jus Divinum Ministerii,' from the Exceptions of a late piece, entitled, 'The Preacher Sent.' Written by the appointment of the Provincial Assembly at London; by Matthew Poole. 1659. 4to."—"A Vindication of 'The Preacher Sent; or, A Warrant for Public Preaching without Ordination. Wherein is further discovered, 1. That some Gifted Men unordained, are Gospel Preachers. 2. That Officers sustain not a relation, as officers, to the Universal Church. And other weighty questions concerning Election and Ordination, are opened and cleared. In answer to two Books, 1. *Vindiciæ Ministerii Evangelici Revindicatæ*; or, *The Preacher* (pretendedly) *Sent*, sent back again. By Dr. Collings, of Norwich.' 2. 'Quo Warranto; or, A moderate Enquiry into the warrantableness of the Preaching of Gifted and Unordained Persons. By Mr. Poole, at the desire and appointment of the Provincial Assembly of London.' With a Reply to the Exceptions of Mr. Hudson, [in his 'Vindication of the Church Catholic visible'], and Dr. Collings, against the 'Epistle' to *The Preacher Sent*. Published by Frederick Woodal, Minister of the Gospel, at Woodbridge, in Suffolk. Samuel Petto, Minister of the Gospel, at Sandcroft, in Suffolk. 1659." 12mo. pp. 213.

* Hume's Hist. Eng. chap. xlvii. an. 1617.

of the Irish Articles, *anno* 1615. Which condescensions were so husbanded by the Puritan faction, that by the raising of the Sabbath, they depressed the Festivals; and with the Festivals, all those ancient and annual Fasts which had been kept upon the Eves. . . By which, and by the temper of the present Government, they gave occasion to some preachers, and not a few public ministers of justice, in their several countries, to interdict all lawful sports upon that day. By means whereof, the people were persuaded by some priests and Jesuits, . . that the Reformed Religion was incompatible with that Christian liberty, which God and nature had indulged to the sons of men. And having brought them to that point, it was no hard matter to persuade them to fall off to popery. . . Which brought the king to a necessity of publishing his 'Declaration' about 'Lawful Sports.'"^a

The Book of Sports, as it is called, was drawn up by Bishop Morton, and is dated Greenwich, May 24th, 1618. It prescribes, "That for his good people's lawful recreation, his Majesty's pleasure is, that, after the end of Divine Service, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any *lawful* recreations; such as dancing, either of men or women; archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any such harmless recreations: nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, or Morrisdances, and setting up of Maypoles, or other sports therewith used, so as the same may be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or let of Divine Service: and that women should have leave to carry Rushes to the Church for the *decoring* of it, according to their old custom; withal prohibiting all *unlawful* games to be used on Sundays only, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and,—at all times, in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited,—bowling!"^b

Fuller says, when this "Declaration" was published, "It is not so hard to believe, as sad to recount, what grief and distraction thereby was occasioned in many honest hearts!" And, in enumerating the species of defence pleaded for it, he says, some considered, "which was *mainly* material, That this 'Declaration' was not dogmatical, or doctrinal, to say or aver these things to be theologically 'lawful;' but it was *edictum civile*, what the king thought fit, upon just reasons to permit."^c

The latest of our authorities, the Bishop of Peterborough, has furnished these remarks:—"Among all *dances* that these times were guilty of, none of the 'masquerades' presented so horrid a vizard as the Churchman's; for some of the Bishops, pretending recreations, and liberty to servants and common people,—of which they carved to themselves too much already,—procured the King to put out a Book, to permit dancing about maypoles; church-ales; and such debauched exercises, upon the Sabbath-day after evening-praying; being a specious way to make the King, and them, acceptable to the rout. . . This Book being only a trap to catch some conscientious men, that they could not otherwise, with all their cunning, ensnare; for they

^a Hist. Presb. lib. xi. p. 384.

^b Fuller's Church Hist. bk. xvii. p. 74.

^c *Ibid.*

would preach the Gospel in a 'fool's coat,' as some of them expressed, rather than be silenced for a surplice! And their conjuring of them with the Cross in baptism, and the circle of the Ring in marriage, could not make a well-composed reason, and a sound conscience, then start at it: but when so frightful an apparition as the Dancing-Book appeared, some of the ministers left all for fear; others, by force; they were so terrified at it. These, and such like, machinations of the Bishops, to maintain their temporal greatness, ease, and plenty, made the stones in the walls of their palaces, and the beam in the timber, afterwards to cry out, moulder away, and come to nothing! Whereas, if those in most authority had not been so pragmatical; but holy, prudent, and godly men,—as some others of the function were,—their light might have shined still upon the mount; and not have gone out as it did, offensive to the nostrils of the rubbish of the people! This new encroachment upon the Sabbath, gave both king and people more liberty to profane the day with authority."^a

Deferring to the time of its renewal, in the next reign, any other account of this reproachful transaction,^b we turn from that digression, to look into a small volume of but thirty-eight pages, intituled "An Answer to the Ten Counter-Demands propounded by T. Drakes, Preacher of the Word at H. and D. in the County of Essex. By WIL. EURING.—Prov. ix. 12.—Printed in the year 1619." 16mo. Of this author, we know no more than he tells in these words, "Good reader, bear with my unscholarship, for I have not been brought up among the Muses, but Mariners; and am unwillingly, though particularly drawn hereunto."^c He represents Drakes as having had of late, "much combating with the morris-dancing papists and atheists: . . and finding them too hard for him, . . he hath bethought him of another sort of adversaries with whom he hopes more easily to deal; and these are the poor 'Separatists,' against whom he hath also those morris-dancers, and many greater than they, to take his part. Them he encountereth, stoutly, with 'Ten Counter-Demands,' as he calls them; with which, as with so many 'iron horns,'^d he hopes so to shake the silly 'Separatists,' as not to leave them a whole bone in their skin! But why doth he call them 'Counter-Demands?' Not because he hath answered, but only seen, as I hear, Seven 'Demands' of theirs, some good space since propounded by them."^e

"Your first Demand is, 'Whether our Separation from your Church, or church-assemblies, of England, can, in any probability, be pleasing unto God; seeing it hath had, say you, such unhappy beginnings, and so many dismal and fatal events?' . . This your Demand is like as if a Canaanite, or Philistine, should thus have demanded of the

^a Complete Hist. of Eng. vol. ii. p. 709. The words are Wilson's in the Hist. of the Life, &c. of Jas. I. 1653. p. 105.

^b "Which raised great clamour at the present, but greater when revived in the reign of king Charles, [Oct. 18, 1633.] at what time we shall find Laud charged for republishing of it; so much the greater by how much the more the Sabbatarian doctrines had prevailed amongst us." Hist. of the Life and Death of the most Reverend and Renowned Prelate, William, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By P. Heylyn, D.D. 1668. fo. p. 78.

^c Pref. p. ii.

^d 1 Kings xxii. 11.

^e Pref. *passim*.

Israelites;—Whether is it like that the wars you hold against us, ‘can, in any probability, be pleasing unto God; seeing that they have had such unhappy success, with so many dismal and fatal events? Some, were burnt with fire; some, sunk into the earth alive; some, were destroyed of serpents; some, by the enemies’ sword;^a some, by the sword of their own brethren.^b Even Moses and Aaron, your first and greatest, yea, principal pillars of greatest reckoning, died in the desert for their sin. And, of ‘six hundred thousand men’ that came out of Egypt^c to fight against us, only two men are left alive!^d What think you, Sir? was this war, ‘in any probability, pleasing unto God?’ If you say Yea, you have answered your Demand yourself, and discovered your own folly; for thus you see a pagan might have pleaded against Israel,—God’s true church then,—with as much colour, and more truth, than you that are called a Christian, can do against us now!”^e

In answer to the Second Demand, “Whether our profession, religion, and discipline, as it standeth in opposition to your Parish-assemblies in England, and the rest of the Reformed Churches, can be of God, &c.; seeing that it hath no virtue, power, and efficacy in it,—as the Gospel preached in your Parish-assemblies, through God’s blessing abundantly hath,—to win, convert, and draw unto our party and profession, atheists, papists, heretics; rude, profane, &c.?” Euring says, “Your Demand is like as if a Canaanite should thus have demanded of Noah,^f Can this thy Ark-building, ‘be of God, &c.,’ seeing that in all this time there appeareth neither ‘virtue, power,’ nor ‘efficacy’ to ‘win, convert, and draw unto thy party,’ any at all? For thou canst hardly show any one person converted unto thee by thy preaching, or ark-building, these hundred and twenty years! . . . I pray you, Sir, consider with yourself, what answer you would have made, if any of your morris-dancing papists, or profane atheists, should have demanded the like of you? . . .

“Consider. Sir, we are a poor, weak, despised people here in England; hated and persecuted of all, or most part, in the land. And, therefore, if we have any meetings or coming together on the Lord’s-day, they must be very private, for fear of such persecuting adversaries as cannot endure, and are ignorant of the truth of God’s ordinances, to be taught and practised; so that ‘papists and atheists,’ and such like ‘profane,’ come not at our exercises. And, how is it possible we should convert any that come not to hear us? If we should demand of you, How many Turks and Saracens have been converted in your parish-assemblies? What answer would you give us, that will not answer yourself? To let pass the Churches in this way, beyond the seas, which have their more free meetings, and able ministries, and where this blessing of God in converting men is more seen than, I think, in any of the parishes that even you yourself were minister of,—though you have been in more than a good many, or than a good pastor should or would be,—I may boldly say that we, how few or mean soever we are, do ‘convert,’ more to our churches than you do to yours.” . . .

^a Num. xi. 1; xvi. 32, 33; xxi. 6; xiv. 45.

^c Exod. xii. 37. ^d Num. xxvi. 64, 65.

^b Exod. xxxii. 27.

Pages 1, 2. ^e Gen. vi.

"But, indeed, Sir, your following words, wherein you please to term us 'Refined Reformers,' saying that we 'seduce only the sound, and pervert and estrange from you those that are otherwise well-affected and of some understanding, &c.,' are worth the considering. And I entreat the godly readers to take knowledge of this that followeth: First, I profess, unfeignedly, with an upright heart, as in God's presence, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, that neither I myself, nor any other, to my knowledge, that professeth the same course of true Religion with me, did ever intend or once conceive so much as in thought, any one point or part of sedition, or evil conspiracy, against any man's person; much less against the King's Majesty, his royal state and government: but we do acknowledge his Majesty to be supreme governor in all his dominions, in all causes and over all persons of what estate or degree soever they be; and that no person may decline or appeal from his authority, or judgment, in any cause whatsoever; but that in all things obedience is due unto him, either *active*, if the thing commanded be not against God's Word, or *passive*, if it be, except pardon can be obtained: and hereunto, we do diligently exhort and provoke men at all times, &c. This, being, in the first place, considered, it is true that you say, *our* cause hath wrought most upon such as have some 'understanding' and knowledge, and are of tender consciences pliable to the Truth; others of more corrupt consciences have set against us, and against our cause, and blasphemed it, &c. The consideration of this, will, in any wise man's judgment, rather lead unto our cause, than from it, when the better sort, by your own confession, do come to us! . . .

"Your mighty reason, in the third Demand, *a minore ad majus*, which words indeed I understand not, is this; If, say you, 'our Lord Jesus, his disciples and people, did not separate from their synagogues and assemblies, that were, in faith and manners, more defective than ours are; much less ought they [you] to separate from our assemblies, wherein all the grounds of Christian religion are soundly held and professed!'—You might have added, and but few practise, neither of priests nor people; in whom, covetousness, wrath, envy, and contention, do daily abound; many thousands neither knowing, nor regarding to know, what true 'faith' meaneth. And for their 'manners,' which you would seem so much to commend, let the manners even of that parish-assembly wherein yourself did of late exercise your spiritual authority in vain; as also, the mannerly condition and conversation of almost all in general; testify how true this your bold affirmation of their 'manners' is. And withal, let the readers mind that although you boast of 'all the grounds of Christian religion,' yet it is but 'held and professed,' not practised among you. So that it may seem you believe also, that to hold and profess, without obedience, is sufficient for the salvation of the professors!" . . .

"Now to your fourth Demand, which is, 'Whether those great multitude of people spoken of, Matt. xiv. 13, &c., and John vi. 5, 10, 11, can, with any reason, be denied to be members of the visible church, though yet wanting the pretended constitution of the Separatists? And albeit many of them,' you say, 'were drawn, not by

doctrine, but by miracles, report, and with their desire to be fed, &c.' To this your Demand, I answer, directly, Yea. They may, with good reason grounded on the Word of God, speaking as you do of the 'multitude,' be denied to be 'members' of any 'visible church;' and this doth plainly appear in the same two chapters, namely, Matt. xiv., and John vi. [26], which may also be compared with other Scriptures, to prove the same. . . If you say, 'He taught them all together;' it is true, yet was it in parables; and afterward he expounded all things to his disciples apart.* And thus it doth plainly appear that the 'multitude' were not his 'disciples;' and consequently not 'members' of any 'visible church' of Christ. For then, he would not have sent them away empty in their souls, and full in their bodies; but he would have expounded all things to them all together, for their edification and further comfort. But the text doth plainly show the 'disciples' to be within, and the 'multitude' to be 'without;' Mark, iv. 10—12.

"And whereas you further Demand, 'Whether those three thousand in the second of the Acts, [verse 41], . . . were not true members of a true visible church before they had officers chosen among them?' . . . Now who can deny these 'three thousand,' though still the 'multitude' be denied, to be members of the true visible church, when the text saith they were 'added' to the church; although it should be granted that as yet they had no other 'officers chosen' but the apostles? But then say you, 'And why not our church-assemblies in England; much more grounded in the faith; a true visible church, &c.?' I answer, No, it will not follow; because, howsoever some few of you may be more 'grounded' in knowledge of the truth than they were, and thereby your sins and transgressions much greater against God, by knowing more and obeying less; your parish-assemblies were not, at the first, gathered from others by the preaching of the Word, their hearts being touched with godly sorrow for their sins; neither do they yet appear to be 'pricked in their hearts' for their sins. Your parish-assemblies do not 'gladly' receive 'the apostles' doctrine,' and continue therein 'with gladness of heart,' to be directed and ordered thereby, as they did; but 'every man,' among you, will do what his own heart listeth; . . . so that were it not for the laws of the nation and the power of the magistrates, restraining them more than the doctrine of Christ and the apostles, the manifold mischiefs that would be done by one against another among you, . . . is too manifest to be denied, and too shameful to be defended. . . You see and know that your parish-assemblies are so far from continuing 'in the apostles' doctrine,' that they neither know, therefore not receive, nor yet regard to know, what the wholesome 'doctrine' of the apostles meaneth! I speak not this of all in particular. The Lord knoweth my heart is far from so thinking. I know many that have tender consciences and loving affections, and do well regard the best things; but I speak generally of the conditions of the most, with whom the better sort stand, all, in the Communion, and in one order, or disorder rather, being mingled together all in one brotherhood. And that, not by personal failing, but by the very constitution and laws of your

* Mark iv. 10, 11, 34—36. Matt. xiii. 10, 11, 13—15, 36.

church, civil and ecclesiastical; clean contrary to the revealed will of God, in his Word.

“Even you yourself, Sir, that are a leader, and profess yourself to be a guide to the blind, you break the law of God, and defile his holy things. You ‘put no difference between the holy and profane,’ neither discern ‘between the unclean and the clean,’ so the Lord is ‘profaned’ among you.^a Consider, I pray you, and compare together, these few places of Scripture, Matt. xviii. 15—17. Rom. xvi. 17. 1 Cor. v. 11—13. 2 Thess. iii. 6, &c.; and then compare this order here appointed by Christ and his apostles, unto the order of your Church and parish-assemblies, and then you shall see, even by these few places of Scripture, how far you are from that holy order which Christ, in his last will and testament, hath given and appointed unto his visible church, to walk in, and to practise.

“You compel all that are of your parish, howsoever unworthy or unable, to pay their ‘offerings,’ and to receive the Communion; especially at your holy time of Easter. There is the table prepared, bread and wine set, come that will, and welcome!^b Yea, if they be dwelling in your parish, and will not pay their ‘offerings,’ and come to the Communion duly, they are, by you, presented into your ‘Spiritual Courts;’ thither they are summoned. If they appear not obediently, paying their fees, clearing the books, &c., they shall be, by that Court, excommunicated out of your parish-assemblies. And then, before they may be admitted again either to the forenamed banquet, or to your Divine Service, as you call it, their purses must pay dear enough for a blessing, or absolution; which they must receive humbly, on their knees before Master Commissary, or Master Chancellor’s worship. And if they die excommunicated before they have received this bouncing blessing, they may not be brought into your holy ground to be buried there, in Christian-burial, as you call it: unless their friends will first purchase absolution for them! If the mould of this come not from Rome, then I pray, Sir, show us where you learned it? For in the whole Bible, we cannot find any such ‘Spiritual order’ given or appointed by God unto his church!

“Your fifth Demand is, ‘Whether that in Constantine, the first Christian emperor’s time, and ever since unto Mr. John Calvin’s days, for the space of thirteen hundred years, there were no Christian Churches in Asia, Africa, and Europe, because they had the same outward constitution, formal state, bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and church government, for substance; and substance of doctrine; that our English Church hath, and retaineth, &c.’ To tell the truth, I know not well how to answer this your Demand: yet not because it is so divinely grounded on the Word of God; but only because I want school-learning and knowledge of ancient authors’ writings; as being not able to read and understand them. So that now you have me at a ‘*non plus* ;’ as wise men, and fools, use to say. Yet this is one thing much to be lamented, That a man of your place and learning should leave the Scripture, the true Word of the Living God, and thus inquire of the dead: but, according to the old proverb, ‘Like will to like!’

^a Ezek. xxii. 26.

^b Isai. lrv. 11, 12.

“ Thus much I say for answer to this your far-fetched Demand,— I do believe, and am fully persuaded, by the Word of God, that in whatsoever emperor's or king's time since the time of Christ ; in what nation or country soever, whether ‘ in Asia, Africa, Europe,’ or where-soever ; any church, or churches, hath been, is, or shall be gathered or constituted in any other manner, or by and with any other matter, under or unto any other worship, ministry, spiritual-governors, or spiritual government, than the same ‘ for substance,’ in manner and matter, which Christ and his apostles have appointed in the New Testament ; they are not the true visible churches of Christ . . . I see that you are not able to approve your Church by the Word of God, and therefore you are driven to make inquiry, and to look about you to see if you can espy and find out any other churches, though never so far off, whose ‘ constitution’ or gathering, ministry, and worship, ecclesiastical governors, and ecclesiastical government, is ‘ for substance’ like unto you ; hoping, by them, to justify yourselves. But how like it is, that other churches can afford you any help or safeguard, whenas by the verdict of God's Word you stand condemned, let the godly judge. ‘ He hath need of a staff, that leaneth on a broken reed !’ And yet, even for this your poor proof it is affirmed, by some who know those histories, that it is a very boast, without all truth, that the churches either in Constantine's time, or a long time after, were gathered by compulsion of all, tag and rag, in the empire, as yours are of all in the kingdom ; or that there were any such archbishops or lord bishops, with sole authority to rule and govern . . .

You yet further Demand, ‘ Why we do not in judgment assent unto any or all those Reformed Churches that with a joint consent,—as may appear,’ you say ‘ by the Harmony of Confessions,—acknowledge the Church of England to be a true church, and give it the right hand of fellowship ? How dare they,’ say you, ‘ refuse ? &c.’ To this, I answer,—I do not know that the Word of God bindeth us to ‘ assent’ unto the judgment of true churches, any further than we understand their judgment to ‘ assent’ with, and agree unto, the Word of God. True churches may err in their judgment of another church ; especially if they be not rightly informed of their estate. As it appeareth, the Reformed Churches are not rightly informed of yours. For, how then can they approve of the constitution, ministry, spiritual governors, and spiritual government of your Church, to be warrantable by the Word of God, but they must, in so doing, condemn themselves. For in all these points, they are as far contrary from you as white and black, true and false, are the one to the other ; and I suppose none will say, that two such contraries can be both true ! But mind withal ; the apostle saith to particular churches and persons, ‘ Judge ye what I say ;’^a Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, &c. ;^b and again, If any man preach otherwise unto you than we have preached, ‘ let him be accursed.’^c Now, you seem to teach us another Gospel ; for you would not have us ‘ judge’ and ‘ try’ ourselves and others by the Word of God, but send to other churches in Germany, in France, and Geneva ; to hear what they say, and what they ‘ judge’ for truth or

^a 1 Cor. x. 15. ^b 1 John iv. 1. ^c Gal. i. 8, 9.

falsehood. If they approve, who dare disallow? If they give 'the right-hand of fellowship,' how dare we 'refuse?' Thus you daub with 'untempered mortar.'^a Having nothing but such old popish valour to countenance your 'Counter-Demands,' doth ill besem a man of your place and learning...

"We have learned to live by *our own* 'faith';^b and to know that every man must 'bear *his own* burden,'^c and answer for *himself* unto God. . . As for the Reformed Churches, we believe that they rejoice for the many truths you witness against popery; and we, also do the like: but if you rely upon their approbation, and will not examine your ways, and try yourselves by the Word of God, you must perish in your sins, and *other* churches shall not be able to excuse or save you. . .

"Your seventh and eighth Demands are so much alike, that one may judge them to be twins. . . You write thus, 'How can the formal state, as they call it, of the provincial, diocesan, cathedral, and parishional churches of England, and the regiment thereof, be unlawful? &c.' . . I answer, That to hold and maintain a National Church; that is, to hold that any nation can be a church now, in the time of the Gospel, we deem to be erroneous and 'false;' and do affirm, that no warrant or defence for it can be found in the Word of God. It is a human invention, and differeth from the Testament of Christ, which sheweth many churches to be in a nation or country; as in Judea, Asia, Galatia, &c.;^d but not any nation to be a church. . . 'The name, calling, and office of these Bishops, whether,' say you, 'we respect ordination of ministers or power of jurisdiction, is the same, for substance, expressed in the New Testament: And this,' you say, 'hath been, and will be proved, seeing it hath a continual Succession from the apostles' time unto this day; &c.' . . Show me, for my learning, which of the apostles was the arch-apostle or archbishop, if you please so to call him, over or before all the rest; and from whom, or by what authority, he had that high place and lordly office? And also, where and with whom he left that his arch-metropolitan authority to lord it over the rest as these do, at 'this day,' as you say? . .

"You tell us of the Gospel 'soundly and substantially taught and professed; and the Sacraments so rightly administered and received' in your Church, 'as for proportion, no country in the world,' you say, 'nor national church whatsoever, can afford the like.' The like vain boast of all the grounds of Christian religion, soundly 'held and professed,' I met with in your third Demand; but neither there nor here you speak any word of the practice, . . and of the Kingly power and office of Christ governing your Church. Of these things, you say nothing; nothing how Christ ought to reign as King in his church, by his own laws and ordinances executed and administered in and by his own offices and officers which He hath given unto and appointed in his church for that work, Eph. iv. 11—13. Rom. xii. 6—9. Not a word of this! . . You may make your people think that Christ will be a Prophet to teach them,^e and a Priest to sacrifice for them;^f though he be not a King to rule and reign over them in and by his own laws and

^a Ezek. xiii. 10, &c.

^b Hab. ii. 4.

^c Gal. vi. 5.

^d Gal. i. 2, 22. Rev. 1, 4.

^e Acts iii. 22, 23.

^f Heb. v. 6, 7; vii. 17, 21.

officers. They, peradventure, know not, or dare not tell you, that this is a denying of a part of the mediatorship of Christ; therefore, Sir, as long as you can, let them not know the Kingly office of Christ; nor what the Holy Ghost saith in Luke xix. 27! Let them know no other government for the church of Christ, but your Spiritual Courts! It will serve their turn well enough, until the Lord shall move their hearts better to consider and discern the Truth of his will revealed in his Word; which, in his good time, he will do, unto all those that earnestly desire, and with upright hearts seek and labour to worship and serve Him 'in spirit and in truth.'^a

"And now, I will labour to show the deceit of your vain-glory, in boasting of the Word and Sacraments, which, you say, are so soundly taught and administered, &c. . . If your Church be, as you would make us believe, then show it, that we may see and discern whether it be soundly and substantially built of choice trees, and of precious living stones,—to the best of man's discerning,—hewed and squared and fastened together according to the heavenly pattern; every stone living, elect, and precious;^b—I say still in the best of man's discerning,—every stone having his beauty, his burden, and order. All of them, labouring to support one another, to edify one another, to exhort, to admonish, and reprove one another, that so they may be the habitation of God; as these Scriptures do show, Exod. xix. 5, 6; xxv. 8, 9, 40. 1 Chron. xxix. 2. Zech. xiv. 21, compared with Heb. viii. 1, 2, 5, 6, &c.; ix. 11, 14. 1 Pet. ii. 4, 5, 7—9. Acts ii. 37, 41, 42. Rev. i. 5, 6. Heb. iii. 13; x. 24, 25. Lev. xix. 17. Gal. vi. 1, 2; with many other. . . Of the incomparable beauty, and unutterable excellency of this spiritual temple, under the holy ministry and happy government of Christ; it must be such as none may grow or be planted there, until they be first cut off from their corrupt natural stock where they grew before; and then be grafted into the true olive tree, the true Vine. Yea, and being planted and ingrafted, that plant, that branch that bringeth not forth good fruit, but bringeth forth evil fruit, apparently, seen and known, must be cut off, and cast out.^c Now, show us your Church to be *thus* built, and *thus* ordered according to the Testament of Christ! I do not mean, thus built in perfect manner; but that every member of your Church in the planting thereof doth appear, in the best of man's discerning, according to godly judgment, in his or their measure hewn, fitted, and squared for the building, before he be fastened therein? For, as the apostle saith, We which live must no more live unto ourselves, but unto the will of Him that died for us, and rose again. We must be new creatures; for we are the workmanship of God, created anew into Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them.^d . .

"I will demand of you, this one question,—When the prophet Haggai reproved the Jews for that God's house was not builded among

^a John iv. 24. ^b 1 Pet. ii. 5, 6, 9.

^c Rom. xi. 17—21. 1 Cor. vi. 11. Tit. iii. 3, &c. Rom. vi. 4, &c. Matt. iii. 10; vii. 19; xv. 13. Luke xiii. 6. John xv. 6. Matt. xviii. 15—17. Rom. xvi. 17, 18. 1 Cor. v. 11—13.

^d Eph. iv. 22—24. 2 Cor. v. 15, 17. 1 Pet. iv. 3. Eph. ii. 10.

them ;^a would it have been a sufficient answer for them, think you, Sir, to have said to the prophet thus, We have costly and fair, sound and substantial ceilings of the sweetest and purest wood ; costly carved and curiously wrought, with many goodly and rich hangings, cushions, carpets, and curtains, with so many other costly and sumptuous ornaments and deckings ; yea, all whatsoever, according to the appointment of the law for God's house ; ' as, for the proportion, no country in the world can afford the like : ' Nay, Sir, admit they should also have said thus, And behold also, we have the foundation laid ; and we have many expert and excellent builders, all of them sound and learned workmen ; and for instruments, also, to hew and square the timber and stone, we have so good, as none can be better ; of which timber and stones also, we have so great plenty, and so excellent good, with all other things necessary to finish the building ; ' as, for proportion, no country in the world can afford the like ; ' therefore, although the stones be neither laid, nor squared ; nor the timber hewed, fitted, nor framed ; yet have we the house of God well builded !—What think you, Sir ; would this have been a sufficient answer to have satisfied the prophet ? If no ; consider then, how little your vain boast will stand you in stead, in the day of your appearing. Search the Scriptures, and you shall find there that every true visible church of Christ must consist of a company of people, be they many or few, that are called out and *separated* from the froward generation of the world, by the Gospel,^b and joined, or built together into a holy communion and fellowship among themselves ;^c all of them being, in their measure, Believers, ' pricked in their hearts' for their sins, and now labouring together to continue ' in the apostles' doctrine.'^d Being thus coupled and knit together, they are called, in the Scripture, ' The temple of God ;'^e the habitation of God ;^f ' the church of God ;'^g unto the which ' church' he ' daily' addeth those that he will save ;^h they are then called ' Saints ;'ⁱ they are called ' Holy brethren ;'^k they are called ' The body of Christ,' and ' members' for their part of the whole building of God.^l

" And now to your [ninth] Counter-Demand, which is, ' Whether any new laws can or ought to be made, or enacted ; or any further Reformation made ; without the Christian princes' or magistrates' consent, &c. . . And, whether, they have done well, to separate without the king's majesty's leave and license, and consent of the state.' . . I will demand of you these two questions, . . First, Whether Christ be not the only wise God and everlasting King, and perfect ' Lawgiver' to his church ;^m and, whether all kings, potentates, princes, and people, be not bound to submit themselves as true and faithful subjects unto him, and to his laws given unto his church : or, whether any, or all of them, may, by their royal power, learning, or authority, alter, change, leave out, or add unto, any of those laws which Christ hath already set forth, in His last will and testament ?—Secondly, Whether every particular

^a Chap. i. 2—7.

^b John xv. 19 ; xvii. 6, 9, 11, 14, &c. Acts ii. 40. 2 Cor. vi. 15, 18.

^c Acts ii. 41, 44. Eph. ii. 13, 19, 20, 22.

^d Acts ii. 37, 42.

^e 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17.

^f Eph. ii. 22.

^g 1 Cor. i. 2. 2 Cor. xi.

^h Acts ii. 41, 47.

ⁱ Rom. i. 7. 1 Cor. i. 1.

^k Heb. iii. 1.

^l 1 Cor. xii. 27.

^m Isai. xxx. 22. Jas. iv. 12.

man, and consequently all men, be not bound by the Word of God, to 'separate' themselves from every known sin and error,—whether in faith, or conversation of life,—that the Lord shall give him sight of: and, labour diligently, to reform themselves and their families according to the law and will of God, revealed in his Word, without the 'consent' of the Christian prince and magistrates under whom he [or they] live: or, whether they be bound to go on and continue still in their sin or error, and not to 'separate' from the same until they have first sued for and obtained the princes' and magistrates' 'leave and license, and consent of the state;' that is, indeed and briefly, Whether God must be God or not, except men will give him leave?

"Your tenth, and last Demand, is, 'Whether it were not the Separatists' best course, to return again to God's true church and people, from whom,' you say, 'upon some conceited hard dealing, they have made an unlawful rent; and there to confer with the best learned; and, if still their consciences be somewhat tender, to supplicate for some favour and liberty: or if,' say you, 'they will not take this course, whether it were not good for them, for the avoiding of scandal, and in expectance of some prosperous success by the permission of our noble King, and honourable Counsel, to remove to *Virginia*, and make a Plantation there, in hope to convert infidels to Christianity?' Although I can partly guess in what humour you propounded this your Demand, yet I will not answer you according to that your humour. . . I do once again, entreat you to show us the true form and fashion of your Church. And lay you apart all wrath and envious anger, that so we may together, in peace and love,—you with us, and we with you,—take a view and 'consider of your Church; and compare the form and fashion thereof with the form and fashion of the true visible church of Christ, as it is described unto you in the Scripture. . . And if this good and godly course may be accomplished, not only I myself, but all of us that now are separated from you, would much more willingly and gladly return again, and labour to plant ourselves again in the meanest part of England, to enjoy 'peace' with 'holiness,'* and to follow the Truth in love, among our kindred and friends in our own native country, than either to continue where now many of us as yet live, or to plant ourselves in *Virginia*, or in any other country in the world, upon any conditions or hope of any thing in this life whatsoever! Yet even for *Virginia*, thus much,—When some of ours desired to have planted ourselves there, with his Majesty's leave, upon these three grounds; first, that they might be means of replanting the Gospel amongst the heathen; secondly, that they might live under the king's government; thirdly, that they might make way for and unite with others, what in them lieth, whose consciences are grieved with the state of the Church in England;—the Bishops did, by all means, oppose them and their friends therein! . .

"And thus much, for answer to your 'Ten Counter-Demands;' nothing doubting but we shall be able to bear the weight of your next blow with patience, when it comes forth. . . I confess, that at the first sight or view hereof, this my harsh, rude, and unlearned writing, may

* Heb. xii. 14.

seem unpleasant and offensive; yet, upon better and more serious considerations, you shall have less cause to find fault: . . . consider, Sir, it is you that have drawn me to write, and therefore you have the less cause to be angry with me."

This production, interesting in itself, is the more so from being intimately connected with that with which this chapter commences; evinced by being printed at the same foreign press; and, by the initial letters W. E.,* in the Preface to Robinson's work, being the same with those of Euring's; besides the reference to "Virginia," above, the application of which will appear hereafter; and being also, probably, an instance proving the "People's" fitness "for the Exercise of Prophecy."

The Arminians and Calvinists in Holland, called there Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants, had been some time engaged in a hot controversy on subjects reduced, after much discussion, and agreed to be limited, to what are still termed in theology, "The five points;" election, redemption, original sin, effectual grace, and perseverance. The States-General convened, after some political manœuvring, a Synod of Protestants from all the European States, to assemble at the city of Dort; for the purpose of bringing this dispute to a peaceable, but it should seem, preconcerted, termination. The Synod continued from Nov. 13th, 1618, to May 29th, 1619; having held a hundred and eighty sessions. James being, it is said, applied to,^b deputed, without consulting the Church of England,^c the doctors, Carleton, Davenport, Hall, Ward, and subsequently Goad, who were assisted by the "memorable Hales of Eton," then chaplain to the English ambassador; with instructions to the ministers of "those distracted churches," that they "do not deliver in the pulpit, to the people, those things for ordinary doctrines, which are the highest points of schools, and not fit for vulgar capacity."^d The whole Synod swore, at their twenty-third session, "not to make use of any kind of human writings, but only of the Word of God, as a sure and infallible Rule of Faith."^e Carleton, then bishop of Landaff, told some of the divines at the Synod, that "The cause of all their troubles was because they had no Bishops amongst them, who, by their authority, might repress turbulent spirits that broached novelty; every man having liberty to speak or write what they list."^f

How "deeply pregnated" James's agents were, to act agreeably to his wishes, may be imagined; they were received and treated, indeed, with distinguished respect, and their sentiments were listened to with marked deference. Nothing could, however—it has been observed—"be less edifying than to see a Protestant prince, who, not contented to

* See back, p. 353.

^b Heylyn's Hist. Presb. bk. xii. p. 396.

^c Harris's Life of James I. 1772. 8vo. p. 127.

^d Fuller's Church Hist. bk. xvii. p. 78. Art. 4.

^e La Roche's Abridg. of Brandt's Hist. Reform. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 417.

^f Heylyn, *sup.* p. 400.—So Richard Hooker, *ycleped* "Judicious," had said likewise; "Schism and disturbance in the Church, must needs grow, if all men might think what they list, and speak openly what they think." Answ. to Travers. 1591. p. 367. Vol. iii. of Hanbury's Edit. of Hooker's "Eccles. Polity, and other Works. 1630."

persecute the heterodox in his own kingdom, exhorts the potentates of the same religion to imitate his conduct."^a And another writer has derived this fair and valuable inference from the attendance of the British divines; that it was "an open acknowledgment of the validity of Ordination by mere presbyters; here being a Bishop of the Church of England sitting as a private member in a Synod of divines, of which a mere Presbyterian was the president."^b Heylyn had, indeed, previously, remarked the inconvenience of this act, where, speaking of Carleton, he describes him as "having too much debased himself beneath his calling, in being present in a Synod, or Synodical meeting, in which an ordinary Presbyterian was to take the Chair, and have precedence before him." And reciting the bishop's protestation against the "strange conceit of the parity of ministers," Heylyn adds, strangely indeed, "But it was only he and his associates which conceived so of it!"^c

CHAP. XXI.

ROBINSON'S APOLOGY.

THE latter paragraphs of the chapter preceding, contain a suitable preparation for the principal subject comprised in this chapter on which we are now entered. The preliminary measures for holding the Synod of Dort could not but afford a fit opportunity for submitting to the most learned divines of the whole Protestant community, the principles and true condition of that little section of the church of Christ planted temporarily round about the locality within which the authoritative assembly was convoked; their real circumstances being little known or understood, and their characters having been to this time assiduously calumniated. That such were the inducements supplied by the occasion for composing a statement concerning themselves in the then common medium of communication among the learned, these titles seem to confirm:

"*Apologia justa et necessaria quorundam Christianorum, æque contumeliose ac communiter dictorum 'Brownistarum' ac 'Barrowistarum.'* 1619." 12mo. pp. 96.

"A just and necessary Apology of certain Christians, no less contumeliously than commonly called 'Brownists' or 'Barrowists.' By Mr. John Robinson, Pastor of the English Church at Leyden. First published in Latin, in his and the Church's name over which he was set; after, translated into English by Himself; and now, republished for the special and common good of our own Countrymen.—Psal. xli. 1. 'O blessed is he that prudently attendeth to the poor weakling.'—Printed in the year of our Lord 1625." 4to. pp. 72.

This treatise consists of twelve chapters; but the edition of 1644,^d

^a La Roche's Abridg. of Brandt's Hist. Reform. 8vo. vol. i. p. 319:

^b Neal, Hist. Purit. vol. ii. ch. ii.

^c Hist. Presb. *sup.* p. 400.

^d 24mo. pp. 66. printed in very small type.—It may be useful to inform some readers and to remind others, that it was during the sittings of the

is accompanied by "An Appendix to M. Perkins, his 'Six Principles of Christian Religion,'" occupying seven additional pages.

The Introduction opens with a remark on Heresy, and the danger it brings the soul into; but that "well it is for the Servants of Jesus Christ," that *he* is "their Judge." "Surely," adds Robinson, "I, and they with me, have need to get this Divine comfort deeply printed in our hearts, whose profession gives occasion to many, as doth our condition liberty unto all, to spare no severity of censure upon us." "Four sorts of heavy friends," he says, "we have found; .. The unhallowed multitude:" They who are "enamoured" with the Romish hierarchy: They who are "so servilely in bondage, themselves and their consciences, either to the edicts of princes, or to the determinations of certain Doctors, or to both these jointly, as that they think nothing well done, in case of Religion, which either these touch not, or they command not; and, on the other side, almost any thing warrantable which is commended by the one of them, or commanded by the other. And as of these, some are so transported with waspish zeal as they can scarcely, without a fit of an ague, either speak to or think of him who a little steps out of his road; so others of them are so cunning, and wot so well how to make their market, that though they be indeed almost likeminded with us in all things, yet do they vehemently affect unchristian enmity with us; not because *they* themselves judge us so deserving; but *others*, whom therein they think it a point of their wisdom to gratify:" And, the last sort are, They "who, through credulity, .. have their ears open to the false and feigned suggestions of slanderous tongues..."

"Now, alas! what sufficient bulwark of defence have we poor people, to oppose unto the violence of so many, and so mighty adversaries? .. Two opprobriums, amongst others infinite, have been of late, by our adversaries, cast upon us; by which we are not only occasioned, but, after a sort, necessitated to the publishing of this our Apology. ... The former, by some of those, who in our own country, are reputed the chief Masters and Patrons both of religion and truth; by whom there hath been, not a flying bruit spread amongst the multitude, but a solemn accusation to them in special authority, framed against us,—first, That we 'lewd Brownists' do refuse and reject one of the Sacraments; secondly, That we have amongst us no ecclesiastical Ministry,

famous council of Trent when bishop Jewell composed and published in the year 1562, his *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, or "Apology of the Church of England;" and that subsequently to this of Robinson's, the Protestants in France finding themselves in danger of being compelled in the year 1633 to observe the "Fête de Dieu," or, to reverence the Host, the pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris, John Dailé, drew up, and, with others, presented to the king and his council "Une *Apologie des Eglises Reformées*, ou est montré la nécessité de leur separation d'avec l'Eglise Romaine:" translated by Thomas Smith of Cambridge under the title of "An Apology for the Reformed Churches; wherein is showed the Necessity of the Separation from the Church of Rome: Against those who accuse them of making a Schism in Christendom." 1653, 16mo. "Through God's blessing," remarks the editor of this edition, "it prevailed with them so far, that the said destructive counsels were rejected." *Pref.* p. 5.

but do give liberty to every mechanical person to preach publicly in the church; thirdly, That we are in error about the very Trinity; fourthly and lastly, That being become so odious to the Magistrates here, as that we are by violence to be driven the country, we are now constrained to seek some other and far part of the world to settle in! The other contumely, is in a Dutch rhyme, without name. . . This ballad-maker, —comparing the received religion in the Dutch churches to a tree; the sectaries in the country, of which he nameth not a few, to certain beasts endeavouring this tree's ruin and overthrow;—likens the 'Brownists' to a little worm gnawing at the root thereof, and not having less will but less power to hurt than the residue! We are, indeed, 'worms and not men; the reproach of men, and despised of the people,'* whom high and low, and all that will, may, without danger, trample under foot. . .

"Touching the Reformed Churches, . . we account them the true churches of Jesus Christ, and both profess and practise communion with them in the holy things of God, what in us lieth; their sermons, such of ours frequent as understand the Dutch tongue; the sacraments we do administer unto their known members, if by occasion any of them be present with us; their *distractions* and other evils we do seriously bewail, and do desire from the Lord their holy and firm peace. But, haply, it will be objected, That we are not like-minded with them in all things; nor do approve of sundry practices in use amongst them, if not by public institution, which it seems they want, yet by almost universal consent and uniform custom. I grant it. Neither doubt I but that there are many godly and prudent men in the same churches, who also dislike, in effect, the things which we do; and amongst other things, this malapert and unbridled boldness of unskilful men, who make it a very May-game to pass most rash censure upon the faith, and so, by consequence, upon the eternal salvation of their brethren; and to impeach their credit whom they neither do, nor, perhaps, willingly would know, lest that which they lust to condemn unknown, they should be constrained to allow if they once knew it; and, withal, to disallow that into which they themselves have been led formerly by common error of the times. . .

"That it may appear unto thee, Christian reader, wherein we do dissent from the Dutch Reformed Churches, and upon what grounds; and, that none may take occasion of suspicion that the things are either greater or more absurd, for which those hateful 'Brownists' are had, by many, in such detestation, than in deed and truth they are; I will, briefly, as I can, present unto thy Christian view either all, or the most, and our greatest differences, with the grounds thereof.

Chap. i. "Of the largeness of Churches."—Here Robinson falls at once upon the point of distinction between the Christians within the bounds of a city or other place being all considered but one church, though assembling in "divers temples;" and, there being so many distinct churches as can only meet together, ordinarily, in one place. He adduces various texts, and supports his views by saying, "There is then had the most full and perfect communion of the Body in the holy

* Psal. xxii. 6.

things of God, which is the next and immediate end of the 'visible church,' when all the Members thereof do convene in some one place.^a And if Nature, as philosophers teach, ever intend that which is most perfect, much more, Grace. Now that the Church, commonly called 'visible,' is then most truly visible indeed, when it is assembled in one place; and the communion thereof then most full and intire, when all its members, inspired, as it were, with the same presence of the Holy Ghost, do, from the same Pastor, receive the same provocations of Grace at the same time and in the same place;—when they all, by the same voice, 'banding, as it were, together,'^b do with one accord, pour out their prayers unto God;—when they all 'participate' of one and the same holy bread;^c—and, lastly, when they all together consent unanimously, either in the choice of the same officer, or censuring of the same offender;—no man, admitting a due thought of things, can make doubt of! . . .

"In huge and vast flocks, the governors cannot take knowledge of the manners of the people, private or public; no, not so much as of their presence at or absence from the church assemblies: whereby, what damage cometh unto true piety, any man may easily conjecture, and miserable experience makes too, too manifest in the Reformed Churches . . .

"If any object, That there is one visible and catholic church comprehending, as the parts thereof, all the particular churches and several congregations of divers places, as there is one ocean, or sea, diversly called, according to the divers regions by whose shores it passeth; and, that therefore this matter is not worth labour spending about it: I answer, first, That the 'catholic' church neither is nor can be called 'visible,' since only things singular are visible and discerned by sense; whereas, universals, or things catholic, are either only in the understanding, as some are of mind; or, as others think better, 'are made such,' to wit, universals, 'by the understanding abstracting' from them 'all circumstantial accidents, considering that the kinds intelligible have their existence in nature,'^d that is, in the individuals. The catholic church, with due reverence unto learned men be it spoken, is very unskillfully said to be one as the sea is one. For, first, it is expressly said, Gen. i. 9, 10, that the waters which were under the heavens were gathered 'into one place' or conceptacle, which God called sea, or 'seas.' But the catholic church, which is said to comprehend all particular congregations in her bosom, is not gathered together into one place, nor ever shall be, before the glorious coming of Christ. Secondly, The ocean is a body so continued as that all, and every part thereof, is continually fluent, so as the self-same waters which in their flux do make one sea, do in their reflux by contrary winds make another, and so contrariwise. But thus to affirm of particular churches and their material constitutive cause, were most absurd. Thirdly, if some one particular sea were drawn dry, or should fail in his [its] course, a disturbance of all the rest would necessarily follow: but and if the sea should in divers places at once happen to be

^a Acts ii. 42. Heb. x. 25. ^b Tertul. Apol. cap. xxxvii. ^c 1 Cor. x. 17.

^d Sadell. cont. Turr. solut. 2. Syllog. in Matt. xviii. Scalig. de Subtilo exer. 307.

exhausted or drawn dry, there would then be a failing of the ocean: neither were the waters now gathered into one place; neither made they one sea and body of water either continued or conjoined. But now, on the other side, upon the defection or dissipation of this or that particular church, no such impediment should come in the way, but that the rest might hold their full course as before. Yea, I add moreover, if all and every particular assembly in the world should languish and fall away, one only excepted, that only one would still remain the true and intire church of Christ, without any either subordination or coordination, or dependency spiritual, save unto Christ alone. The reason is plain, because this singular and sole assembly may, under Christ the head, use and enjoy every one of his institutions; the communion of saints combined together in solemn and sacred covenant; the Word of God; sacraments, censures, and ministrations whatsoever by Christ appointed; and therewith the same Christ's most gracious presence...

"There is, indeed, one church, and, as the apostle speaketh, 'one body,' as 'one Spirit, one hope of our calling, one faith, one baptism';^a that is, of one kind and nature; not one in number, as one ocean. Neither was the church at Rome, in the apostles' days, more one with the church of Corinth, than was the baptism of Peter one with Paul's baptism, or than Peter and Paul were one. Neither was Peter or Paul more one whole, intire, and perfect man,—consisting of the parts essential and integral,—without relation unto other men, than is a particular congregation, rightly instituted and ordered, a whole, intire, and perfect Church, immediately, and *independently*,^b in respect of other churches, under Christ!...

"Any citizen of Leyden may enjoy certain privileges in the city of Delph, by virtue of the politic combination of the United Provinces and cities, under the supreme heads thereof, the States General; which he is bound also to help and assist with all his power, if necessity require; but that the ordinary magistrate of Leyden should presume to execute his public office in the city of Delph, were an insolent and unheard-of usurpation. The very same, and not otherwise, is to be said of Pastors, and particular churches, in respect of that spiritual combination mutual, under their chief and sole Lord, Jesus Christ."

Chap. ii. "Of the administration of Baptism.—The Dutch Reformed Churches, as is evident by their practice compared with their profession, are neither so true unto their own grounds as they ought to be; neither do they so well provide for the dignity of the thing, whilst they administer the sacrament of Baptism to the Infants of such as are not within the Covenant, nor have either parent a member of any church." Robinson proceeds after this, to reason from the nature of this "seal," that it ought not to be administered without "faith coming between, either of the party to be baptized, or of one parent at the least." If it be said, that God's gracious promise is extended to those "afar off;" our author

^a Eph. iv. 4, 5.

^b To this word and place, the denominational distinction, Independent church, is commonly assigned; but its origin is more fittingly assigned to a date at least seven years prior. See back, p. 231.

replies, "I grant it, except infidelity, or other sin, come between, by which the parents with themselves break off their seed, externally, and actually from the communion of the church." He decides, "That the 'seal of the righteousness of faith,'^a which Baptism is, doth no more belong to the "seed" of godless parents, than doth the comfort flowing from the righteousness of faith unto the parents themselves." And, with Tertullian, he concludes, Let such children come, "when they are grown to years; let them, when they have learned and are taught wherefore they come; let them then be made Christians [baptized] when they can know Christ."^b

Chap. iii. "Of written Liturgies.—We cannot but mislike that custom in use, by which the Pastor is wont to repeat and read, out of a Prayer-book, certain forms for his and the church's prayers; and that, for these reasons,—First, Because this external mean and manner of worshipping God in Prayer, is nowhere found in the written Word; by the prescript whereof alone He is to be worshipped,^c whatsoever either the Jews fable of the Liturgy of Ezra; or the papists of St. Peter's, or St. James's Liturgies. Yea, contrariwise, I add, for over-plus, that it did not seem good to the apostles, the last penmen of the Holy Ghost, that any such prescript form for such end should come in use in the churches. And this seemeth unto me very clear, from the former epistle of Paul to Timothy, chap. ii. 1, &c. The 'kings' of the earth, in those days, and such as were 'in authority' under them, being, as it were, so many sworn enemies of the name of Christ; this conceit might easily, and it seems did, creep into the minds of divers Christians, that these kinds of men were rather to be prayed against than for, by the servants of Christ. And now, what was the medicine prescribed by the apostle for this malady, in that epistle written to Timothy, for that very end that he 'might know how to converse in the church of God?'^d Did he now, either send Timothy to any Liturgy formerly set forth for his own and others' direction? Or, did he himself frame any for the purpose; whose beaten road the churches, following afterwards, should not err [mistake]? Nothing less! Although a more fit and full occasion for that business scarce were offered: which, without doubt, Paul would no more have let slip, than did the other apostles that which was more light for the introduction of Deacons,^e if it had seemed good to the Holy Ghost,—by whose finger he was guided in the ordering of the churches,—that any such Book-Prayer should have come into use.

"Three things, especially, are objected, which must here be cleared. The first is, that David and other prophets penned the book of Psalms for the mother-church of Israel: the second, that Christ himself delivered to his disciples a certain Form of Prayer, commonly called 'The Lord's-prayer': the third, that Moses, from the Lord, gave direction to Aaron and his sons in what form of words they should 'bless the children of Israel.'^f . . . What can be spoken more insolently! Christ the

^a Rom. iv. 11. ^b Tert. de Bapt. cap. xviii. Junii Annot. in id. cap.

^c Isai. xxix. 13. Mat. xxviii. 20. Col. ii. 23. ^d 1 Tim. iii. 15.

^e Acts vi. ^f Num. vi. 22.

Lord, Moses, the prophets, and apostles, being immediately and infallibly guided by the Spirit of Christ, have prescribed certain set forms of God's worship; therefore others, though not immediately and infallibly guided by the same Spirit, may also prescribe them! Why may they not, by this argumentation, as well frame us a new canon of holy Scriptures, considering that even these very forms, wherewith also they equalize their own, are parts and portions of the same Scriptures? . . . I deny that there is the same reason of a prayer, and of a psalm; or, whereupon the difference hangeth, that singing and praying are all one. For the question is not,—which I desire the reader, once for all, to bear in mind,—either of the internal affection of him which singeth or prayeth, or of the subject matter, . . . but of the external act, and exercise of praying and singing. Now these two exercises, both the holy Scriptures, and common sense in every man that pleaseth but to open his eyes and look upon them, do plainly difference. If to sing be to pray, then whosoever singeth prayeth; but how far from truth this is, the Psalms of David, first, second, and many others in which not the least parcel of prayer is to be found, do plainly evince. . . . If any going out of the temple whilst the church were singing a psalm, either before or after sermon, being asked of one that met him, 'what the church were then doing?' should answer, 'That it were at prayer,' would he not be judged by all men to tell a lie? But altogether without cause, if to sing be to pray, as many imagine.

"Touching the Lord's-prayer, . . . divers unskilful men cease not still to sing unto us, even to loathsomeness, the song, 'When ye pray, say;' as the papists do theirs, 'This is my body:' as though the controversy were about the words, and not rather about the meaning of them. But for that we are very odiously traduced by divers, as abhorring this form; and that we will not, as they use to speak, say the Lord's-prayer; I will, in few and plain terms, set down what our judgment is about it. And seeing that, as the poet hath it, 'The names do commonly suit with the things,' we may see and sorrow withal, in the phrases in common use about this most Christian duty of Prayer, what it is with the unhallowed multitude of Christians to pray; namely, to 'say prayer,' to 'read prayer,' to 'hear prayer,' and rather any thing than indeed to pray; that is, than to pour out the conceptions of a godly and devout mind unto God, from faith and feeling of our wants, by the Holy Ghost.—We do affirm, that this form of words is improperly, how commonly soever, called 'The Lord's-prayer;' as neither being a prayer as it is the Lord's, nor the Lord's as it is a prayer. As it is of the Lord Christ, and so the Lord's,—whether by himself uttered in words; or committed to writing by his evangelists,—it hath the consideration and respect of a sermon, and of evangelical doctrine, in which Christ taught his disciples; and not of a prayer put up to his Father: as, on the contrary, it neither was, nor could be, used prayerwise by Christ, in so many words; with whose most perfect sanctimony it did not agree for Him to say, 'forgive us our trespasses.'—We do firmly believe that all and every both church and person is bound always to pray, as Christ hath there taught. Whether we respect the matter there propounded, or the affections there enjoined, or the commodious

and compendious simplicity which Christ our Saviour, and only Master, there opposeth both to the vain babblings and oft repetitions of the heathen; and, that in these things, and them alone, the commandment of Christ doth consist, we both firmly believe and confidently avow.—And, lastly, we doubt not but that this very form of words may be, and is, rightly used in prayer unto God, provided there be neither opinion of necessity, by which superstitious persons think themselves stinted by the Lord to words and syllables; nor of perfection, by which many are of mind that they have then at the last, and not before, prayed perfectly, when they have repeated this form of words.

“And it is well, if some spot of this mire cleave not to the fingers of many Ministers, which make it a matter of great conscience to conclude their and the church's prayers, applied specially to the present state of things, with this number and measure of words. Which custom, as it is used very commonly, so, in my judgment, with no great reason, for these two causes: First, It seems to cross all good order and method by which men should descend from the more general unto that which is more special; and not go the clean contrary way, as in this they do. Secondly, Since the rule, according to philosophy and good reason, is always before the thing ruled; and that this form is, by Christ, instituted for this purpose, that it might be the rule and square of *all* our prayers, and, as Tertullian saith, ‘is premised as the foundation of all our necessary desires,’ methinks the same should rather be used in the first place; upon which, as the same author hath it, ‘every one should build the circumstances of his occasioned requests.’”

“We dislike all reading of prayer in the act of praying, as inconvenient, yea directly contrary unto that act. In prayer we do pour out matter, to wit, the holy conceptions of the mind, from within to without; that is, from the heart to God: on the contrary, in reading we do receive and admit matter from without to within; that is, from the book into the heart. . .

“If to read a form of prayer be to pray aright, and, pastor-like, no probable reason can be rendered wherefore to read a sermon or homily is not as well to preach aright and as is required of the pastor of the church. Which so being, small reason had the apostle, treating of the ecclesiastical ministry, which principally consists in these two exercises, to cry out as he did, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’^b For who is not sufficient, even of the vulgar sort? who cannot *read* a Liturgy, and a Homily? . .

Chap. iv. “Of the Ecclesiastical Presbytery.—We do so acknowledge and approve of, as Divinely instituted, the Presbyteries of the Particular Churches, as withal, we judge them sundry ways defective. As, first, we require that all received into the college and company of Elders, even those which are called ‘governors,’ should be ‘apt to teach,’^c and ‘able to exhort with sound doctrine, and convince gain-sayers;’^d and that, not only privately, or in the consistory, but in the public assembly also, as the nature of their public office requireth.

^a Lib. de Orat.^b 2 Cor. ii. 16.^c 1 Tim. iii. 2.^d Tit. i. 9.

I am not ignorant what that learned man, Gersom Bucer, in his late Treatise, hath published about this matter;^a neither do I unwillingly assent thereunto, provided only that what he requires in those Elders, *that* they be able to perform publicly, and in the church-assembly,—if not exactly, yet competently.

“A second defect which we wish supplied, is that [instead] of annual, or triennial, or temporary, they might be perpetual and for life,—except by some casualty or occurrence, they be disabled,—as the Pastors themselves [are]. This term of years for the Elders' administration in the Reformed Churches, the forenamed author, in the same place, doth not so much defend as excuse;^b but it seemeth rather needful to have it reformed, which is also the desire of the said learned man, and that for these reasons,—The apostle Paul calling unto him ‘the Elders of the church’ of Ephesus to Miletus,^c doth pronounce of them all, as well the governors, as those that laboured in the Word, that they were made Bishops, or overseers, of the same church, ‘by the Holy Ghost.’^d Now the authority of that the Appointer, ought to work in the appointed great conscience not lightly to relinquish that charge which, by the disposition of the Holy Ghost, they had taken upon them.—The same apostle doth, in the same place, admonish and exhort the same Elders, that they should ‘take heed’ unto themselves, and to ‘all the flock,’ lest the same, after his departure, should unhappily be damnified; either by ‘wolves’ entering in among them, or such as should rise up from themselves, ‘speaking perverse things.’^e Now, if the date of their Eldership and charge were shortly to be out, they might well think with themselves that the apostle's admonition for aftertimes did not much concern them. . . —It was sacrilege for the Levites, being consecrated to the Lord for the service of the tabernacle and temple, to retire from the office undertaken by them; although, age growing upon them, they were exempted from some, the more laborious works of the ministration.^f How then is it lawful for the Elders, or Deacons? . . . Lastly, the apostle Paul instructing the church, in Timothy, to ‘keep the commandment’ of Christ ‘unrebukeable,’ until his glorious appearing,^g doth not permit, no not the Widows and Deaconesses to relinquish the office once taken upon them,^h . . . how much less lawful is it for the Elders, or Deacons of the church, whose both condition and ministry is far more excellent, for far lighter causes to look back and relinquish their vocation? . . .

“A third thing there is, and that of most moment, namely, That the Elders do not administer their public office publicly, as they should, but only in their private consistory. And first, the administration of every office doth, in right, follow the nature of the same; whether domestical, in the family; or civil, in the commonwealth; or spiritual, in the church. The Elder's office then, being public, requires answerable and public administration. Not that it is unlawful for the Elders to convene and meet apart from the Body, and to deliberate of such things as concern the same, and so to do sundry things by virtue of

^a Dissert. of Christian Gov. p. 32, 33, 44.

^c Acts xx. 17. ^d Ver. 28. ^e Ver. 30.

^f 1 Tim. v. 21; vi. 14. 1 Cor. xiv. 37.

^b *Ibid.* p. 34—36.

^g Num. viii. 25, 26.

^h 1 Tim. v. 11, 12.

their office; but because that is not sufficient, neither do they indeed 'fulfil' their public and church-office which, 'in the Lord,' they have 'received,'^a except as privately and in their consistory, so also—and that specially—publicly and in the face of the congregation, they execute the same. . .

"Let us descend unto some such particulars as in which the Elders' office seemeth specially to consist. And they are, The admitting of Members into the church, upon profession of faith made; and, The reproving and censuring of obstinate offenders, whether sinning publicly, or privately with scandal. As we willingly leave the execution and administration of these things to the Elders alone, in the settled and well-ordered state of the church, so do we deny plainly that they are or can be rightly and orderly done but with the People's privity and consent! . . . If Baptism, the consequent of the confession of faith in them baptized, and the badge of our consociation with Christ and his church, be to be celebrated publicly; why is not the profession of faith proportionably,—although by the formerly baptized through a kind of unorderly anticipation,—to be made publicly also, and therewithal the consociation ecclesiastical, as the former? The covenant privately made, and the seal publicly annexed, are disproportionate. . .

"The word 'Ecclesia,' church, originally Greek, answering to the Hebrew קהל 'Kahal,' doth primarily and properly signify a convention of citizens called from their houses by the public crier, either to hear some public sentence, or charge, given: but translated to religious use, [it] denoteth an assembly of persons called out of the state of corrupt nature into that of supernatural grace, by the publishing of the Gospel. Now the Elders or Presbyters, as such, are, and so are said to be, *called*, to wit, to their office of Eldership, but *called out* they are not; being themselves to *call out* the church, and unto it to perform the crier's office. Neither do I think that the name 'Ecclesia,' church, hath been used, by any Greek author, before the apostles' times, or in their days, or in the age after them, for the assembly of *sole* governors in the act of their government, or indeed before the same governors had seized into their own and only hands the churches' both name and power.

"But you will say, as learned men use to do, that these Elders sustain the person of the whole multitude, and supply their room, for the avoiding of confusion; and so are rightly, as commonly, called 'The church-representatives.'—I answer, first, No godly, no, nor reasonable man, will affirm, that this representation is to be extended to all the acts of religion, or indeed to others than these which are exercised in the governing of the church. What is it then? The Elders, in ruling and governing the church, must represent the People, and occupy their place. It should seem then, that it appertains unto the People,—unto the People primarily and originally, under Christ—to rule and govern the church, that is, themselves. But who will so say of a government not personal, but public, and instituted, as the church's is? If the Elders, in their consistory, represent the church,

^a Col. iv. 17.

then whatsoever they either decree or do agreeing to the Word of God, whether respecting faith or manners, that also the church decreeth and doth though absent; . . . this being the nature of representations, that what the representing doth, within the bounds of his commission, that the represented doth primarily, and much more as but using the other for his instrument: now, how dissonant this is to true faith and piety; how consonant unto the papists' implicit faith, no man can be ignorant; and I had rather wise men should consider, than I aggravate. . .

"Surely, if ever it did or could appertain to any church officers or governors whatsoever, to represent the church-assemblies, in elections, censures, and other ecclesiastical judgments and occurrences; then, without doubt, unto the apostles in an eminent and peculiar manner, especially living in that rude and childish state of the church; considering both how superlative their office was, and how admirable their gifts and endowments of the Holy Ghost, together with their incomparable both piety and prudence; by which, they were both most able and willing to promote the Christian faith in holiness. And although this constant and uniform both practice and institution of the apostles unto divers *politic persons*, swelling with pride of fleshly reason, despising apostolical simplicity, and who, as Ireneus speaks, would be 'rectifiers of the apostles,'^a seem worthy of light regard; yet to us, who believe with Theodoret, that we 'ought to rest in the apostolical and prophetic demonstrations,'^b and who, with Tertullian, 'do adore the fulness of the Scriptures,'^c they seem of singular weight and moment. . .

"Lest any should take occasion, either by the things here spoken by us, or elsewhere of us, to conceive that we either exercise amongst ourselves, or would thrust upon others, any popular or democratical church-government; may it please the Christian reader to make estimate of both our judgment and practice in this point according to these three declarations following: first, We believe that the external church-government, under Christ the only Mediator and Monarch thereof, is plainly aristocratical, and to be administered by some certain choice men; although the state, which many unskillfully confound with the government, be, after a sort, popular and democratical.^d By this it appertains to the People freely to vote in elections and judgments of the church; in respect of the other, we make account it behoves the Elders to govern the People, in their voting, in just liberty given by Christ whatsoever.^e Let the Elders publicly propound and order all things in the church, and so give their sentence on them: let them reprove them that sin, convince the gainsayers, comfort the repentant; and so administer all things according to the prescript of God's Word. Let the People, of faith, give their assent to their Elders' holy and lawful administration, that so the ecclesiastical elections and censures may be ratified, and put into solemn execution by the Elders. . .

^a Iren. Con. Heres. lib. iii. ^b Theod. Dial. i. ^c Tert. Cont. Hermog.

^d Vide Bodinem, de Repub. bk. i. cap. ult.

^e 1 Cor. xii. 28. 1 Tim. v. 17. Heb. xiii. 17.

Secondly, We doubt not but that the Elders both lawfully may, and necessarily ought, and that by virtue of their office, to meet apart, at times, from the Body of the church,^a to deliberate of such things as concern her welfare, as for the preventing of things unnecessary, so for the preparing,—according to just order,—of things necessary, so as publicly and before the People, they may be prosecuted with most conveniency. . . Thirdly, By the People, whose liberty and right in voting we thus avow and stand for in matters truly public and ecclesiastical, we do not understand,—as it hath pleased some contumeliously to upbraid us,—women and children; but only men, and them grown and of discretion: making account, that as children by their nonage, so women by their sex, are debarred of the use of authority in the church.”^b

Chap. v. “Of Holy days,” Robinson says, “It seemeth, not without all leaven of superstition, that the Dutch Reformed Churches do observe certain days consecrated as holy to the nativity, resurrection, and ascension of Christ; and the same also,—as it commonly comes to pass where human devices are reared up by the side of Divine institutions,—much more holy than the Lord’s-day!” And he says, “Seeing that every ‘first day of the week,’ called by John, ‘the Lord’s day,’ is consecrated by Christ himself and his apostles to the memorial of Christ’s resurrection, and God’s solemn worship; it seems too much for any mortal man to appoint or make an anniversary memorial, and the same most solemn and sacred, of the same resurrection, and so to observe it.” . .

Chap. vi. “Of the celebration of Marriage by the Pastors of the Church.”—Here, he says, “We cannot assent to the received opinion and practice answerable, in the Reformed Churches, by which the Pastors thereof do celebrate Marriage publicly, and by virtue of their office.”—The Pastors’ office, Robinson adds, ought not “to be stretched to any other acts than those of religion, and such as are peculiar to Christians, amongst which, Marriage, common to Gentiles as well as to them, hath no place.” . .

Chap. vii. “Of the Sanctification of the Lord’s-day.”—This chapter concludes thus; “The very Gentiles themselves, directed by the glimpse of the light of nature, how darkly soever shining in them, had their holy days, and some of them such as in which not so much as the pleading and determining of suits were admitted.^c It seemeth natural that some day, and moral that some day certain and distinct, be sacred unto God. . . We Christians have the ‘Lord’s-day’ by the Lord Christ assigned us for the exercises of piety and mercy, in which he offers and exhibits Himself in the fruits of his gracious presence in a singular manner to be seen and enjoyed of his, religiously observing the same. Let us at no hand, as alike unmindful of God’s ordinance and man’s infirmity, suffer the fruit of such a benefit to die in our hands; but let us accordingly acknowledge the same in thought, and word, to his honour and our own good.”

^a Acts xx. 18.^b 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. 1 Tim. ii. 12.^c Varro, de Ling. Lat. lib. iii.

Chap. viii. "Of the exercise of Prophecy. — There are they, whose names I forbear, for their credit's sake, who have not spared, and that in their public writings, to lay to our charge that we will needs have all and every Member of the church a Prophet, and to prophesy publicly. With what minds they let loose their tongues to utter these and many more most false and absurd vituperies against us, we leave it to God to judge, who knoweth;—with what conscience and desert of credit therein, unto thee, Christian reader, into whose hands this our Apology shall come.

"We learn from the apostle Paul, that 'he who prophesieth, speaketh unto men to edification, exhortation, and comfort,'^a which to perform conveniently and as becomes the church-assembly, we make account comes within compass but of a few of the multitude; haply two or three in each of our churches, considering their weak and depressed state. Touching Prophecy then, we think the very same that the Synod held at Embden, 1571, hath decreed in these words, '1. In all churches, whether but springing up, or grown to some ripeness, let the order of Prophecy be observed, according to Paul's institution.—2. Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted not only the Ministers, but the Teachers too; as also of the Elders and Deacons; yea, even of the multitude^b which are willing to confer their gift received of God to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed by the judgment of the Ministers and others.'^c And, as the apostle sometimes said, 'we believe, and therefore we speak,'^d so because we believe, with the Belgic churches, that this exercise is to be observed in all Congregations, therefore we also observe it in ours." He enumerates seven "ends attainable only by this means," the last two being "the edification of the church, and conversion of them that believe not; and this the rather, because it appertaineth not properly to the pastors, as pastors, to turn goats or wolves into sheep; but rather 'to feed' the flock and sheep of Christ, in which the Holy Ghost hath made them 'overseers':^e and, 'Lest by excluding the commonalty and multitude from church affairs, the people of God be divided, and charity lessened, and familiarity and good-will be extinguished between the order of ministers and people.'"^f

Chap. ix. "Of Temples."—Robinson condemns "a holy place, as it is counted of the most; consecrated either to God himself, or to some saint,—made therein a false god, though being a true saint,—whose name it bears, and which for its magnificent building and superstitious form, agrees far better to the Romish religion, pompous and idolatrous as it is, than to the Reformed, and apostolical simplicity." But, he says,¹ there is another consideration "far diverse, of a place, although in the house sometimes consecrated for such a temple, partly natural, which is simply necessary to every finite action; partly civil, in which the church may well and conveniently assemble together.

^a 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

^b "Ex ipsa plebe."

^c Harmon. Synod. Belg. de Prophetica. Ex Synodo Embdano, Can. i. p. 21, 22.

^d 2 Cor. iv. 13.

^e Acts xx. 28.

^f Vide Sadel. cont. Turr. Soph. p. 67, 68. Pet. Mart. in 1 Cor. xiv. 29.

The former use I deem altogether unlawful; the latter, not so, but lawful, provided always that the opinion of holiness be removed, and withal, such blemishes of superstition as wherewith things lawful in themselves are usually stained."

Chap. x. "Of things Indifferent.—We do so repute many things as Indifferent, or mean in themselves and their own nature; and as holding a middle place, as it were, between the things simply commanded and the things simply forbidden of God; as that the same things being once drawn into use and practice, do necessarily undergo the respect and consideration of good or evil! . . . With this 'commandment' of the apostle, yea, of Christ the Lord, that 'all things be done decently, in order,' and 'to edification,' agrees the rule of the philosophers, 'The accessory followeth the nature of the principal.' For example, let the 'principal,' as they speak, be some natural good thing; the very least 'accessory' or circumstance by which this principal is rightly and orderly furthered and promoted, undergoes also the consideration of a 'natural good.' The same rule holds in actions civil; much more in the things which appertain to religion and God's worship. I therefore conclude that the least Rite or Ceremony serving rightly and orderly to further the 'principal' act and exercise of religion doth worthily obtain, after a sort, the respect and denomination of a religious and ecclesiastical 'good thing;' which principal act, if it do not truly and effectually promote and advance, it is a vain addition, at the best; beseeeming only 'vain' purposes, and persons, which 'worship' God 'in vain,' teaching for doctrines 'men's traditions.'^a . . . Neither the church, nor the meanest Member thereof, is further bound unto these their determinations,—the highest church-officers' and governors',—than they appear to agree with order, and comeliness; neither are the Ministers, in any thing at all,—as are the Magistrates, in many things,—to be obeyed 'for the authority of the commander,' but 'for the reason of the commandment;'^b which the Ministers are also bound in duty to manifest and approve unto the consciences of them over whom they are set."

Chap. xi. "Of Civil Magistrates.—We believe the very same touching the Civil Magistrate, with the Belgic Reformed Churches, and willingly subscribe to their Confession. And the more, because what is, by many, restrained to the Christian Magistrate, they extend indefinitely and absolutely to the Magistrate whomsoever. And that, surely upon good ground; seeing the Magistracy is one, and the power the same, whether the person be Christian or heathen: neither is there wanting in a heathen Magistrate, that he might rule as he ought, authority of order, but will of person: neither is his power increased by the accession of Christianity, but only sanctified, as is first his person. The prince rules over his subjects as he is a prince; and they, subjects simply; not as faithful, or Christian, he or they. Only Christ, the Lord of our faith, hath the faithful, as faithful, for his subjects; 'neither are the subjects of kings, as subjects, any part of the Church, but of the kingdom.'^c . . . If any civil or coercive power in things

^a Matt. xv. 9. ^b "See Ursinus' Cata. on 2nd Com. of Traditions."

^c [Carleton,] Bishop of Chichester, to Tortus, p. 35.

whether civil or ecclesiastical, come to the Magistrate by his Christianity, then if it so fall out that he make defection from the same, whether by idolatry, or heresy, or profaneness, it must follow that thereupon his kingly power is diminished and abridged ! whereby how wide a window, or gate rather, would be opened to seditious subjects, under pretext—specially Catholic—of religion, to raise tumults in kingdoms, no man can be ignorant.”

Chap. xii. “Of the Church of England.—There remains *one*, and that a *great* matter of exception against us ; and the same, the fountain, well nigh, of all our calamity ; to wit, that we seem evil-affected towards the Church of England, and so averse from the same as that we do no less than make a plain secession and Separation from it.

“ I answer, first, That our Faith is not ‘negative ;’ as papists use to object to the Evangelical Churches ; nor which consists in the condemning of others, and wiping their names out of the ‘bead-roll’ of churches, but in the edifying of ourselves ; neither require we of any of ours in the Confession of their Faith, that they either renounce, or in one word, contest, with the Church of England, whatsoever the world clamours of us this way. Our Faith is founded upon the writings of the prophets and apostles ; in which, no mention of the Church of England is made ; we deem it our duty, what is found in them, to believe ‘with the heart to righteousness, and to confess with the tongue to salvation.’^a Secondly, We accord, as far as the Belgic and other Reformed Churches, with the Church of England, in the Articles of Faith and heads of Christian religion, published in the name of that Church, and to be found in the ‘Harmony of the Confessions of Faith.’ Thirdly, If by ‘the Church,’ be understood the catholic church dispersed upon the face of the whole earth, we do willingly acknowledge, That a singular part thereof, and the same visible and conspicuous, is to be found in the land ; and with it, do profess and practise, what in us lies, communion in all things in themselves lawful and done in right order. But, and if by the word ‘Church’ be understood a spiritual body-politic, such as was in her time ‘the church of Israel ;’ and in hers ‘the church of Rome, Corinth, the seven churches of Asia,’ and ‘others with them partaking of the same apostolical constitution ; and as unto which, do appertain the Oracles of God, sacraments, censures, government, and ministry ecclesiastical, with other sacred institutions of Christ ; I cannot but confess and profess, though with great grief, that it is to us matter of scruple which we cannot overcome, to give that honour unto it, which is due from the servants of Christ to the Church of Christ, rightly collected and constituted.” . .

“As it behoveth every person first to believe and know that he is truly a Christian, and partaker of the grace of Christ, before he can hope to please God in the performance of this or that particular Christian work ; so doth it also concern every Christian to provide that he be first possessed of a just and lawful church-order, before he so much as touch with his least finger the holy things of the Church thereunto proper and peculiar. Proper, I say, and peculiar ; amongst which I

^a Rom. x. 10.

do not simply reckon the Hearing of the Word, which both lawfully may and necessarily ought to be done, not only of Christians, though members of no particular church, but even infidels, profane persons, excommunicates, and many others; as being that in which no communion spiritual passeth, either ecclesiastical or personal, between the teacher and hearer, but according to some union ecclesiastical or personal going before: seeing that christian faith comes by hearing the Gospel; by faith, union; and from union, communion."

After describing the Church of England as a "confused heap," and that "complaint made to Master Chancellor, or Master Official," to procure excommunication, "is merely a matter of form, for the most part, and a remedy as ill as the disease; Robinson says, "There is besides these, a third evil in the way, and the same as predominant, and overtopping all other things in that Church, as was Saul 'higher than all the rest of the people,' and with whose Rehoboam-like finger we miserable men are pressed and oppressed; and that is, the hierarchial-church-government in the hands of the Lord Bishops and their substitutes, the very same with that of Rome; the pope, the head, only cut off, upon whose shoulders also many, though not without notable injury, would place the supreme magistrate, and administered by the self-same Canon-law..."

"Wherein yet I would not so be understood as if we were at any defiance with the persons of the bishops, much less with the king's civil authority whereof they are possessed, whether in matters civil or ecclesiastical. . . Now as concerning their civil authority; albeit we do not believe that the same is at all competent to the true ministers of the Gospel, especially in that eminency, external glory, and pomp of this world, in which they far exceed many worldly princes, and rather seem to represent the triumphant than the militant church; yet for so much as they both obtain the same by the gift of the king and exercise it in his name, we do not unwillingly yield honour and obedience unto it, and to his majesty in it. . .

"Now I do earnestly entreat thee, whosoever thou art, acquainted with Belgic, or rather Christian liberty, and either free from the mists of prejudice, or, if any way prejudiced, yet 'not choosing rather to serve a preconceived opinion than to follow an apparent truth,'^a that thou wouldst truly and ingenuously tell whether if the magistrates here, from which they are far, should by public edict, under severe penalty, constrain all and every the native subjects of the country into the bosom of the church, without any difference made, either in respect of faith or manners, according to the place of their habitation, and should set over this church, so collected and constituted, a hierarchical bishop, provincial, or diocesan, in whose hands alone, with his officials, chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, and other court-keepers, canonical authority should be placed to constitute and depose ministers, excommunicate and absolve both ministers and people, yea whole churches,—yea, with the living the dead, that they may obtain Christian burial;—whether now, in this confused heap, and under this spiritual lordship, thou wouldst endure to remain either pastor, or member? I suppose not, You, brethren, have not 'so learned Christ,'^b whom you acknowledge

^a Theodoret. Dial. i.

^b Eph. iv. 20.

both 'for the Author of *your* 'Faith,' and Institutor of *your* 'Order' ecclesiastical.^a Neither yet we; having learned otherwise, by the grace of God. Christ the King doth gather and form unto himself another kind of kingdom amongst men, and the same to be administered by other officers, and according to other laws! And if no place upon the face of the earth should be free for us poor creatures, refusing, upon mere conscience of God,—as Thou, God, the Judge and Searcher of hearts knowest,—to commingle and prostitute ourselves in and unto this confusion, and domination hierarchical; we have most assured hope that heaven itself is open for us by Christ, who is 'the way,'^b and whom, in this duty also, we do serve; in which we shall, at the length, be fully free from this and all other encumbrances.

"Our adversaries bear in hand, not only others, but even us ourselves also, that we do, for certain trifling matters, and, as they speak, 'circumstantial corruptions,' sequester ourselves from the Church of England. And, as nurses use to lisp with children, so they, that they might descend to our capacities, do oft and much instruct us, 'that unworthy members must be borne in the church, especially of private persons;' that, 'Some corruptions, at least in the discipline and external rites, are to be tolerated;' that 'There may be the temple of God, though profaned; the holy city, though without a wall; the field of the Lord, though the enemy sow tares amongst the wheat;' also, 'A heap of wheat, though much chaff commingled therewithal!' And that we, dull bayards as we are! may, at the length, conceive those things, they very seriously inculcate and whet upon us in these and the like considerations, as that 'The Israelitish church, in its time, was stained with almost all enormities both for manners and faith;' that 'into the same, all Israelites and Jews whatsoever, without difference, were *violently compelled* by king Josiah and others;' as also, that 'In the parable, all were *compelled* to come to the marriage, good and bad, that the house might be filled;' lastly, that 'In the apostolic churches themselves, there were not wanting some who practised, and others who taught vile and evil things;' that 'In one place, the discipline was neglected; in another, the very doctrine of faith corrupted;' and many the like matters, which it were too long to repeat!

"Surely, foolish were we, if we knew not these things; impudent, if we denied them to be true, for the most part; and lastly, unequal, if we acknowledged not that many the same or like blemishes, after a sort, will and do creep into the churches of our days; which yet to disclaim as unlawful for the same, stood neither with wisdom nor charity. But the prudent reader may plainly observe by the premises, that they are other matters and of greater weight, for the most part, wherewith we and our consciences are pressed.

"We do not judge it an evil intolerable, though greatly to be bewailed, that evil men should be suffered in the church; but that all of most vile and desperate condition that such and so great a kingdom affords, should thereinto, will they nil they, *be compelled*: nor, that the Discipline, as they call it, or ecclesiastical government instituted by Christ, is neglected or violated; but that another, plain contrary

^a Col. ii. 5.

^b John xiv. 6.

unto it, is set up by law, and fully and publicly everywhere exercised : neither lies our exception against any personal or accidental profanation of the Temple ; but against the faulty frame of it in respect of the causes constitutive, matter and form : neither strive we about the walls of the city ; but about the true and lawful Citizens, the policy and government of the City of God, and essential administration of the same."

Descending to particularize, Robinson follows out, at some considerable length, the allusion to "The church of Israel, and its condition compared with all the Christian churches ;" and then he takes up "The parable of the tares,^a with which,"—he proceeds,—"^{as} with some thunderbolt, men both learned and unlearned think us beaten all to *fritters* ! But, first, these words, 'Let both grow together till the harvest,'^b from which alone they do dispute, Christ the Lord doth not expound nor meddle with in the opening of the parable ; from them, therefore, nothing firm can be concluded. Secondly, Christ himself interprets 'the field,' not the church, but 'the world ;'^c as also, 'the harvest,' not 'the end' of the church, but of 'the world.'^d And if by the world, you understand the church, you must needs say, that Christ in the expounding of one parable used another. Thirdly, Both the text itself and reason of the thing do plainly teach, that He doth not speak at all of excommunication, which serves for the bettering of 'the tares ;' but of their final rooting up to perdition.^e Lastly, Admit Christ spake of men apparently wicked in the church, either not to be excommunicated in certain cases,—which, with Gellius Sneecanus, I confidently deny,^f—or not excommunicated as they ought to be, and therefore to be borne of private members, the former of which is too ordinary, especially in churches enjoying peace and prosperity ; the latter of which, the church not being desperately bent on evil, I easily assent to, yet doth this place afford no medicine for our grief : which ariseth not from any corrupt or negligent administration of the church's discipline, through the carelessness or want of wisdom,—it may be too much wisdom, such as it is,—of the administrators thereof, which are personal things ; but from the very constitution of the church itself, and subject of ecclesiastical both government and power. Yea, I add unto all these things, that we, for our parts, are willing in the business and controversy in hand, to appeal unto the tribunal of this very parable ; and that, expounded by our adversaries themselves ; and do willingly condescend that by it alone judgment be given in this matter ! Our Saviour Christ doth plainly teach that this 'field' was sown with 'good seed' alone ; and that after, 'whilst men slept,' the enemy, the devil, came and 'sowed tares amongst the wheat.'^g But, on the contrary, in the sowing the English *field*, whether we respect the national or parochial churches, together with the wheat the tares, and that exceeding the other infinitely, were at first and yet are sown, and that of purpose, and under most severe penalties. And, hence, is the first and principal prejudice to our English *harvest* ; and

^a Matt. xiii. ^b Ver. 30. ^c Ver. 38. ^d Ver. 39. ^e Verses 27—30.

^f Of Church Discipline, pt. ii. meth. 2. p. 24, 27, 25, 28.

^g Matt. xiii. 24, 25.

from which I conceive all the rest to come. For, unto this Church, thus clapped and clouted together of all persons of all sorts and spirits, without difference, no man, equally and prudently weighing things, can deny but that the pompous and imperious hierarchical government, together with all its accessories, doth right well accord."

Robinson treats next, of the parable of the "marriage;"^a and confutes, after, the applicability of what he calls "one of their own." "A heap, say they, of wheat, although it have much chaff mixed with it, and the same more in quantity than the wheat is, remains notwithstanding truly, and is rightly termed, 'a heap of wheat;' according to the philosopher's rule, "The denomination is not of the greater, but better part." He lays but little stress on the argument, that "In the Church of England lively faith and true piety are both begotten and nourished;" because none should "against knowledge go on to walk inordinately;" and besides,—he asks,—"What Minos, or Rhadamant, will deny that even in the bosom of the Romish church some faithful person may be found? . . . I therefore conclude, out of Mr. Brightnan, whose words I had rather use than mine own; speaking of the government and ministry of the Church of England, 'The fruit,' to wit, of the Word preached, 'doth no more exempt, from blame, our corruptions, than a true child doth adultery!'"^b

He writes, in conclusion, "And here thou hast, Christian Reader, the whole order of our conversation in the work of Christian religion set down both as briefly and plainly as I could. . . . And if the things which we do, seem right in thine eyes, as to us certainly they do, I do earnestly and by the Lord Jesus admonish and exhort thy godly mind, that thou wilt neither withhold thy due obedience from his Truth, nor just succour from thy distressed brethren. Neither do thou endure, that either the smallness of the number, or meanness of the condition, of those that profess it, should prejudice, with thee, the profession of the Truth, but have in mind that of Tertullian, 'Do we measure men's Faith by their persons, or their persons by their Faith;'^c as also, that of Austin, 'Let matter weigh with matter, and cause with cause, and reason with reason;'^d but especially that of the Apostle, 'My brethren, have not the faith of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ in respect of persons.'^e—But now, if it so come to pass, which God forbid, that the most being either forestalled by prejudice, or by prosperity made secure, there be few found, especially men of learning, who will so far vouchsafe to stoop as to look upon so despised creatures and their cause; this alone remaineth, That we turn our faces and mouths unto Thee, O most powerful Lord and gracious Father; humbly imploring help from God, towards those who are, by men, left desolate. There is with Thee no 'respect of persons;' neither are men less regarders of Thee, if regarders of Thee, for the world's disregarding them. They who truly fear Thee, and work righteousness, although constrained to live, by leave, in a Foreign Land, exiled from country, spoiled of goods, destitute of friends, few in number and mean in condition, are, for all that, unto thee, O gracious God, nothing the less acceptable. Thou

^a Luke xiv. Matt. xxii.

^b On Rev. i. 26.

^c De Prescr. cont. Heret.

^d Cont. Maxim. iii. 14.

^e Jas. ii. 1.

numberest all their wanderings, and putttest their tears into thy bottles : are they not written in thy Book ? Towards Thee, O Lord, are our eyes ; confirm our hearts, and bend thine ear, and suffer not our feet to slip, or our face to be ashamed, O thou both just and merciful God.—To Him, through Christ, be praise for ever in the church of Saints ; and to thee, loving and Christian Reader, grace, peace, and eternal happiness. Amen.*

CHAP. XXII.

EMBARKATION, ETC. OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF NEW ENGLAND.

WE have seen that in, or previously to, the year 1619, it was proposed to the Separatists, by no friendly hand, "to remove to Virginia,"^b . .

* In the "Appendix" to Mr. Perkins, Robinson defines a Church to be "A company of faithful and holy people, with their seed, called, by the Word of God, into public covenant with Christ, and amongst themselves for mutual fellowship in the use of all the means of God's glory and their salvation." He shows "the necessity and sufficiency" of five offices of ministry, to arise from the condition, partly of the souls, and partly of the bodies of the Members: "1. In the soul is the faculty of understanding; about which, the 'Teacher' is to be exercised for information by doctrine.—2. The will and affections, upon which the 'Pastor' is especially to work by exhortation and comfort.—3. For that doctrine and exhortation without obedience are unprofitable, the diligence of the 'Ruling Elder' is requisite for that purpose.—4. And, as the Church consisteth of men, and they of souls and bodies, so are the 'Deacons,' out of the Church's treasure and contribution, to provide for the common uses of the Church; relief of the poor, and maintenance of the officers.—5. As are the 'Widows' to afford unto the sick and impotent in body, not able otherwise to help themselves, their cheerful and comfortable service."—If an Officer be found unfaithful, "He is, by the Church, to be warned to take heed to his ministry he hath received, to fulfil it, Col. iv. 17; which if he neglect to do, by the same power which set him up, he is to be put down and deposed." Such as are out of office, we are told, are to feed the flock in the exercise of Prophecy; which, it is said, is proved "By examples in the Jewish church, where men, though in no office either in temple or synagogue, had liberty publicly to use their gifts, Luke ii. 42, 46, 47; iv. 16, 18. Acts viii. 4; xi. 19—21; xiii. 14—16; xviii. 24—26: by the commandments of Christ and his apostles, Luke ix. 1; x. 1. Rom. xii. 9. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11. 1 Cor. xiv. 1: by the prohibiting of women, not extraordinarily inspired, to teach in the Church; herein liberty being given unto men, their husbands, or others, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12. 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35: by the excellent ends which, by this means, are to be obtained; as, The glory of God in the manifestation of his manifold graces—That the gifts of the Spirit in men be not quenched—For the fitting and trial of men for the Ministry—For the preserving pure of the doctrine of the Church, which is more endangered if some one or two alone may only be heard, and speak—For debating and satisfying of doubts, if any do arise—For the edifying of the Church, and conversion of others." This exercise is to be performed "after the public ministry, by the Teachers, and under their direction and moderation; whose duty it is, if any thing he obscure, to open it; if doubtful, to clear it; if unsound, to refuse it; if imperfect, to supply what is wanting, as they are able." Printed separately in 1642, intituled "A Brief Catechism, &c." 16mo. pp. 13.

^b All that vast extent of country, "from Florida to Nova Francia," was known as Virginia, North and South, till 1614; when the northern division began to be called New England.—Eccles. Hist. of New Eng. by C. Mather, M.A. 1702. fo. p. 4.

in hope to convert Infidels,"^a that such a project had been in contemplation, but was discountenanced for that time, by the Bishops;^b and that it was, notwithstanding, being seriously entertained.^c The period having passed when this signal movement of a special Providence was to take place, it is our gratification to be able to look back upon the particular instrumentality by which the consequences, so immensely beyond the reach of human calculation and of imaginary enterprise, have been brought about.

The first and only authentic narrative^d of these interesting proceedings, begins with a summary of what was needful to a proper understanding of the whole.

"In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of Reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of Divine institutions, they entered into Covenant 'To walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the Word of God.' But finding by experience, they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country, without offence to others that were differently minded; they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families into the Netherlands: which, accordingly, they endeavoured to accomplish; but met with great hinderances. Yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires. Arriving in Holland, they settled themselves in the city of Leyden, in the year 1610; and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition; enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God; living peaceably among themselves, and being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers; having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit; pious and studious of the Truth; largely accomplished with suitable gifts and

^a See back, p. 368.

^b *Ibid.*

^c *Ibid.* p. 372.

^d "New-England's Memoriall: Or, A Brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New-England, in America; with special Reference to the first Colony thereof, called New-Plimouth. As also, A Nomination of divers of the most Eminent Instruments deceased, both of Church and Commonwealth, improved in the first beginning and after-progress of sundry of the respective Jurisdictions in those Parts; in reference unto sundry Exemplary Passages of their Lives, and the time of their Death.—Published for the Use and Benefit of present and future Generations, by Nathaniel Morton; Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New-Plimouth.—Deut. xxxii. 10. Jer. ii. 2, 3. Deut. viii. 2, 16.—Cambridge. [N. E.] 1669." 4to. pp. 198.

"The Reader" is informed; by two friends, in an Introduction; that these "Annals" are put forth "That New-England, in all time to come, may remember the day of her smallest things; and that there may be a furniture of materials for a true and full History in after-times." And, that "The author is an approved godly man, one of the first Planters at Plymouth, . . . where he hath had his constant abode." He, himself, tells us, in his Dedication to the "Governor and Magistrates," that the greatest part of his information is "borrowed" from his "much honoured uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620, unto 1646."

qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ: having, also, a fellow-helper with him, in Eldership, Mr. William Brewster; a man of approved piety, gravity, and integrity; very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office. . .

"Although the Church of Christ was at peace and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into America with common consent: the proposition of removing thither being set on foot and prosecuted by the Elders, upon just and weighty grounds. For, although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that Holland would be no place for their church and posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to find abroad; and that, for these reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

"First. 'Because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch where they lived, and were settled in their way; insomuch that in ten years' time, while their church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's-day as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss amongst them.'

"Secondly. 'Because their countrymen who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates; and were then forced to return to England, or to live very meanly.'

"Thirdly. 'That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents' burthens; were, oftentimes, so oppressed with their heavy labours, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth, and the vigour of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was, that many, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses; getting the reins on their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers; others took upon them far voyages by sea; and other some worse courses tending to dissoluteness and the destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and the dishonour of God; and that the place being a place of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them; nor could they give them due correction, without reproof or reproach from their neighbours.'

"Fourthly. 'That their posterity would in few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge his Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince.'

"Fifthly, and lastly; and which was not the least. 'A great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a work.'

"These, and such like, were the true reasons of their removal; and not, as some of their adversaries did upon the rumour thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the State was weary of them, and had rather driven them out; .. than that it was their own free choice and motion.

"Although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom. .. The magistrates of the city of Leyden, where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the public place of justice gave this commendable testimony of them; in reproof of the 'Walloon,' who were of the French church in the city; 'These English,' said they, 'have lived now amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against them, or any of them; but your strifes and quarrels are continual.'

"The reasons of their removal, above named, being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in public; and after solemn days of humiliation observed both in public and in private, it was agreed, 'That part of the church should go before their brethren, into America, to prepare for the rest. And if in case the major part of the church did choose to go over with the first, then the Pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.'

"Having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the voyage; the Articles of Agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said merchants, and sundry difficulties and obstacles removed; having also, obtained Letters-Patents for the northern parts of Virginia, of king James, of famous memory; "all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought and fitted out in Holland, of about sixty tons, called 'The Speedwell;' as to serve to transport some of them over, so also to stay in the country and attend upon fishing, and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came thither. Another ship was hired at London, of burthen about nine score, called 'The Mayflower;' and all other things got in readiness. So, being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation: the Pastor teaching, a part of the day, very profitably and

^h Or, perhaps, adventuring under the Letters-Patent granted in the eighteenth year of James, "unto a certain honourable Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and ordering and governing of New-England, in America." Mather, p. 4. — This writer says afterward, "They obtained a Patent for a quiet Settlement in those territories, and the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, gave them some expectations, that they should never be disturbed in that exercise of religion at which they aimed, in their Settlement. Yea, when Sir Robert Naunton, then principal Secretary of State unto king James, moved his majesty to give way, 'That such a people might enjoy their liberty of conscience under his gracious protection in America; where they would endeavour the advancement of his majesty's dominions, and the enlargement of the interests of the Gospel;' the king said, 'It was a good and honest motion.'" Mather, p. 6.

suitably to the present occasion ;^a the rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers unto the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city unto a town called 'Delfs Haven,' where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place above eleven years. . .

"When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready ; and such of their friends as could not come with them, followed after them ; and sundry came from Amsterdam, to see them shipped, and to take their leaves of them. One night was spent with little sleep with the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse, and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went on board and their friends with them ; where, truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting : to hear what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them ; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each others' heart ; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the Key as spectators, could not refrain from tears ! . . But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loth to depart, their Reverend Pastor falling down on his knees, and they all with him, with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers unto the Lord and his blessing ;^b and then, with mutual embraces and

^a "The text of Scripture was Ezra viii. 21."

^b "I shall repeat the counsel which their faithful Pastor Robinson gave the first Planters of the Colony, at their parting from him in Holland. Said he, to this purpose :—

"Brethren,—We are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed that or not, I charge you before God and before his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ.

"If God reveal any thing to you by any other Instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry ; for I am verily persuaded,—I am very confident, the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy Word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed Churches, who are come to a *period* in religion ; and will go, at present, no further than the Instruments of their first Reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw : whatever part of his Will our good God has imparted and revealed unto Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it. And the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God ; who yet saw not all things ! This is a misery much to be lamented ; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God : but were they now living, they would be as willing to embrace further light, as that which they first received.

"I beseech you to remember it, it is an Article of your Church Covenant, That you will be ready to receive whatever Truth shall be made known unto you from the written Word of God. Remember that, and every other Article of your most sacred Covenant. But I must herewithal exhort you to take heed what you receive as Truth : examine it, consider it, compare it with the other Scriptures of Truth, before you do receive it. For it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such thick antichristian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

"I must also advise you to abandon, avoid, and break off the name of

many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave, to many of them. Thus hoisting sail, with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in short time to Southampton; where they found the bigger ship come from London, being ready with all the rest of their company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.^a

"At their parting, their Pastor, Mr. John Robinson, wrote a Letter to the whole company; which I thought meet here to insert, being fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasions.

" "Loving Christian Friends,—I do heartily, and in the Lord, salute you as being those with whom I am present in my best affections and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for awhile to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the meantime as a man divided in myself with great pain, and as natural bonds set aside, having my better part with you. And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already; if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

" "And first; as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to a both narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; lest he, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers; sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil whether in life or death.

" "Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us

Brownist! It is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making of religion, and the professors of religion, odious unto the Christian world. Unto this end, I should be extremely glad if some godly Minister would go with you, or come to you, before you can have any Company. For there will be no difference between the unconformable Ministers of England and you, when you come to the practice of evangelical ordinances out of the kingdom. And I would wish you, by all means, to close with the godly people of England. Study union with them in all things wherein you can have it without sin; rather than in the least measure, to affect a division or separation from them. Neither would I have you loth to take another Pastor besides myself; inasmuch as a flock that hath two shepherds is not thereby endangered, but secured.'

"So adding some other things of great consequence, he concluded, most affectionately commending his departing flock unto the grace of God."—Mather, p. 14.

^a "This was about the 2nd of July, 1620."

lieth; especially with our associates. And for that, watchfulness must be had that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. 'Woe be to the world for offences!' for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, 'that offences come,' yet 'woe unto the man,' or woman either, 'by whom the offence cometh,' saith Christ.^a And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth;^b how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving of offences, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others. For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity 'to cover a multitude of offences?' as the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity; which are, that persons ready to take offence either want charity to 'cover' offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth.^c As indeed in my own experience few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies who have nourished this touchy humour!

"But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way. As first, there are many of you strangers as to the persons so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you expected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity, for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of Civil Community, will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fewel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself? Which yet we certainly do, so oft as we murmur at his providence, in our crosses; or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he is pleased to visit us. Store up, therefore, Patience, against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

"A fourth thing there is, carefully to be provided for; namely, That with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the general good; avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage; and all singularly affected every manner of way, let every man repress in himself, and the whole Body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good: all private respects of men's-selves not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you,

^a Matt. xviii. 7.^b 1 Cor. ix. 15.^c Matt. vii. 1—3.

Brethren, much more careful that the House of God, which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

“ ‘Lastly. Whereas you are to become a Body-politic, using amongst yourselves Civil Government, and are not furnished with persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of Government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God’s ordinance^a for your good. Not being like the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man or the glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the Image of the Lord’s power and authority which the Magistrate beareth, is honourable in how mean persons soever: and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are, at least for the present, to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

“ ‘Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of; and of those before-mentioned, in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able both to admonish themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience; joining therewith my daily and incessant prayers unto the Lord, that He who hath made the heavens and the earth, and sea and all rivers of waters, and whose Providence is over all his works; especially over all his dear Children for good; would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you, and we also for and with you, may have after-matter of praising his Name all the days of your and our lives.

“ ‘Fare you well in Him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfeigned well-wisher of your happy success in this hopeful voyage, JOHN ROBINSON.’

“ Upon the receipt of this Letter, the Company was called together, and it was publicly read amongst them; which had good acceptance with all, and after-fruit with many. . . They set sail from Southampton the fifth of August, 1620. But, alas! they had not sailed far, before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his vessel so leaky as he durst not put further to sea. On which, they were forced to put in at Dartmouth, Mr. Jones, the master of the biggest ship, likewise putting in there with him. . . The said ships put to sea the second time; but they had not sailed above a hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship being so leaky as that he feared he should founder; . . and then both ships bore up again, and went in at Plymouth. . . But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was, . . more especially, by the deceit

^a Rom. xiii. 2.

of the master and his company. . . These things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole, to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her. . . When they had ordered matters in reference thereunto, they made another sad parting; the one ship going back for London, and the other, namely, 'The Mayflower,' Mr. Jones being master, proceeding on in the intended voyage. . .

"Now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind. . . After many boisterous storms, in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at Hull many days together: after long beating at sea, they fell in with the land called Cape Cod; . . not a little joyful. . . They tacked about to stand to the southward, to find some place about Hudson's River, according to their first intentions, for their habitations. But they had not sailed that course above half a day, . . but they conceived themselves in great danger, and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape aforesaid. The next day, by God's providence, they got into the Cape harbour. Thus they arrived at Cape Cod, alias Cape James, in November, 1620; and being brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries."

"In grateful adoration now,
Upon the barren sands they bow.
What tongue of joy e'er woke such prayer,
As bursts in desolation there?
What arm of strength e'er wrought such power,
As waits to crown that feeble hour?
There into life an infant empire springs!
There falls the iron from the soul;
There liberty's young accents roll,
Up to the King of kings!
To fair creation's furthest bound,
That thrilling summons yet shall sound;
The dreaming nations shall awake,
And to their centre earth's old kingdoms shake.
Pontiff-and-prince, your sway
Must crumble from that day;
Before the loftier throne of Heaven,
The hand is raised, the pledge is given—
One monarch to obey, one creed to own;
That monarch, God; that creed, His Word alone!

Spread out earth's holiest records here;
Of days and deeds to reverence dear,
A zeal like this what pious legends tell?
On kingdoms built
In blood and guilt,
The worshippers of vulgar triumph dwell.
But what exploit with theirs shall page,
Who rose to bless their kind;
Who left their nation and their age,
Man's spirit to unbind?
Who boundless seas passed o'er,
And boldly met, in every path,
Famine and frost and heathen wrath,
To dedicate a shore

Where piety's meek train might breathe their vow,
 And seek their Maker with an unshamed brow;
 Where liberty's glad race might proudly come,
 And set up there an everlasting home?"^a

"Nevertheless, . . . their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm; but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship. For their intention, as is before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's River. But some of the Dutch, . . . having thoughts of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, &c. to disappoint them in their going thither. But God outshoots Satan ostentines in his own bow. . .

"They had now no friends to welcome them; no inns to entertain or refresh them; no houses, or much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succour. . . It was winter, . . . sharp and violent; . . . dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes of them there were, they then knew not. . . If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. . . Yea, it was sometimes threatened that if they would not get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the ship would leave them! . . . What could now sustain them but the Spirit of God and his grace? Ought not, and may not the children of these Fathers rightly say, 'Our Fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this Wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity? Let them therefore praise the Lord, 'because he is good, and his mercy endureth for ever.'"^b . .

"Their Patent being made void and useless as to another place; being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh of November, 1620, . . . they entered into a solemn combination, . . . 'In the Name of God, Amen.—We whose names are underwritten, the loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith, and the honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northern parts of Virginia; Do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body-politic for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from

^a Interposed, slightly altered, from "An Ode pronounced before the Inhabitants of Boston, Sept. 17, 1830, at the Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of the City. By Charles Sprague. Boston, U. S. 1830." 8vo. pp. 22.

^b Psal. cvii. 1—8.

time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our Names at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620.

John Carver.	Edward Tilly.	Digery Priest.
William Bradford.	John Tilly.	Thomas Williams.
Edward Winslow.	Francis Cook.	Gilbert Winslow.
William Brewster.	Thomas Rogers.	Edmond Margeson.
Isaac Allerton.	Thomas Tinker.	Peter Brown.
Miles Standish.	John Ridgdale.	Richard Bitteridge.
John Alden.	Edward Fuller.	George Soule.
Samuel Fuller.	John Turner.	Richard Clark.
Christopher Martin.	Francis Eaton.	Richard Gardiner.
William Mullins.	James Chilton.	John Allerton.
William White.	John Craxton.	Thomas English.
Richard Warren.	John Billington.	Edward Doten.
John Howland.	Josias Fletcher.	Edward Liester.*
Stephen Hopkins.	John Goodman.	

"After this, they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and well-approved amongst them, to be their Governor for that year.

"Necessity now calling them," they made such excursions as might be expected of persons so circumstanced. They early discovered traces of the natives, who retired as the strangers advanced; and they found "some planks and a great kettle," with some "fair Indian baskets, filled with corn." When their shallop was made ready by the ship's carpenter, they set out a second time, to explore the coasts, previously to permanently locating themselves; but they met with much discouragement, and some gratification, though "the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen." And "cold, and wet lodging," had produced "vehement coughs," from which but few of the party were free. They resolved to send out their shallop again, in a third expedition: it sailed with eighteen hands on board, on Wednesday, the sixth of December, 1620; intending to circulate the deep Bay of Cape Cod. The weather being so very cold, "as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed." On Friday, they had the first encounter with the natives, who assailed the detachment with arrows; but some discharges of fire-arms effectually frightened the Indians, whose cry was "dreadful." They "coasted all along" with various instances of hardships and mishaps, till in the end they got under the lee of a small island, which they called Clark's Island, and, "being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the Sabbath there."

"On the second day of the week following, they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land, and found divers corn-fields and little running brooks; a place, as they supposed, fit for situation." Having returned and reported this to their brethren in the 'Mayflower,' on the fifteenth of December, she weighed

* Prince, in p. 85, Pt. ii. of his *New England Chronology*, corrected, from an original MS. these names:—John Crackston, Moses Fletcher, Degory Priest, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Edward Dorey.

anchor, "and arrived the sixteenth day in the Harbour;^a . . . and on the five-and-twentieth day of December, began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. . . And they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government. . . But that which was sad and lamentable, was, that in two or three months' time half of their company died; especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which this long voyage and the incommode condition had brought upon them, so as there died sometimes two, sometimes three a-day in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons scarce fifty remained. . . Of those that did survive, . . . there were sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains night or day to be helpful to the rest. . . In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them before they went away.

"Thus being but few and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them; . . . but to them they were as lambs, God striking a dread in their hearts, so as they received no harm from them. . . Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these poor blind savages, by being means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the Gospel amongst them. . . But about the sixteenth of March, 1621, a certain Indian, called Samoset, came boldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, . . . at which they marvelled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen. . . He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country. . . The spring being now come, it pleased God that the mortality ceased. . . And thus we are come unto the twenty-fifth of March, 1621."^b

Thus, too, is set before the reader the commencement of one of the most extraordinary moral efforts that distinguishes the modern history of the world: If he be a descendant of any of this honoured band; or if he be one who "hath pleasure in the prosperity^c of the servants or

^a "Of Plymouth, as with a hopeful prolepsis my reader shall now call it; for otherwise, by the Indians it was called 'Patuxat.'" Mather, p. 8.—"The anniversary of their landing is still observed. The rock on which they landed was conveyed, in 1774, to the centre of the town." Lond. Gen. Gazetteer. 1825. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 197.—"A large mass of the rock of landing, detached for the purpose, has been deposited in front of the Pilgrim Hall. It is enclosed in an iron fence, which consists of palisades or rails in the shape of boat-hooks and harpoons, arranged, alternately, with scollop-shells and heraldic curtains, inscribed with the forty-one names of the [chief] persons who landed. The fragment of the rock itself is marked with the date 1620." The Baptists in America. By Drs. Cox and Hoby. 1836. 12mo. p. 435—"Among the painted decorations in the Hall, or Rotunda, of the Capitol, at Washington, is the Landing of the Pilgrims." *Ibid.* p. 21.

^b Morton, p. 1—29.

^c Psal. xxxv. 27.

the Lord, we are secure in his participation of our pious reverence for their memory, and in the accordance of sentiment and feeling which pervades the breast of him who is worthy to be a descendant of some one of those "Pilgrim Fathers."

"The Pilgrim Fathers!—where are they?
 The waves that brought them o'er,
 Still roll in the bay, and scatter their spray,
 As they break along the shore;
 Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day,
 When the Mayflower moored below,
 When the sea around was black with storms,
 And white the shore with snow.
 The mists that wrapped the Pilgrim's sleep,
 Still brood upon the tide;
 And his rocks yet keep their watch by the deep,
 To repel its waves of pride.
 But the snow-white sail that he gave that gale,
 When the heavens looked dark, is gone;—
 As an angel's wing, in a riven cloud—
 Is seen—and then withdrawn.
 The Pilgrim Exile—sainted name!
 The hill whose icy brow
 Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
 In the morning's flame burns now;
 And the moon's cold light, as it lay that night,
 On the hill-side and the sea,
 Still lies where he laid his houseless head:—
 The Pilgrim!—where is he?
 The Pilgrim Fathers are at rest:—
 When summer's throned on high,
 And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed,
 Mount ye the hill where they lie:
 The earliest ray of the golden day,
 On that hallowed spot is cast;
 And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
 Looks bright o'er that spot last.
 The Pilgrim *spirit* has not fled:—
 It walks in noon's broad light,
 And watches the bed of the glorious dead,
 With the holy stars, by night:
 It watches the bed of the brave that bled;
 And shall guard the ice-bound shore,
 Till the waves and spray, where the Mayflower lay,
 Shall foam and freeze no more!"^a

Our enthusiasm in the success of these adventurers, who have transmitted to admiring posterity a name and spirit alike imperishable, and who devolved on that posterity the hallowed office of—

— "Yet bearing on
 The ark of freedom and of God,"^b

impels us to avail ourselves of another effusion,^c from a pen guided by another hand, which reminds us that the name of "Pilgrims" was, "by emphasis, given, by their descendants in New England, to recognise,

^a John Pierpont. Varied, slightly, from "Selections from the American Poets. Dublin. 1834." 16mo. p. 151.

^b *Ibid.* p. 153.

^c Other particulars will be found in a subsequent chapter.

In a word, the injuries which drove them out from their homes, the character which they demonstrated, the enterprise which they undertook, and the achievements which they attained."—"He who is inquiring after moral causes must look higher than the philosophy of paganism; he must come up to the philosophy of Christianity: and he who is bestowing his thoughts on that experiment of human society which has been in progress in North America for two centuries past, would run wide of truth in his conclusions of the influences operating there, if he did not take into his account the more than human agencies which Christianity brings in aid of its faithful adherents. The 'Pilgrims' are not to be judged by common rules; they were above the common order, as if born and trained for more than common purposes; which indeed was the fact. God raised them up for the special exigency, which they occupied and filled out, namely, to lay the foundation of a new social edifice, to assort and throw into form the elements of a new empire. And the religious care and faith with which they undertook and carried on, and achieved their work, have been alike a subject of ridicule among the profane, and of approving admiration among those who knew how to appreciate their character. And they did actually erect, not only a Civil but a Religious Empire, guarantying equally the rights of man in relation to man, and the duties of conscience in the relations of man to God. The spirit of religion was infused throughout, pervaded and characterised, all their institutions. Not that religion was imposed; but tolerated, patronised, recommended, exemplified: made the chief ingredient of the moral structure; the leaven of the mass; welcomed cordially, cultivated assiduously.

"By consequence, that structure of society, framed by these men, having retained its original stamp and the same grand features, the same constitutional elements exercising a controlling power, has always proved favourable to the operation of religious influence. There has always been a religious pulse in the community, that could be found, and easily susceptible of being quickened by the application of the proper means. . . And to this day there are no barriers of *caste* in the United States; no impaled, insulated conditions of society, of a character to limit the common circulation of good and healthful moral influences, or to prevent a reformation begun in one place from reaching every other place. The messenger of God, who bears his commission to the heart and conscience of the most secluded individual in the land, may carry it also with equal boldness, if not with equal success, to the most exalted personage. No man can conveniently insulate himself from the approach of those influences, which pervade a body that is one, and of which he is a member.

"It is more especially of society in New England* that I make

* "The remarkable private morality of the New England States is worth attention; especially when taken in connexion with the very moral character of the poorer people in Scotland, Holland, and Switzerland. It is rather singular, that all these countries, which are more moral than any others, are precisely those in which Calvinism is predominant." Minutes of a Conversation with Sir James Mackintosh, in 1817; by an American. See the North American Review, Oct. 1832. p. 447.

these remarks, although they are more or less applicable to the whole community of the United States. And the origin of such a state of things is more especially to be traced to that spirit which planted the colony of Plymouth. It was a sublime spirit of truly Christian enterprise! . . . It is a general and an exact truth, that the 'Pilgrim Fathers' of New England laid the foundations of their civil and social edifice, and of their religious institutions, in tears and prayers, and in much faith. And the experiment of two hundred years has proved that God has regarded those tears, and remembered those prayers, and plenteously rewarded those works of faith."^a

CHAP. XXIII.

AINSWORTH'S CENSURE.

WE are come to the consideration of a Tract slightly noticed already as printed in 1623,^b but which was republished in 1644, under the title of "A Seasonable Discourse; Or, A Censure upon a Dialogue of the Anabaptists, intituled 'A Description of what God hath Predestinated concerning Man.'—Wherein these seven points are handled and answered, viz. 1. Of Predestination. 2. Of Election. 3. Of Reprobation. 4. Of Falling-away. 5. Of Free-will. 6. Of Original Sin. 7. Of Baptizing Infants. By Henry Ainsworth. Rom. ix. 11." 4to. pp. 74.

The production which occasioned this, bears the title of "A Discourse 'Of what God hath Predestinated concerning Man:' as also, An Answer to Mr. John Robinson. By the Servants of Christ falsely called 'The Anabaptists.' 1620." 8vo.—Not being able to describe its contents, we are left only to conjecture that it emanated from among the successors of Smyth.

The editor of Ainsworth's "Censure" tells the Reader, that "howbeit the continued infirmity of this Author's body, wherewith it pleased God to exercise him, might justly have excused him, . . . yet did he labour to his power; yea, and, as I may say, beyond his power; to enforce himself even in his decayed health, together with his other necessary labours, to discover the fraud and falsehood of the adversaries. Amongst others, he judged these Anabaptists not the least, which occasioned this ensuing 'Censure.' . . . Some were assaulted that yet would give no way or entertainment to those errors; yet other some, that had stood in the truth a long time, were perverted. The knowledge of these things coming to this reverend and judicious man, Mr. Henry Ainsworth, he soon drew out this Answer, and sent it by a friend into England, to reclaim, if God saw it good, such as had erred herein, and gone astray by rash and inconsiderate zeal beyond knowledge; and

^a "History and Character of American Revivals of Religion. By the Rev. Calvin Colton, A.M. of America. 1832." Lond. edit. 2.—Chap. v p. 38—42.

^b See back, p. 352; and, Dr. Stuart's Life of Ainsworth, p. xliii.

through the grace of God, to preserve such from falling as yet stood. This, he sent for the present; purposing, if the Lord continued some competent health and strength, to revise, and so to make more perfect, this, which then shortness of time, in respect of the messenger's great haste, could not be afforded,—and so, to make it public this spring. But the Lord having prevented this his purpose, by taking him to Himself, he now resteth from his labours. Yet finding the matter may, through the blessing of God, be profitable to his people, it is thought fit not to keep these, his last labours of this nature, in silence."

This work excited the particular notice of Dr. Stuart, who states, in his "Account of the Life and Writings of the Author,"—"It will not be thought necessary that I should give an analysis of this work. Suffice it to say, that he has argued the matter with as much ingenuity as any one who, with the further reasonings of more than a century and a half, has since appeared in the same cause."^a What the reverend antipædobaptist declined as inexpedient for him, falls peculiarly within our province: and we present, therefore, in accordance with the method pursued on other occasions, such a view of the substance of this Tract as comports with our general design.

The author commences thus, "Being requested, by some whose minds the Anabaptists would cumber with their errors, to show my judgment on their foresaid Book, I have set down these few observations." He presently charges those, whom our readers should keep in remembrance were Smyth and his followers, and whom Dr. Stuart tells us Ainsworth "has proved successfully against," concerning "Salvation,"—with abusing and calumniating "the doctrine of those whom they call Calvinists." And he concludes the first section with these words, "When 'the judge' delivereth an evil-doer to 'the officer,' and the officer casts him 'into prison,'^b the judge doth this by the officer. So God is the Judge, he 'delivereth' evil-doers to Satan to be their deluder, their tormentor, their gaoler; He giveth them up to blindness, hardness, reprobate minds; and these are works of his justice, which Satan and evil men execute most sinfully. Christ saith, he came into this world 'for judgment; that they which see not, might see; and that they which see, might be made blind.'^c Now, in what manner God blindeth and hardeneth sinners, it is not in man to declare; for his judgments are 'unsearchable,' and his ways 'past finding out.'^d But they that, for his judgments, would make God the author of sin, err on the one hand; and they that ascribe unto Him herein but 'a bare permission,' err on the other. Godliness will teach us to believe and rest in that which the Scriptures teach: though it pass our reach and capacity how God, in his wisdom, doth these things.—Hitherto of 'Predestination.'"

Under the second section, he writes, "No 'Scripture' telleth them, that our Election to life dependeth on 'this condition,'—of our 'faith and obedience.' Faith and obedience are the effect, not the cause, of our Election; and are conditions following election, not going before it; as it is written, 'As many as were ordained to eternal life,

^a P. xliv. ^b Luke xii. 58. ^c John ix. 39. ^d Rom. xi. 33.

believed.'^a Teaching, that God's ordaining to life,—that is, his election,—went before their believing. But these men invert the order of God, and would teach that so many as believed 'beforehand,' were ordained to life!—The apostle teacheth us, that whom God 'foreknew,' he also did 'predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son.'^b So that our conformity to the 'image' of Christ, our faith, obedience, bearing his cross, &c. is that whereunto,—not, that wherefore,—God predestinated, or chose us. This is most apparent by the words following, 'Whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.'^c So then, glorifying cometh after justifying; justifying, after calling; calling, after predestinating, or choosing unto life: and these graces are not before Predestination, or causes of it, as these adversaries would persuade.—It is written, that God 'hath chosen us' in Christ, 'before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy;' and, he 'predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ.'^d So that our holiness, and our adoption, are things that we are chosen *unto*, and do follow Election; but are not the things going before, and which we are chosen *for*, because God 'findeth' them in us!—Paul teacheth us, that God 'justifieth the ungodly' that believe in him.^e Now, those whom He 'justifieth,' he did choose and predestinate before.^f Therefore he chose 'the ungodly,'—the unrighteous,—that they may be made godly, righteous, and holy, through his grace. But these men say, God chooseth 'a righteous man;' whereas the Scripture saith, 'There is none that doeth good; no, not one:' 'there is none that understandeth; none that seeketh after God.'^g So that if God should choose the 'righteous' only, none at all should be chosen. . . Moses teacheth Israel, that God gave them not inheritance in the earthly Canaan,—much less in the kingdom of Christ,—for their 'righteousness,' or 'uprightness' of their hearts.^h He telleth them, 'Because' God 'loved' their fathers, 'therefore' he chose their seed after them.ⁱ But these men would persuade, that because men deny themselves, take up the cross and follow Christ,—that is, because they are righteous and holy,—therefore God chooseth them to inherit heaven! . .

"They proceed in their error, and say, 'All men to whom the Gospel is preached, were elected to salvation in Christ; not *actually*, for they could not be actually chosen before they had actually any being, but in the eternal purpose of God upon the condition afore spoken.'—Their first assertion is against truth; against reason. It is not true, . . by Acts xiii. 46, 48; for, '*as many* as were ordained,'—that is, elected,—'to eternal life, believed:' but all believed not; therefore all were not ordained, or elected, to life. Against reason, it is to say, 'all' are elected; for Election implieth a leaving or refusing some; where 'all' are taken, no choice is made! Their second saying is, 'All were elected not actually,' because they had no 'being,' but in God's 'eternal purpose.' The action is in God, not in man; and,

^a Acts xiii. 48.^b Rom. viii. 29.^c Ver. 30.^d Eph. i. 4, 5.^e Rom. iv. 5.^f Rom. viii. 30.^g Rom. iii. 12, 11.^h Deut. ix. 4—6.ⁱ Deut. iv. 37.

his purposes or decrees are his actions: and if 'before the foundation of the world,' God elected us 'in Christ,' as the apostle teacheth; * then, were we 'actually chosen' before we had natural being; though God's choice had not effect in us till we had 'being:' but whereas they add, 'upon the condition afore spoken,' it is an error before refuted."

Ainsworth meets, in this connexion, "Objections" that were, or that might be advanced: such as Eph. ii. 1, &c.; which he explains by referring to chap. i. 4; he says, "in respect of their sinful estate and unbelief, before they were called, they were without God." On Eph. i. 13, 14,—“After ye believed, ye were sealed, &c.”—he asks, referring again to Eph. i. 4, “Could they not be ‘elected’ of the Father, before they were ‘sealed’ by the Holy Ghost? They would confound ‘election’ and ‘sealing’ ignorantly.” On Rom. ix. 25, and 1 Pet. ii. 10; he affirms that “here again, they confounded God’s ‘election’ with his ‘calling’; which is the manifestation of his ‘election,’ by the effect. God’s predestination,” he says, “is before his calling, Rom. viii. 30. So though they were not his people by ‘calling,’ they were his by ‘election.’ Acts xviii. 10. Jer. i. 5.”... “They make men to be first ‘called, justified, glorified,’ and then ‘predestinated unto life!’ They neglect Paul’s doctrine that God chose us before the world was, that we *should be* holy; and teach new doctrine of Antichrist’s devising, that God chose us *because* we were holy.” His next references are to Rom. xi. 32, Eph. ii. 8, Phil. ii. 13, John xii. 39, 2 Tim. iii. 8, Tit. i. 16. “If God would give ‘all’ men a like grace,” then, he adds, “he could make ‘all’ men willing to believe and obey; but this he doth not.” He adduces Ezek. xxxvi. 26, John xii. 39, 40, Matt. xi. 25, 26, Rom. ix. 18.—“Why God changeth the heart of some, and not of other some, when he could if he pleased change ‘all,’ is not a question to be disputed of.^b Let it suffice us, that God oweth us nothing, except death for our sins. . . If God have given grace to any of us, let us praise him for his mercy; when we see others left without grace, let us reverence him for his unsearchable judgments.”

Having dismissed the section of “these men’s universal election,” Ainsworth enters shortly, on that of “Reprobation;” which, he tells us, “they treat of, badly, as before.” The Scripture teacheth, he says, “as in Jude 4, ‘There are certain men crept in, who were before of old ordained to this condemnation.’ If they were ‘ordained’ to it ‘before of old,’ then, was it before they were ‘born.’ The same is confirmed by Rom. ix. 11—13; which Scripture they seek to pervert by a longsome and erroneous exposition. . . They labour to refute their own forgeries, not our assertions.”

“The next error,” he writes, “which they would maintain, is, ‘That a man may ‘fall’ from his election.’ This topic he treats somewhat largely, but he has so laid it down, that we cannot satisfactorily exhibit the argument as it runs through the several answers to the positions, reasons, and objections, of his “adversaries;” we shall, therefore, only present the introductory and the closing paragraphs of this section.

* Eph. i. 4.

^b Rom. ix. 19, 20.

"The faith which we profess, is this, That the Elect, however through Satan's temptations and their own infirmities, they are subject to *fall* from God and perish; yet they are 'kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.'^a Though they, through their weakness, sin, and 'fall,' yet 'the Lord putteth under, his hand';^b and the seed of God 'remaineth' in them, and they 'cannot sin,' unto death, because they are 'born of God.'^c Though of themselves, they are too ready to depart from God; yet he will not turn away from them to do them good, but putteth his 'fear in their hearts,' that they 'shall not depart' from him.^d So Christ's sheep 'shall never perish, &c.;'^e and the "Elect" cannot possibly be seduced from Christ.^f

"It is an absurd exposition of 1 John ii. 19, to put *qualities* for persons. He there speaks of 'antichrists,'—'they went out from us.' These men will have it, 'evil, or antichristian qualities—went out from us.' But what sense, then, will they make of the last branch of the verse, 'That they might be made manifest that they were not all of us?' Will they say, 'Some antichristian qualities were of the apostles, though not all?' The meaning is evident, That in the church are persons some good, some bad; some elect, some reprobate; but while they abide and walk together in the church, it is not 'manifest' who are of the church,—who are not. But when the wicked and reprobates depart from the Truth and Church, then it is manifest that such apostates, though for a time in the church, yet were never of it. So it is a sure proof that God's elect are both *in* and *of* the church of Christ, and shall never *fall away* utterly from it."

Advancing to the section "Of Free-will," Ainsworth writes, "This point these adversaries handle confusedly and maliciously: confusedly, because they show not what they mean by 'Free-will,' or freedom of will; whether free from compulsion, or free from bondage of sin. Maliciously, for that they feign the 'Calvinists' to hold that 'The wicked are not only left by God's suffering, but compelled to sin by power, &c.; compelled, by the power, force, and compulsion of God's predestination, to commit all those wicked crimes for which they are punished by the magistrate, or tormented in hell, &c.; and then much more doth it in goodness, as violently work all: so that the godly can neither choose nor refuse goodness.'" He replies, "If these adversaries have common honesty, let them show out of the writings of the 'Calvinists,' as they call them, these assertions which they impute unto them. Till they do this, let them have their name and fame among liars and workers of iniquity. As for us, we abhor these doctrines of compulsion to sin, by force, and power of God's predestination, &c. As for Will in man, we know it to be a natural faculty, still remaining, though corrupted by sin, as all other like faculties in us. We acknowledge it still to be free from compulsion or constraint, for so Will should be no Will. But we confess, with grief, that in respect of bondage to sin,—under which all men were 'sold,'^g it may rather be called 'bond-will,' than 'free-will;' for it is not free to refuse sin,

^a 1 Pet. i. 5.^d Jer. xxxii. 40.^e Rom. vii. 14.^b Psal. xxxvii. 24.^c John x. 28.^f 1 John iii. 9.^g Matt. xxiv. 24.

until it be renewed by Christ ;* and so far as it is regenerate by Him, it is again, as other powers and faculties in the saints, freed by grace, and willesh things that are good. . . We grant 'evil' free-will, or free-will 'to evil,' is remaining in all natural men. We believe that free-will to good, is from grace and regeneration; and that all the saints have it in part, as they have knowledge, faith, and other virtues here, in part; which shall be perfected in the life to come. And if no more be required, this fruitless dispute is at an end; and it is worthless labour to answer words of wind."

On the subject next in order, he writes thus; "The Anabaptists hold, more erroneously than the very papists, that 'Original Sin' is an idle term; and that there is no such thing as men intend by the word. In this their Dialogue, they set the state of the question thus, 'Of the original *estate* of mankind.' Wherein they speak doubtfully and deceitfully. For man's 'original estate' is properly that described in Genesis, which was by creation 'very good.' But since the fall of Adam our 'original estate' is, through that fall, become sinful and miserable; and is so acknowledged by David,^b by John,^c by Paul,^d and by Christ himself.^e Notwithstanding, these adversaries affirm, 'That no Infant whatsoever is in the estate of condemnation of hell with the wicked;' which they think they prove thus, Rom. vi. 23, Ezek. xviii. 4, 20, 1 John iii. 4, Rom. v. 13. 'Therefore, if Infants,' [say they], 'have transgressed' no law, 'there is no condemnation to them.' The conclusion, which implieth that Infants are 'not' transgressors of God's law, is denied, Rom. v. 12, 19. . . 'In Adam,' all died :^f this apostolic doctrine is as contrary to the Anabaptists, as light is to darkness."

In consequence of the still more particular bearing and influence, which the general argument here has upon the subsequent and final, but principal subject, "Of Baptizing Infants," it will necessarily occupy a proportionate space. This being premised, we proceed by remarking, that, to confirm his last position, Ainsworth writes, "They hereby weaken, if they could, the apostle's argument in Heb. vii. 9, 10. . . For a man might cavil, that Levi had 'no life, nor being, at that time.' But Paul saith, 'he was in the loins of his father' Abraham, 'when Melchisedec met him.' So say I, we all were in the loins of our father Adam, when he transgressed. If, then, Levi paid tithes when Abraham did; we all brake God's law when Adam did! They hereby weaken, as they can, the apostle's proof of our redemption by Christ. For he saith, that Adam is 'the figure' of Christ 'that was to come.'^g Now, take away the first, namely, the transgression of all men in Adam; and it overthroweth the latter, to wit, the righteousness and salvation of the world by Christ. They abuse the apostle's words in Rom. vii. 1, whence they would prove, that 'the law' given to Adam was given to them only that *knew* it; namely, to Adam and his wife; not to their children, which knew it not. Whereas, the apostle speaking to the Romans, spake to them that *knew* the law,

* John viii. 34, 36.

^b Psal. li. 5.

^c John xiv. 4.

^d Rom. v. 12, &c.; Eph. ii. 3.

^e John iii. 3, 5, 6.

^f 1 Cor. xv. 22.

^g Rom. v. 14, 15, 19.

the more to convince them ; he denieth not, that God gave his law to Adam and his posterity in his loins : the Lord ‘ calleth those things which be not, as though they were.’^a He spake to Cyrus and gave him promises, before Cyrus *knew* him, or was born into the world.^b He ‘ promised’ the land to Abraham, ‘ and to his seed after him, when as yet he had no child.’^c He made a ‘ covenant’ with Israel ; not with them ‘ only’ that stood there that day, but with them also that were not there that day with them.^d And if he did thus *imply the children* with the parents in other covenants and promises ; how much more did he the like to Adam’s seed ? Seeing Adam is spoken of not as a particular man, but a general ; so that his unrighteousness was not his own only, but his children’s also ; even as Christ’s righteousness, whom Adam *figured*, was not his own only, but is communicated with all his children ; who, therefore, is the second Adam causing *life*, as the first Adam caused death.”^e

In a like manner, Ainsworth combats his opponents through two other paragraphs ; commencing the third, thus, — “ Further, they answer, and desire it may be ‘ well observed,’ — That mankind was only in Adam, in their bodily substance ; he is the father of our bodies in respect of matter, but our form and souls came from God ; he is ‘ the Father’ of our ‘ spirits.’^f That earthly matter was in Adam of which our bodies are made, &c. ; *thus*, and no otherwise, were we in Adam.’ We observe it well ; and observe their error also ! It is untrue that ‘ thus,’ to wit, in respect of our ‘ bodies’ only, were we in Adam, and not in respect of our ‘ souls ;’ no Scripture teacheth this ; but their own fancy. For, though our souls were not, in all respects, in Adam, as our bodies were ; to wit, materially ; yet in some respect, to wit, formally, we were in Adam both body and soul. Which I thus manifest ; Gen. v. 3. Matt. i. 2 : . . Man consisteth of body and soul, which are the parts that constitute *a man* ; so ‘ man,’ that is, the whole, not part of a man only, is said to be ‘ born of a woman.’^g Yea, the ‘ sixty-six souls,’ whereby, figuratively, is meant persons, consisting of bodies and souls, are said to come out of Jacob’s ‘ loins ;’^h and Levi ‘ in the loins’ of Abraham, is said to pay tithes.ⁱ Now, ‘ the body without the spirit is dead,’^k and therefore cannot pay tithes, nor do any action. And, in the place and case in hand, in Adam ‘ all’ sinned, ‘ all’ died, ‘ judgment came on *all* men to condemnation ;’^l but the body, without the soul, sinneth not, neither dieth, nor shall be condemned. Therefore, it is apparent, that the Scripture speaketh of men in Adam, *otherwise* than in respect of their bodies only : so that these men’s special observation is nothing worth ! — Again, they plead, “ As God gave no law to Adam, before he gave him a soul of reason and understanding ; no more doth he give to any of Adam’s posterity any law, till he give them souls of reason and understanding, as in Deut. xi. 2, ‘ I speak not to your *children*, which have neither known nor seen, &c.’ First ; The words of Moses to Israel, to whom he propounded the law, are not to be compared with God’s law given to Adam ; for the

^a Rom. iv. 17.^b Isai. xlv. 1, 5.^c Acts vii. 5.^d Deut. xxix. 14, 15.^e Rev. v. 1 Cor. xiv.^f Heb. xii. 9. Eccles. xii. 7 ; viii. 8.^g Job xiv. 1.^h Gen. xlv. 26.ⁱ Heb. vii. 9, 10.^k Jas. ii. 26.^l Rom. v. 12, 18.

Israelites were spoken to personally ;^a Adam, generally, as a universal man, the root of all mankind ; as before is proved. Secondly ; The 'covenant' of Moses' law did also, after a sort, pertain to their children which then were 'not ;'^b though it was actually taught them only which were present.^c Thirdly ; The 'sin' which Paul treateth of, 'and death for sin,' was in the world, before Moses' law, which these men speak of.^d Fourthly ; Let all they say be given them, yet it helps them not ; for I have before proved that we were 'all' in Adam as living men, not as dead corpses ; and so, had souls of reason and understanding in him originally, even as we had bodies, eyes, ears, &c. in him originally, though after a different manner, as before is noted."

By the same mode of reasoning, Ainsworth exposes the fallacy of his opponents respecting "the judgment" consequent upon "original sin." "They object," he writes, "'That condemnation is, for 'not' believing in Christ.'"^e First ; The apostle saith, 'the wages of sin is death ;'^f therefore the wicked shall be 'condemned' not only for their 'not believing in Christ,' but also for their unmercifulness, idolatries, adulteries, and other crimes.^g Secondly ; The sin of *unbelief* cleaveth unto 'all' Adam's children, as other sins ; and shall be imputed, as well as the sin of lust, or any other iniquities. Thirdly ; To *believe*, is not in the will or power of man ; but is the gracious 'gift of God,' to such as he hath 'ordained unto life.'"^h

Further on, he writes, "Of the remedy for the sin of all ; whereof they next speak ; we grant that is, both for Infants and old sinners, by 'grace in Christ.' But, . . they proceed and say, 'That Infants,' whom Christ so often accounted Innocents ;ⁱ are freed from 'the law,' and so sin is dead in them. But when 'the commandment' comes, then they die in sins and transgressions, &c.'^k Ainsworth answers, "'Innocents,' may be so called, in sundry respects : First ; When, in them, there is no sin at all : thus Adam, in his creation, was 'innocent :'^l Secondly ; When though they be sinners, yet they are not guilty of such sins as men lay to their charge :^m Thirdly ; When they are clear of actual sins : and thus, Infants may be called 'innocents.'"ⁿ That Christ called Infants 'innocents' in the first sense, I deny : the Scripture also denieth them so to be.^o I find not, in the places which they quote, that Christ calleth Infants 'innocents :'^p howbeit, sometimes he calleth his *disciples* innocents, or 'guiltless ;'^q of whom yet, these men, I suppose, will not say they were without all sin ! That Infants are freed from the law given to Adam, is denied and disproved by Rom. v. for in 'Adam' they sinned and died. That sin is dead

^a That Ainsworth's conclusion is just, here, will be more apparent if the text and context, ver. 7, be strictly examined. In the Septuagint, ver. 2, stands thus, *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν πατὴρ ὁ μὴ* "For not your children, &c."

^b Deut. xxix. 14, 15.

^c Deut. xi.

^d Rom. v. 12—14.

^e John iii. 19 ; xvi. 9. Mar. xvi. 16. Rom. xi. 33, [23].

^f Rom. vi. 23.

^g Matt. xxv. 41, &c. Rom. ii. 5, 6.

^h Eph. ii. 8. Acts xiii. 48.

ⁱ Matt. xviii. 3, 4 ; xix. 4.

^k Rom. vii. 8. Eph. ii. 1.

^l Exod. xxiii. 7. 2 Sam. iii. 28. Jer. ii. 34.

^m Psal. cvi. 38.

ⁿ Job xv. 14 ; xxv. 4. John iii. 36. Eph. ii. 3.

^o Matt. xii. 7.

in them, is also disproved; rather, they are dead in sin, until they be revived by Christ."^a

Again: "They err, in saying, 'The soul is the subject of sin;' for neither the soul alone, nor the body alone, but the whole man,—which differeth from both, and consisteth of both,—he is the subject of sin. Neither doth the body without the soul, nor the soul without the body commit sin; but the man, while the soul is in the body, sinneth;^b and as the soul was not created but in the body,^c or, when it departeth from the body, it sinneth no more; but goeth for judgment."^d

At length, he writes, "They cast a stumbling-block in the way, and would have us show, 'How Infants that have sinned, and are under condemnation of hell, can be reconciled to God but only by faith in Christ Jesus: and if they cannot but by repentance and faith, then are they *all* left under condemnation, not for any law that they have broken, but for their father Adam's sin.'—That all have sinned, and are under condemnation, is proved by the apostle;^e how Infants can be reconciled to God, he also teacheth, namely, 'through the gift of grace, by one man, Jesus Christ.'^f The manner, if it be showed, I fear these men will not receive it. For they that have so kicked against the pricks, touching 'all' men's fall and sin in Adam; how should they receive the doctrine of restoration by Christ? Howbeit, I will endeavour to show it: if it do no good to them, it may to others. First; The faith and repentance which they require in Infants, namely, 'actual,' is not to be found; as such actual sins are not found in them as are in older men. The one of these exemplifies the other; as the first Adam signified the second.^g By the first Adam, we have 'sin';^h 'offence';ⁱ 'disobedience';^k 'judgment';^l 'death';^m 'condemnation';ⁿ by the second Adam, Christ, we have 'grace,' and the 'gift' of grace;^o 'the gift of righteousness';^p 'the free gift, to justification';^q 'even to justification to life';^r By the first Adam, we have three evils: imputation of his sin: corruption of our nature: guiltiness of death temporary and eternal. By the second Adam, we have three opposite good things: imputation of His righteousness: regeneration, or renewing of our nature: and deliverance from death temporary and eternal. As the corruption or viciousness that we have by Adam is in the bud or spring; in the beginning, not in the full; and inclineth us to all actual sins; so, the regeneration we have by Christ, is in the spring and beginnings thereof when we are Infants, and inclineth us to actual faith and obedience. And thus repentance and faith are in *Christian Infants* in their bud or beginning, inclinatively: even as impenitency and unbelief are in Adam's infants, in their beginning, and by inclination. If any ask with Nicodemus, 'How can these things be?' let him consider, that as he knoweth not 'the way of the wind,' or of 'the Spirit'; nor 'how the bones do grow, &c. even so he knoweth not the works of God, who maketh all.'^s

^a Eph. ii. 1, 2.

^b Rom. v. 12, 8.

^c Ver. 12.

^d Ver. 13.

^e Ver. 14.

^f Ver. 16.

^g 2 Cor. v. 10.

^h Ver. 15, 18.

ⁱ Ver. 15.

^j Ver. 16.

^k Ver. 18.

^l Zech. xii. 1.

^m Rom. v. 14.

ⁿ Ver. 19.

^o Ver. 15.

^p John iii. 8.

^q Heb. ix. 27 Ec.

[Eph. ix. 5, 6, 10.

^r Ver. 16.

^s Ver. 17.

^t Eccles. xi. 5.

"Where they say, 'death is loss to none but to the wicked;' it is true. And hereupon it followeth," Ainsworth writes, in concluding this section, "That seeing Infants are wicked, as is formerly proved, until they be made righteous by Christ, and 'born again,' death is a loss unto them; and a gain to those only, whether old or young, which are made partakers of 'the grace and gift of righteousness by one, Jesus Christ.'"^a

We are advanced to the section, which occupies the largest portion of Ainsworth's "Censure;" and as it will impart additional interest to see in what way the subject "Of Baptizing Infants" was justified and maintained at this period of our history; notwithstanding that it has been touched upon already,^b we give such a representation of the argument in its favour here, as shall serve to show the particular conceptions and judgment of this advocate for the practice.

Thus, then, he opens the subject: "Against Baptizing of Infants, the adversaries first lay this ground, 'Baptism pertaineth *only* to them that declare their repentance and faith to those disciples of Christ that baptize them. This appeareth by John Baptist's doctrine and practice, Mark i. Matt. iii. 6; and Christ's disciples, John iv. 1; iii. 22; by Christ's commission to 'all nations,' Matt. xxviii. 19. Mar. xvi. 16; by the apostles' practice, Acts ii. 38, 41; viii. 12, 36.'"

Ainsworth places himself directly at issue on the question, in these terms, "That it pertaineth to such '*only*,' is untrue; and none of the Scriptures which they bring do so teach. The *Infants of the Church*, who cannot declare repentance or faith, are also to be baptized." Again: "'Infants,' say they, 'may not be baptized, because there is neither commandment, example, nor true consequence, for it, in all Christ's perfect Testament.' This we deny. Commandment there is for it in Matt. xxviii., and Mark xvi.; and necessary consequences from many Scriptures confirm it.

"'Baptism,' say they, 'is in that 'a good conscience' maketh request unto God.'^c It is 'of repentance for remission of sins:' 'the washing of the new birth.'^d If it cannot be proved by the Scriptures, that Infants have their 'hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience;' have 'repentance, faith, &c.;' they ought not to be baptized.'—Their argument hath only a show, no substance of truth. For, first, a man might frame as good a reason thus,—Circumcision is not that which is 'outward in the flesh,' but that of 'the heart; in the spirit.'^e It is the 'putting off of the body of the sins of the 'flesh.'^f It sealeth 'the righteousness of faith,' which they have;^g and the 'circumcising the heart;^h 'to love the Lord, &c.'ⁱ Now, if it cannot be proved by Scripture, that Infants have the 'love' of God 'in their hearts,' 'the righteousness of faith,' 'the putting off of the body of sin,' &c.; they may not be circumcised, and this circumcision is nothing! If this be not a good argument to keep children from 'circumcision,' the other is no better to keep them from baptism. Secondly; *Christian Infants* have the graces they speak of, 'repentance, faith, regeneration, &c.:'

^a Rom. v. 12—17.

^c Mar. i. 4. Tit. iii. 5, &c.

^g Rom. iv. 11.

^b See back, p. 269.

^d Rom. ii. 28, 29.

^h Deut. x. 16.

^e 1 Pet. iii. 21.

^f Col. ii. 11.

ⁱ Deut. xxx. 6.

though not 'actually,' or by way of declaration to others, yet they have, through the work of the Spirit, the seed and beginning of 'faith,' virtually and by way of inclination; so that they are not wholly destitute of 'faith, regeneration, &c.:' though it be a thing hid and unknown unto us, after what manner the Lord worketh these in them.^a Which I further prove thus: If Infants naturally are some ways capable of Adam's sin, and so of unbelief, disobedience, transgression, &c., then *Christian Infants*, supernaturally, and by grace, are some ways capable of Christ's 'righteousness,' and so of faith, obedience, sanctification, &c. But Infants *are* capable of the former evils by Adam; therefore, they *are* capable of the latter good things by Christ. That they are capable of the former, is before proved; where we treated of 'Original Sin;' by Rom. v., Psal. li., John iii., and many Scriptures."

This consequence, That therefore Infants are capable of the latter also; namely, of Christian graces; is thus manifested; "Because the first Adam was a figure of the second Adam, Christ, so that as the sin of the first Adam, his fault, disobedience, and death for it, came on 'all' his children, both by imputation and infection or corruption of nature; so, the righteousness and obedience of Christ cometh on *all* his children, both by imputation and renewing of nature unto life and salvation; as the apostle compareth them.^b Because Infants being, by Adam, sinners, children of wrath, &c. must 'be born again of the Spirit,' or else they 'cannot see the kingdom of God.'^c But, the *Christian Infants*, dying in infancy, shall 'see the kingdom of God,' and not be damned; as the adversaries grant; *therefore*, by Christ's doctrine, they are born again 'of the Spirit;' and so must needs, in some measure, have repentance, faith, holiness, without which there is no regeneration."

That Infants have the faith and love of God in them; and regeneration in their measure; Ainsworth says, in his own phrase, "is thus proved,—They to whom God giveth the sign and seal of righteousness by faith, and of regeneration,—they have faith and regeneration. For God giveth no lying sign; he sealeth no vain or false covenants. But God gave to Infants, circumcision, which was the 'sign' and 'seal' of the righteousness of faith and regeneration.^d Therefore, Infants had, and consequently now have, faith and regeneration; though not in the crop or harvest, by declaration; yet, in the bud and beginnings of all Christian graces." They that deny this consequence, he adds, "must either make God the author of a lying sign and seal of the covenant to Abraham and his Infants; or, they must hold, That Infants had those graces then, but not now: both which are wicked and absurd to affirm. Or they must say, That circumcision was not the sign and seal 'of the righteousness of faith;' and, then, they openly contradict the Scripture, Rom. iv. 11."

Here our author takes up another position, and moves with all the energy of one who duly cultivated the blessing for which he was contending, and who had availed himself of the Gospel privilege of impart-

^a Eccles. xi. 5.

^b Rom. v. 12, 15—19, 21.

^c John iii. 3, 5, 6.

^d Gen. xvii. 12. Rom. iv. 11; ii. 28, 29. Col. ii. 11.

ing the external sign. "As the apostle," he writes, "in Rom. v., compareth our natural estate in Adam, and our spiritual, in Christ, so may we in this case. If we cannot justly object against God's work in nature; but do believe that our Infants are reasonable creatures, and are born not brute beasts, but men; though 'actually' they can manifest no reason or understanding more than beasts; yea a young lamb knoweth and discerneth his dam sooner than an Infant knoweth his mother: then, neither can we justly object against God's work in grace; but, are to believe that our Infants are sanctified creatures, and are born Believers, not infidels, though outwardly, they can manifest no faith or sanctification unto us.

"And why should it be thought incredible, that God should work faith in Infants? If, because we know not, or perceive not, how it can be: Let us consider, that we know not the way of our natural birth, and other earthly things." How, then, can we know heavenly things? If we make question of the power of God: Nothing is impossible with Him. He made all things of nothing; He can make the dumb beast speak with a man's voice;^b He can make the Babe in the mother's womb to be affected, and leap for joy, at the voice of words spoken to the mother.^c And, can He not, also, work grace, faith, holiness, in Infants? Hath Satan power, by sin, to infect and corrupt Infants; as is before proved; and, shall not God have power to cleanse from corruption and make them holy? If we make doubt of the *will* of God herein; behold, we have his *promises* to restore our losses in Adam, by his graces in Christ; as he showeth in Rom. v.; that he will circumcise our heart, 'and the heart of our seed, to love him,' Deut. xxx. 6. We have the seal of his promise, in giving circumcision unto Infants, to signify and seal 'the righteousness of faith.'^d And we have assurance of all his promises; and of that to Abraham and his seed in particular; to be confirmed unto us; not abrogated or lessened; by Christ.^e Wherefore, they are but a faithless and crooked generation, that notwithstanding all that God hath spoken and done in this kind, do deny this grace of Christ to the Infants of His people, and the seal or confirmation of this grace by Baptism now, as it was by circumcision of old!"

In the subsequent paragraph, he asks, "I desire to know of the Anabaptists, in their next writings about these matters, First, When they think that Children; who, in their opinion, are born without sin; begin to be sinners: whether at two, three, five, seven, or other years? and, when they can justly reprove a Child for sin, if it show in word, deed, or gesture, any thing contrary to the law of God? . . . Yea, let any of them tell me, if he can, when he himself first fell from his innocency? . . . It is strange that an innocent man should fall from his innocency, and not know when and how! Secondly; Let them say, Whether every Child so soon as it beginneth to be a sinner, hath not remedy for the sin, by Christ? and, so, whether it be not capable of repentance, faith, regeneration, &c., and, consequently, of Baptism, so soon as it is a sinner! Thirdly; Seeing they insist so much on the

^a Eccles. xi. 5. John iii. 8.

^b Num. xxii. 28, &c. ^c Luke i. 44.

^d Rom. iv. 11. Gen. xvii.

^e 2 Cor. i. 20. Luke i. 72, 73. Gal. iii. 14, &c.

perfection of the ordinances of the New Testament, as of the Old; which thing I willingly grant; I desire to know, Whether, as God appointed the eighth day for the circumcision of a child after it was born, Christ hath appointed *any* day, month, or year, for a child to be baptized after it is born? If they say, None; but, when the child can manifest repentance and faith: then, What manifestation hath Christ prescribed? Whether, if the child say it 'repenteth him,' and he 'believeth,' it is enough? or, What rules and ordinances Christ hath given, by which we may certainly know that now, and not before or after, a child is to receive Baptism as a repentant and believing sinner? And, let them tell us, at what age of their Children they, or any of them, hath first baptized his child unto remission of sins?

"These things are needful to be known, that we may walk by rule. And being not yet signified, to my knowledge, in any of their writings, I desire, for my information, and for the better clearing of these controversies, that they would set down their doctrine touching these points. For, it is required of all parents to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; ^a this, they cannot do aright, unless they know when first they begin to sin, and, consequently, when first they begin to believe. If they blame a child for sin while it is an innocent, they commit iniquity; if they keep a child from Christ and Christian baptism, when it is a repentant and believing sinner; which may be so soon as it is a sinner; they wrong their child most sinfully, to condemn that which Christ justifieth.

"And now, ere I proceed further to answer their cavils, I will show two Commandments for the baptizing of Infants. The one given of old to our Fathers; the other, given by Christ." Passing by what he repeats of the extent and perpetuity of the Abrahamic covenant, we show how he enlarges. "The difference," he writes, "between the Fathers and us is that they had the Gospel in 'promise;' we have the same Gospel in performance."^b They believed in Christ that was to come; we believe in Christ who is come. Their faith and ours is one in substance.^c That Circumcision and Baptism are also one in substance, though different in outward sign, is thus manifested:—Circumcision was the sign of faith and holiness; ^d Baptism is the sign of faith and holiness.^e Circumcision was the first sign and seal of entering into the covenant; Baptism, is so now! We now being 'buried with Christ in baptism,' are said to be 'circumcised in him;' which plainly manifesteth them to be one and the same: even as their other sacramental signs are said to be the same that we now have, in respect of the things signified.^f Forasmuch then, as the Covenant with Abraham and with us, and the seal of the Covenant then and now, are one in substance; it followeth, that the Commandment then to give Infants the seal of the Covenant, being never repealed, bindeth us to give them the seal of the Covenant, at this day. The exceptions which the adversaries

^a Eph. vi. 4.^b Luke i. 69, 71, &c. Acts xiii. 32, &c.; xxvi. 6.^c Heb. xi. Gal. iii. 9.^d Rom. i. v. 11; ii. 29. Col. ii. 11. Deut. x. 16.^e Acts viii. 37, 38. Rom. vi. 3, &c.^f Col. ii. 11, 12.^g 1 Cor. x. 1—4; v. 5, 7, 8.

make, of the difference between Circumcision and Baptism, shall be answered after, in their place.

"The second Commandment for baptizing of Infants, is in Mark xvi. 15, Matt. xxviii. 19. In this commission of Christ, are two things; The preaching of the Gospel 'to every creature,' to 'all nations;' and, The sealing of the same, by Baptism. The Gospel belonged to Infants; and they are necessarily implied in the first: therefore, Baptism belonged to Infants. And, they are as necessarily implied in the latter. Christ biddeth proclaim or 'preach the Gospel;' but what the Gospel is, is not here declared; we must gather it from other Scriptures.

"The Gospel, or Evangely, is the 'glad tidings,' or joyful declaration, that the 'Promise' which was made unto the Fathers, God hath fulfilled the same unto us their children. The 'Promise,' I say, concerning Christ, and the redemption of the world by him.^a So the Gospel; which is the good tidings of the fulfilling of the 'Promise;' is as large as the Promise was. Whereupon, not in the forementioned Scriptures only, but in many other places, the apostles refer the Gospel to the 'Promise,' or 'Promises,' made of old.^b Not in general only, but the particular promises at several times, are showed to be accomplished in the Gospel; as the 'Promise' to Adam;^c to Abraham;^d to David;^e to Israel, by Moses, Samuel, and other prophets.^f So that 'all the Promises of God' are 'yea and amen,' in Christ.^g And, for the point in controversy, the Promise of grace and salvation to Abraham and to his seed,^h is, by the Gospel, showed to be confirmed.ⁱ But, the 'Promise' to Abraham implied his Infants:^k therefore, the Gospel; which is the complement of that Promise; implieth *our* Infants! And so the apostle saith, 'The Promise is to you and to your children.'^l

"And the sign and seal of the Promise was given to Abraham's children in Infancy;^m therefore, it belongeth to *our* children in *their* Infancy: and we are said to be 'the children of Promise, as Isaac was;ⁿ but Isaac was the child of promise in his infancy, and had then the seal of the Promise in his infancy, when he was but eight days old.^o Wherefore, *we* also, in our Infancy, are children of the 'Promise,' and have right to the seal of the Covenant even then; or else we are not 'as Isaac was'!

"And thus, Christ commanding 'the Gospel' to be preached, commanded the fulfilling of the Promises to be preached; even all and every one of the promises, without excepting any; and so *commanded* the 'Promise' of grace, and accomplishment of it to the seed of the Faithful, even in their Infancy, to be preached. . . And, seeing all Believers are, by his commission, to be baptized; the Infants of the Church being Believers, in respect of the beginning of faith; though not

^a Acts xiii. 32, 33. Luke i. 54, 55, 69, 70, &c. Acts ii. 38, 39; xxvi. 22, 23. Luke iv. 18, 21. ^b Rom. iv. 16. Gal. iv. 28. Rom. xv. 8, 9. Gal. iii. 22.

^c 2 Tim. i. 1. and many the like.

^d Rom. xvi. 20, from Gen. iii. 15.

^e Luke i. 55, 73. Rom. iv. 16—18.

^f Luke i. 69, 70. Acts ii. 30, 31.

^g Acts iii. 22, 24, 25. Luke i. 70.

^h 2 Cor. i. 20.

ⁱ Gen. xvii. 7.

^j Luke i. 55. Acts ii. 38, 39. Gal. iii. 14, 16, 29.

^k Gen. xvii. 7, 10, 11.

^l Acts ii. 39.

^m Gen. xvii. 10, 11.

ⁿ Gal. iv. 28.

^o Acts vii. 8.

'actually,' as I have formerly proved; they are also to be baptized by virtue of Christ's commission; ^a that so 'the Promises unto the Fathers' may be confirmed; and 'the Gentiles,' as well as the Circumcision, that is, the Jews, 'may glorify God for his mercy.'"^b

Having followed our author so fully through the whole of his direct argument, we are reluctantly precluded from accompanying him through the remaining portion contained in his "Answer to the Exceptions," occupying at least a fourth of the whole treatise. Much that he adduces, he had, indeed, anticipated; and the remainder consists of "exceptions" similar to the first two, which are these, "There was a commandment for circumcision, Gen. xvii.; there is none for baptism of Infants."—"That commandment included males only, children, or servants, though unbelievers; and excluded all females, though believers; so doth not baptism." One other, we cannot persuade ourselves, however, to omit introducing, with Ainsworth's remarks upon it.

"They plead further, 'That the apostle saith not, 'else were your *infants*,' but 'else were your *children* unclean; but now they are holy.'^c So that all the children of *unbelievers* are as holy, by this place, as infants, &c.; and so must be baptized.'

"Herein they seek to pervert the straight ways of God. As if they should say, 'God, when he made with Abraham that 'everlasting covenant' which circumcision was a seal of, said not that he would be a God unto him, and to his *infants* after him, but to his seed.'^d So that *all* the 'seed' of Abraham; Ishmaelites, Edomites, &c.; were as 'holy,' and as well within the covenant of grace, and to be circumcised, as the Ishmaelites which were the generation of Isaac!' But they should observe, that the covenant of mercy passeth from the fathers to the children from age to age, even to the thousandth generation, if they love God and keep his commandments; whereas if they turn away and hate him, he visiteth their iniquity.^e Children of Believers, when they are born; . . are all in the covenant with their parents; and were, of old, to be circumcised,—are now to be baptized. If the children be of years when their parents enter into the covenant, either they assent and enter into covenant with them; or they dissent, and enter not. So Ishmael, Abraham's child, being taught of his father to keep the way of the Lord,^f and not disobeying, he was, with his father, circumcised at thirteen years of age.^g Likewise, all children now assenting unto, and walking in the faith with their parents, are to be baptized at what age soever. But when Ishmael fell from his obedience, then was he cast out of Abraham's house, and was no longer counted for Abraham's seed, but in Isaac was his seed called.^h Ishmael was still Abraham's seed and child in nature, according to the flesh; but he continued not still the child of the covenant;ⁱ nor Abraham's seed according to the 'promise.' Even so, if children of Believers now, being of understanding, do refuse the faith of Christ, or fall from

^a Mark xvi. Matt. xxviii.

^b Rom. xv. 8, 9.

^c 1 Cor. vii. 14.

^d Gen. xvii. 7.

^e Exod. xx. 5, 6. Ezek. xxviii. 9, 10, 13.

^f Gen. xviii. 8; [qu. xvii. 18. ^g Gen xvii. 25.

^h Gen. xxi. 10, 12.

ⁱ Gal. iv. 29, 30.

it, they are to be kept out of the church, or cast out from it. And so, the seal of grace and salvation belongeth not unto them,^a as it belongeth to all the Infants of the Faithful, and to all their children, of what age soever, that receive the faith of Christ, and abide in it with them. And these men greatly mistake, if they think we hold children are to be baptized, or are holy, because they are our children by nature; for so, they are 'children of wrath';^b but they are 'holy,' and so have the seal of salvation, because God hath graciously accepted them into his covenant with ourselves; and keepeth them in it, until they fall from faith and obedience of Christ: even as we ourselves continue in the covenant, while we continue in the Christian faith; and no longer.^c As we are the children of the first Adam, we are 'all' sinners, disobedient, unrighteous, and under condemnation; but as we are the children of the second Adam, Christ, we are 'all' holy, made obedient, righteous, and heirs of salvation, according to the apostle's doctrine, in Rom. v. 12, 21."

Our readers are now able to consider how far they can sympathize with the author of the "Account of the Life and Writings" of Ainsworth, who tells us that while perusing this Treatise, he could not help remarking, "How very unfitly a defence of the doctrines of grace, is combined with a defence of the Baptism of Infants."^d We ask, Should he not rather,—Ainsworth's being a reply,—have remarked, "How very unfitly an *attack*, &c. is combined with an *attack* on the Baptism of Infants?" But let us attend to the strictures which this antipædobaptist writer has recorded concerning this "Censure," whose author, he says, has "argued the matter with as much ingenuity as any one who, with the further reasonings of more than a century and a half, has since appeared in the same cause." This is intended for but faint praise; nevertheless, he admits that Ainsworth has "proved successfully, against Smyth, that salvation arises from the free undeserved favour of God: that it is not of works; nor from the will of man; and depends not upon birth, or blood, nor any thing within or without the creature." He has *laboured* also to show"—mark the altered phrase-

^a Ezek. xviii. 24. 2 Chron. xv. 2. Matt. iii. 7, 9, 10.

^b Eph. ii. 3.

^c 2 Tim. ii. 12.

^d P. xliiii.

^e Besides the work we have noticed at the foot of p. 271, and in connexion with the note in p. 267, we take advantage of this place to introduce another which had not till now come before us. "An Advertisement or Admonition, unto the Congregations which Men call the New Fryelers [Free Willers?] in the Low Countries. Written in Dutch, and published in English. Wherein is [are] handled four Principal Points of Religion: 1. That Christ took his flesh of Mary, having a true earthly, natural Body. 2. That a Sabbath, or Day of Rest, is to be kept holy every First Day of the Week. 3. That there is no Succession, nor Privilege to Persons in the Holy Things. 4. That Magistracy, being a Holy Ordinance of God, debarreth not any from being of the Church of Christ.—After these, follow certain Demands concerning God's Decree of Salvation and Condemnation.—Prov. ix. 8; xxix. 1. Printed 1611." 16mo. pp. 94. This book is dedicated to "Hans de Ries, Reynier Wy-Brantson, and the Congregations whereof they are;" and the dedication is subscribed, "Thomas Helwys." The body of the book contains this passage,— "Mr. John Smyth . . . is fallen; denying the words of our Saviour, that saith 'Whosoever two or three are gathered together, &c.' Matt. xviii. 20; and holdeth that 'The first two or three that are gathered together, have only

ology!—"that the Infants of Believers are born in covenant with God; are holy, in consequence of connexion with their parents; and may even be styled Believers and Disciples." Adverting to the Covenant, Dr. Stuart subjoins, "But the truth is, that Baptists, in general, do not judge this mercy to be limited to the Children of such as believe the Gospel, even as the declaration of Jesus, that 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven,' does not merely regard such." To which he has appended this observation, "I have lived, however, to see men far wiser than that which is written, upon both sides of the subject." If we might infer what the Doctor's own sentiments were, we should say that he wished it to be thought that the "salvation of Infants" is among the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty, and that he would, accordingly, there leave it. Still, if, as he represents, the Covenant does indeed comprehend the Infant children of unbelievers; and that "the kingdom of heaven" applied to "little children," does not "merely regard" such as are descended of believing parents;^a we cannot but conclude that this concession yields the entire victory to Ainsworth! What now shall we say of the additional strictures, where the Doctor writes, "To uphold this fabric, he has blended the different parts of the Covenant made with Abraham, as if its temporal and spiritual Promises had been inseparable: He has confounded the two seeds; that is, Isaac's natural descendants, and Christ with his people, to whom each of these Promises was distinctly made: and, he has set forth Circumcision, as if it had been intended to exhibit and to confirm to all the natural descendants of Abraham in the line of Isaac, the same spiritual blessings of which it was a sign solely and peculiarly to himself.^b The covenant of grace, in consequence of this, is thrown into the shade; and in vain shall we consult this performance, however excellent in many respects, to learn the true doctrine of the Scriptures concerning it." Are we, then; to find out that those whom the Father hath "chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world,"^c are *not* 'all' entitled to the sign and seal of the "everlasting covenant"? Shall "their seed" *not* "be known among the Gentiles," nor "their offspring among the people:—the seed of *the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them*"?^d

But, writes the Doctor also, "However justly, in the first part of this Treatise, Ainsworth has set forth the nature and the origin of holiness, his views of Baptism laid him under the necessity of speaking obscurely concerning the righteousness of the law and of faith, in those points of opposition in which they are stated by the apostle in the epistle to the Romans. Indeed, he appears to have been perverted by them, in his views of that first Covenant which God made with the

right to Christ and all his ordinances; and that after, all men must come to them: 'restraining the words of Christ, which are general to *any* two or three, only to the *first* two or three; and so hath set up a Succession, against the which, he hath, formerly, by all words, writings and practice, set himself with all detestation. And this man, like Balsam, hath consulted with you, and hath put a stumbling-block before the people of God who were also enlightened; and so are many, as you know, fallen with him to the same sin, and under the same condemnation." P. 35. ^a P. xlv. note.

^b Rom. iv. 11. ^c Eph. i. 4. 2 Tim. i. 9. ^d Isai. lxi. 8, 9; lxx. 23.

nation of Israel; which he does not clearly describe as another, prior and inferior to the second and better Covenant which God has, in these last days, made with the holy nation redeemed by the blood of his Son, through him as Mediator."^a How is this borne out, in connection with Heb. ix. 15, "And for this cause he is the mediator of the new testament, that by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions that were under the first testament, they which *are called* might receive the Promise of eternal inheritance"?

"He maintains," the Doctor writes further, "that Christ's commission to his apostles to baptize, includes a commission to baptize the Infants of a Believer, because these Infants have a concern in this Gospel, and are saved by it. But he does not plead for their partaking on this account of the Lord's supper; though its relation to the Gospel be as close; nor for their being taught to observe all other things which he enjoined the apostles to bind upon the consciences of the disciples." This is indeed pressing an adversary beyond measure; for, where do we find that "the Lord's supper" and the "other things," are in dispute between the parties before us?

"In fine, although his argument consists of many subordinate parts, and contains almost every thing now alleged by the ablest advocates in the same cause: the chief branches of it have their refutation delivered in the same book; not, indeed, with the intention, or in the opinion of its author." Hence the ability of Ainsworth, displayed in his treatment of all these important subjects, is justly conceded; but we are left, it seems, to require it, as we thus do, yet to be proved that he has failed in sufficiently establishing the extent and comprehensiveness of the commission, to baptize "all nations."—It is not, however, intended by their insertion here, to express unqualified approval of all Ainsworth's statements and reasonings in this and the following chapter.

CHAP. XXIV.

AINSWORTH'S LATEST PUBLISHED TREATISE.

THE plan to which we have adhered of noticing prominent matters according to the true order of occurrence, notwithstanding that, all the circumstances relating to such matters might not have been divulged or discovered till much later, has brought regularly before us "The Orthodox Foundation of Religion: Long since collected by that Judicious and Elegant Man Mr. Henry Ainsworth, for the benefit of his Private Company: And now divulged, for the public good of all that desire to know that Corner Stone 'Christ-Jesus-Crucified,' by S.W. 1641." 4to pp. 78.

The editor, Samuel White, has dated his "epistle dedicatory" at Polsholt,^b the first month of this hopeful year, 1641." "This ensuing treatise," he tells his friend, "hath, in a manuscript, long lain by me as a dead letter without any vulgar use; but now, having the approbation of some judicious divines, my friends and acquaintance, I am

^a Heb. viii. & ix.

^b Near to Steeple-Ashton, Wiltshire.

resolved, maugre all the malice of Belial's brats, who fancy nothing but to satiate themselves with terrene pleasures and profits, to propose it to the reading and perusing of all that cheerfully endeavour to 'know' the Lord Jesus, 'and him crucified,'^a to the salvation of their souls."

White has embodied in a preliminary address, a testimony of so great importance in favour of Ainsworth, and enhanced still more by its impartiality, as that it must of necessity be transferred without abridgment into nearness of connexion in these pages with what other writers have asserted with the design of disparaging Ainsworth's character and labours.—"I do earnestly entreat thee, courteous reader, whether thou dost already abound in knowledge and judgment, or having but as yet a little, thou desirest more, to read this treatise here before thou give any censure upon it. I doubt not but the book will commend itself, as others of his works have done; namely, his Exposition upon the five books of Moses, and the Canticles; and his Communion of Saints; long ago published. In all which, as in this, he is famous in accumulating the sacred Text, But for the Life of the man; myself being an eye-witness, living some while with him in Amsterdam,—of his humility, sobriety, and discretion, setting aside his preposterous zeal in the point and practice of Separation;^b he lived and died unblamable to the world; and I am thoroughly persuaded that his soul rests with his Saviour. And therefore, once more, I beseech thee, accept of my good-will in publishing, and my prayers for a blessing upon reading; hoping that either for the increasing or confirming of thy knowledge in grace to glory, thou wilt glean something out of this more fruitful than large field; which shall be the prayer of thy friend and brother, S. W."

The treatise is divided into two parts: "A short compendious way, how to teach and learn Religion;" and, "The Mystery of Piety; or Doctrine of Truth which is according to Godliness." The matter is synoptically arranged, and in detached sentences, which make it somewhat difficult to give, in a narrow compass, a precise idea of the entire actual arrangement. Instead of doing that, it will serve a better purpose to present some specimens of the contents of each part, in the form annexed.

PART I.—"All people, of all sorts, should learn to know the Scriptures, and so God's 'fear' by them,^c They which have knowledge of God's Word and Will, should 'teach others' that are ignorant.^d—Of men expert in the Law, some are to be chosen for Public Ministers of the Word unto the church, unto which work they must attend.^e—All others that have gifts from God, may teach publicly in order.^f—But men

^a 1 Cor. ii. 2.

^b "If Ainsworth lived and died a Separatist, yet we dare believe him in his report of Jewish Antiquities, *no less* than Broughton, Weemes, Drusius." Bp. Hall; Answer to the Vindication of Smectymnuus. Works, vol. ix. ed. 1808. p. 748. What would Broughton's pride have induced him to remark on this? See back p. 148. And, how would Ainsworth's insulted but liberal mind have been soothed by this instance of Hall's magnanimity? "His *pen*, the *maul* of Sects and Sneets!" Elegy; in his *Life*, &c. by Jones. p. 570.

^c Deut. xxxi. 11—13.

^d Deut. xxxii. 4. 2 Tim. ii. 2. Deut. vi. 6, 7.

^e Mal. ii. 7. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. ^f 1 Cor. xiv. 31.

that are ignorant themselves, should not presume to be teachers of others.^a

"The manner of delivering the Word, should be with simplicity, sincerity, and godly pureness; and not with affected words, flattering speeches, or 'human wisdom.'^b The gesture of the body, should be grave and sober; the continuance of preaching ordinarily should not be long, for the sermons of Christ and his apostles, expressed in the Scriptures, are brief."^c

PART II.—This division embraces upwards of eighty particulars, or subdivisions, comprising *credenda et doctrina*.

"Divinity, theology, or religion, is called, in Scripture, 'the fear of Jehovah,' or reverence of God;^d and, by the apostle, it is named 'the truth, which is according to godliness;' and so 'the doctrine' of it, is likewise called."^e The 'end' of teaching, learning, profession and practice of religion or godliness, is the glory of God in our 'salvation.'^f Our salvation shall be the full knowledge, light, and fruition of God for ever in heaven: it is called 'eternal life.'^g

"The Godhead, considered diversely, for the manner of being, is three persons in one essence; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.^h The Father is the first person of the Trinity; having foundation in none; of personal substance. The Son is the second person in the Trinity, having foundation of personal substance, of whom he is eternally begotten.ⁱ The Holy Ghost is the third person in the Trinity, having foundation from the Father and the Son, from both which he especially proceedeth.^k In the order and manner of the creatures, the original of the actions is ascribed to the Father;^l the nature and manner of working, to the Son;^m the efficacy and power, to the Holy Ghost.ⁿ

"God hath the most excellent understanding; that is, the essence of God, for all in God is essential; therefore, this is infinite and eternal as the Godhead is, therefore the things which it understandeth must also be eternal: therefore it must be most perfect, as the understanding is most perfect. But nothing is more perfect than God, therefore nothing but God can be the eternal act of God's understanding; therefore God's understanding hath reflection eternally to itself, as when a man's mind thinketh upon itself.

"The understanding hath in it an image of the thing understood; therefore God eternally understanding Himself, conceived a most perfect Image of Himself. This most perfect bringing forth of the Image in the Godhead, is rightly called a 'conception' or 'generation,' for it is the bringing forth of a thing most like to God, and the conception or bringing forth of a thing most like itself is generation; the more perfect the nature of the begetter is, the more near and conjoined is the thing begotten; and God's life being most perfect, and it being all an understanding, needs must this conception of His

^a 1 Tim. i. 7. ^b 1 Cor. ii. 1, 4. ^c P. 1, 6. ^d Prov. i. 7. Gen. xx. 11.

^e Tit. i. 1. 1 Tim. vi. 3. ^f Eph. i. 5, 6. 1 Pet. i. 5. 9.

^g John xvii. 2, 3. 1 John iii. 2. Psal. xvi. 11.—Page 7.

^h John v. 26. 1 John v. 7.

ⁱ John v. 26.

^k John xiv. 26.

^l John v. 17, 19.

^m John i. 3. Heb. xii. 2.

ⁿ 1 Cor. xii. 11.

be most perfect ; and so, a perfect generation, which is a second manner of being, called the Image, or ' Person ' of the Son of God, ' the Image of his *hypostasis*.^a And seeing that which God understandeth and his essence are one and the same, needs must the essence and excellency of the Father and the Son be both one and eternal. Thus, God cannot be minded to be, but with his co-eternal Son.

" As there is an understanding in the Godhead, so needs must there be a will also ; and the more understanding, the more and perfecter is the will ; and, in God ; there being a perfect understanding, there must be also needs a perfect will : and as the understanding is active essentially in the Godhead, so is the will ; and as He understandeth Himself, as the most perfect thing, so also He willeth Himself as the most perfect good : and thus, the will reflecteth ; as did the understanding. God's infinite will embracing an infinite willed thing, there must needs be infinite love and highest pleasure proceed therefrom : so, whilst the Eternal Father conceiveth his Son, and perfectly willeth it, there must needs be full and perfect love from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to the Father ; so from both, proceedeth a third manner of being, called the third Person, ' the Holy Spirit.'

" It is called a Spirit for three causes : 1. because love is the enforcing, or motive, of the will to the thing loved, and as it were, a spiring and [or] breathing to it ; and because the Father *breatheth* in love to the Son, and the Son again to the Father, therefore the Holy Spirit is rightly said to proceed from them both : 2. it is called a Spirit, because the proceeding of the motive between the Father and the Son is by a hidden way : 3. because God's children perceive God's gifts, the gifts of love, by secret inspiration. It is called Holy, to discover it from other spirits ; and because nothing can be more Holy than this in God ; and, because it maketh holy and sanctifieth the church.

" And seeing God's will and essence are one in Him, the Holy Ghost must needs be one with the Father and the Son ; co-equal, and eternal : thus, by undoubted principles from God's Essence, there are three manners of subsisting in God ; and there can be neither more nor less, unless we will deny God.

" The ' Holy Spirit ' is taken as spoken substantially, or accidentally : substantially, it meaneth a thing most simple in essence, most active in efficacy. Again, that it is taken either essentially, and so it comprehendeth^b God the ' Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost,' as John iv. 24 ; or, personally, applied to the third Person of the Trinity. Accidentally, the word is used for a gift or motion of the Holy Spirit, John vii. 39 ; but in the 1 Cor. xii, the ' Spirit,' and the ' gifts ' are plainly distinguished.

" The three Persons have one and the same common Essence, and common works of the Essence ; and of one Divine Essence, there are three Persons.^c The persons are distinguished from the Essence, as the manner of a thing is from the matter ; and they are distinguished from one another, as the manner of the Essence, one from another.

^a Heb. i. 3. ^b Matt. x. 20. ^c Deut. vi. 4. 1 John v. 7.

The difference of the Persons is inward and outward; the *inward* difference is the personal property which floweth from the manner of being. The Father is of Himself, not only in respect of Essence, but also in respect of being; the Father *begetteth* his Image, or Son; the Father *sendeth* the Holy Ghost. The Son, as touching the Essence, is of Himself; as touching the manner of being, he is of the Father. The Son is begotten of the Father; the Son *sendeth* the Holy Ghost.^a The Holy Ghost, in respect of the Essence, is of Himself; in respect of the manner of the Essence, he *proceedeth* from the Father and the Son. The *outward* difference is when the Persons are distinguished by the effects and operations towards the creatures. As is the order of being, so is the order of doing, in the Persons; the Father doth of *Himself*, the Son *in* the Father,^b and the Holy Ghost *in* both. The Father createth, conserveth, and governeth the world; the Son redeemeth the world; the Holy Ghost sanctifieth it."^c

Of Original Sin —“Native corruption, which we commonly call ‘original sin,’ is that sin which man draweth with him from his first origin or beginning.^d This native corruption is called ‘flesh:’^e it is also called ‘lust’ or concupiscence.^f So then, not the substance of our flesh, or nature of our flesh is sin, but the vicious quality adherent or cleaving thereto. It is also called ‘the old man;’^g by this also, it appeareth that the natural flesh or substance is not sin; for that it is not ‘put off’^h nor ‘crucified.’ⁱ This native or original ‘sin’ is worse than actual sin, because it is more largely spread, even unto infants also,^k which actual sin is not; and, because it is the fountain and cause of other sins.^l

“This native ‘sin’ is ours two ways: —By imputation; because Adam, being the root of mankind, as he had God’s Image for him and his posterity, so he lost it for himself and his posterity; so that which in Adam was personal, unto us is natural:^m—By inhabitation; because there ‘dwelleth’ in us an inclination, and disposition of all the faculties, unto evil.” For, by sin, we are not barely bereft of God’s Image, as rest depriveth man of motion; but this privation and bereaving hath within it an inclination of the man to evil; as sickness doth both deprive a man of health and ill-affects the patient, for sin is soul-sickness.ⁿ Original sin possesseth the whole man, body and soul and spirit; as the Image of God was not in the body only, but in the whole man,^p so was this contrary privation.^q

“Native corruption is propagated from parents to children by reason of the beginning thereof, not properly by itself; that is to say, that cometh from the parents to the children, whereof this sin may arise, namely, a disposition to such an evil temper of the man, as was in original sin. There is an impression from the mother to the children, of which impression this sin buddeth; as tinder taketh fire, which is not fire itself: this impression children draw, as they do

^a John xv. 26.^b John v. 19.^c Pages 10—14.^d Psal. li. 5.^e John iii. 6. Gen. vi. 3. Rom. vii. 14.^f 2 Pet. i. 4. Jas. i. 14.^g Eph. iv. 22.^h Col. iii. 9.ⁱ Rom. vi. 6.^k Rom. v. 14.^l Rom. vii. 20, 23.^m Rom. v. 12.ⁿ Rom. vii. 20, 23.^o Psal. ciii. 3. Rom. vii. 23, 24.^p Rom. vii. 17.^q Rom. vii. 24.

natural diseases, as stone, gout; not the actual griefs, but impressions, which are the beginnings of them. . .^a

"The soul is at one instant, both created and united unto the body, and deprived of the grace of the Spirit which Adam had for all, and lost for all. As actual sin is done by the person's sinning, so original sin is the sin of nature done by the will of the beginning of human nature. For as one man hath many members, so one mankind hath many persons; and as one actual sin done by the hand, hath not the reason of the guilt from the will of the hand, but from the whole heart, from which as from a fountain the motions of sin are derived unto the members; so from the will of Adam, which was the beginning of mankind, the whole inordination of nature hath the reason of guilt. And as actual sin, which is the sin of the person, is drawn unto all the members by some personal act; so original, is drawn unto all men by natural act, which is generation: and as human nature is drawn by generation, so the defect of human nature is drawn also;^b yet this, rather of God's ordination, than of man's generation.^c

"Original sin remaineth in the baptized, and in the regenerate, and in their posterity.^d And man begetteth the children not by the spirit but by the flesh, and therefore he draweth not the spirit but the flesh;^e yet hath not original sin so great degree and efficacy in the regenerate as in the wicked."^f

Of Predestination.—"God, from all eternity, did predestinate, appoint, and elect, some angels and some men, to be for ever heirs of the riches of his grace and glory.^g God keepeth the angels that they cannot fall, conserving and increasing their happiness. Election is of God the Father;^h and only some 'few' men are elected unto life, and they out of all sorts, Jews and Gentiles.ⁱ

"Election hath two acts and degrees concerning the end, which is eternal glory: the first, of God, then of the creature: secondly, the means to the end. The first act touching the end, is God's 'purpose' to take some men which were to be created to eternal grace and glory, leaving other some.^k The second act is his purpose whereby he ordaineth these men, being to fall in Adam, unto eternal glory through Christ.^l

"The signs, testimonies, and benefits of our election in Christ, are an effectual calling,^m the gifts of lively faith.ⁿ Justification, and glorification,^o begun in this life by holiness; being predestinated thereunto.^p

"That unto which God hath elected us, is, first, 'adoption of sons';^q secondly, 'sanctification';^r thirdly, 'eternal life.'^s The first and only moving cause of election is the 'good pleasure' and love of God: Christ being the ground-work hereof.^t This is further confirmed thus;

^a Psal. li. 5.

^b Rom. v. Psal. li.

^c 1 Cor. xv. 22.

^d Rom. vii. 23.

^e John i. 13. Psal. li. 5.

^f Pages 31—33.

^g 1 Tim. v. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 9.

^h Eph. i. 3, 4.

ⁱ Matt. xx. 16. Rom. ix. 24. Rev. vii. 9.

^k Rom. ix. 11.

^l John iii. 16; vi. 47. ^m Rom. viii. 30; ix. 23, 24.

ⁿ Acts xiii. 48. 2 Thess. ii. 13, 14.

^o Rom. viii. 30.

^p Eph. i. 4.

^q Gal. iv. 5.

^r 2 Thess. ii. 13.

^s Rom. viii. 29. Acts xiii. 48.

^t Eph. i. 5. Rom. ix. 18. Eph. i. 11.

God is the beginning of His actions.^a The first beginning, dependeth upon no other outward beginning; but God should depend upon another outward beginning, if he could not elect whom he would, without having respect to their faith: faith is the effect of election,^b therefore it cannot be the cause, or before election. The means whereby we are predestinated is 'Jesus Christ.'^c Christ is not the first moving cause, but the mean, for He is God's only Son, and we being predestinated to 'the adoption of sons,' have the sonship by communion with Christ.^d

"God's election is firm, and immutable."—The means whereby we come to be assured that we are elected are these; first, The Gospel teaching that all, truly believing, shall be saved;^e and we, knowing we believe, assure ourselves by the effects of salvation found in ourselves; as, effectual calling, faith, justification, sanctification, and good works. Secondly, By the testimony of God's Spirit in us.^f We judge ourselves elect by the judgment of faith, which is infallible."^h

Of Adoption.—"Adoption is the first and proper thing whereunto we are predestinated; and there is no exceeding benefit whereof it should not be the effect. . . In the order of working our salvation, the first, is the Father predestinating; the second, is the Son redeeming; the third, is the Holy Ghost sanctifying. That the Father is the first in working, see John v. 19; xvi. 13, 14. Adoption being, then, the work of the Father, it is before redemption, and so before justification and sanctification. The first work of grace in bringing us to Christ is given by the Father."ⁱ

Of Reprobation.—"Opposite to election is reprobation, which is God's decree to leave some in their sin and misery; and, for sin, to damn them: or reprobation, is God's decree to pass by some and not elect them, and to permit those to fall into sin, and to punish them eternally for sin. Herein are two acts; negative, to refuse, or not elect; positive, to punish for sin: for that from which they are reprobate, is from grace and glory; and that whereto they are appointed is damnation. The cause of not electing, God's just pleasure and will,^k without respect of good or evil in the creature: the cause of the second act, damnation, is man's sin. God is he that reprobate some sinners.^l This is also from eternity;^m and many are passed by and reprobated.ⁿ The things whereof men are reprobate, are true faith,^o true sanctification,^p eternal life.^q The cause of punishing the wicked, is their sin; for justice must needs respect the innocency or guilt of the creature. The end of reprobation, is properly God's glory.^r The perdition of the reprobate, is also the end, but by accident: unchangeable, also, is the decree of God."^s

^a Rom. xi. 35.

^b Acts xiii. 48.

^c Eph. i. 5.

^d Heb. ii. 10—12.

^e Isai. xlvii. 10. 2 Tim. ii. 19.

^f Tit. i. 2.

^g Rom. viii. 9, 16, 17. 1 Cor. ii. 10—12. 2 Cor. i. 21, 22. 1 Pet. ii. 3.

^h 1 Thess. i. 4.—Pages 37—39.

ⁱ John vi. 65, 44, 37, 39.—Page 39.

^k Matt. xi. Rom. ix.

^l Rom. ix. 18. 1 Thess. v. 9.

^m Jude 4.

ⁿ Matt. xx. 16.

^o 2 Tim. iii. 5.

^p Tit. i. 16.

^q Acts xiii. 38. comp. with 1 Thess. v. 9. Jude 4.

^r Prov. [xvi. 14.]

^s Isai. xlvii. 10.—Page 39, 40.

Of Redemption.—“ We are redeemed by Jesus Christ.^a In Christ, two things are to be considered; his person; his office. In his person are to be considered two natures, divine and human.^b

“ Christ's *divine* nature, is the same Essence with the Father and the Holy Ghost, from eternity.^c Our Redeemer was to be God, because the greatness of the evil wherewith men were possessed, could not be taken away but by God himself; for God's wrath being infinite, could not, by any creature which is finite, be overcome. He also that must be our Mediator, must know us and all our estate, wants, thoughts, desires; which no creature can do. Christ's *human* nature is of the same essence and substance with the sons of Adam.^d It could not stand with God's justice, to punish Christ for our sins, if he had not our nature; neither could it have been satisfactory for us, if it had not been done by a man.—The *union* of these two natures, the Godhead and the manhood, to make one person and mediator, Jesus Christ, is the great ‘mystery of godliness,’ God manifested in the flesh.^e The *manner* of the union of these two natures is extraordinary; and therefore hath a peculiar name of ‘person,’ or hypostatical union, and it was by the Godhead assuming the manhood.^f . . The union of natures is not a confounding of them or of their respective properties; for the Godhead remaineth infinite, invisible, incomprehensible; the body, finite, visible, local.^g . . Hitherto of Christ's Person.

“ Now of his Office; under which name the proper accidents and effects of Christ's person be contained. In general, it is to be Mediator between God and man.^h . . Christ's mediatorship containeth all the office, and functions, and operations, which he performed for man's redemption: by prophecy, first; discerning the cause between the parties differing, as an Arbitrator: secondly; relation of covenants and conditions on both parties, as a Messenger: by priesthood, thirdly; the request or intercession for the offending party: fourthly; payment or satisfaction to the party offended: fifthly; effectual application of the satisfaction: by kingdom, sixthly; by defence and conservation of the parties satisfied for, from all their enemies, and so satisfaction and restoration of God's image. The office of Mediator requireth both divine and human nature in one person. . . The parts or branches of Christ's Office are three; prophecy, priesthood, kingdom. . . Hitherto of Christ's Person and Office.ⁱ

“ I have spoken of two means of our salvation, and remedies of our miseries; namely, of Election and Redemption. Now followeth the third, which is our Justification, being the absolution of sinful man from punishment, because of the satisfaction of Christ the Redeemer, apprehended by faith. This word, Justification, is used here for Absolution judicial, when God the Judge absolveth the fault of the man that is accused before Him, and pronounceth him just and innocent; and it is opposed to Condemnation, as Rom. viii. 33, 34. We may not,

^a Gen. iii. 15; xxii. 18. Gal. iii. 16, 13. Rom. xvi. 20. ^b Rom. ix. 5, with 1 Tim. ii. 5, and Matt. i. 23. ^c Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. Heb. i. 10, from Psal. cii. 25. ^d 1 Tim. ii. 5. Heb. ii. 14. ^e 1 Tim. iii. 16. ^f Heb. ii. 16. ^g Acts iii. 21. 1 Cor. xv. 26—28. ^h 1 Tim. ii. 5. ⁱ Pages 40—56.

with the Papists, understand here Justification^a to be the infusion of justice. This judicial act is, in this life, exercised in a man's conscience, wherein God hath his tribunal; 'men's thoughts accusing or excusing:'^b after this life, it shall be exercised by the sentence of Christ.^c As sin is a difference from God's law,^d so justice is a congruence with the law both of our nature and actions: and as there is a legal justice inherent in man, by fulfilling the law; and an evangelical justice, by God imputed to him that believeth the Evangel;^e so is there, also, a legal justification, and an evangelical. Legal justification, is, from works done, according to God's law, we stand in the trial of the justice of God.^f Evangelical justification, is, when God's law being violated, we are absolved from the sin and punishment by the grace of God and mercy of his Son, apprehended by faith: 'And by him all that believe are justified in all things, in which they could not be justified by the law of Moses.'^g Before the fall, legal justice had place, and shall have again in the life to come; but since the fall, in this life the evangelical justice is to be sought for.^h The reason hereof is, that justification by the law must be upon the full, perfect, and continual keeping of the same;ⁱ which is impossible by man's weakness.^k The law of God being violated by sin, his justice must be satisfied first,^l before any legal justice can be established in us; which being satisfied by Christ,^m and so we absolved from our sins past, the legal justice beginneth in us again in this life, but shall not be perfected till the next life.

"Justification is an act undivided, and all at once; and so it differeth from Sanctification, which is done by degrees and parts. Justification of a sinner in this life, is done essentially but once; though it be often repaired and renewed: as faith once given to the elect, is never quite taken away, for the 'seed' of God 'remaineth in him'.ⁿ Justification and faith are most nearly united.

"The causes of Justification, are either principal or instrumental, outward and inward. The principal *outward* cause, is the merit and satisfaction of Christ;^o which, in respect of us, is the meritorious cause; in respect of God, it is the cause that is outwardly moving Him to pronounce us just.^p Both these are true,—that we are justified for the satisfaction and merit of Christ, as the outward and moving cause; and yet are justified freely of mere mercy, as the inward moving cause.

Object.: How can it be said, that God freely forgiveth us our sins out of his own grace and mercy 'freely'; seeing he hath required satisfaction to the full of Christ our Head and Surety, and without such satisfaction forgiveth no sin? *Ans.*: Though He forgiveth it not 'freely,' in respect of his Son who was wounded for our iniquities, yet in respect of us that were the sinners, it is free.^q *Object.*: But we merited it in Christ our Head, and therefore are not 'freely' forgiven? *Ans.*: His merit was not ours by original possession or cleaving in us,

^a Rom. v. 18.^b Rom. ii. 15.^c Ver. 16.^d John iii. 4.^e Rom. iv. 5, 6.^f Levit. xviii. 5. Gal. iii. 12.^g Acts xiii. 39.^h Rom. iv. 5. Gal. iii. 10, 12.ⁱ Gal. iii. 10.^k Rom. viii. 3.^l Psal. xiv.^m Rom. iii. 24, and chap. v.ⁿ 1 John iii. 9.^o Rom. iii. 24, 25.^p ver. 24.^q Col. ii. 13.

as sin is from Adam ; but only by relation and application ; and this mere grace,^a that we, never thinking on any such thing, God found this way for our redemption ;^b and, that He applieth his Son's redemption unto us that were by no gift or merit disposed to such a thing.^c

"As Christ's satisfaction is most sufficient and full, so it is as sufficiently and fully to justify us without any merit of ours or any other creature's.^d Our works, being imperfect, have no proportion to the justice of God ; neither are they ours, but God's,—due unto Him, and proceeding from Him. Now, that which is not ours originally, or by possession,^e but is wholly owing unto another, by it we can merit nothing to ourselves.

"The principal *inward* cause of our justification, is both an effectual calling and the imputation of Christ's merits. The *effectual calling* is the more remote cause of our justification, when God by his Spirit effectually moveth the heart, the understanding, will, and affections, to the acknowledgment of our own miseries ; to seek deliverance ; and to believe the promise, or grace. This inward calling of the elect differeth from outward calling, by the word, whereby God offereth his grace to all in general. To this inward calling a man is merely passive in respect of the beginning : that is, he cannot any more prepare or dispose himself by strength of nature^f unto this calling or Justification. Herein therefore, the Papists err, who ascribe to man a preparation to Justification, called, 'The foundation of Justification,'^g as Faith, that is, a certain general knowledge and certainty of the truth of God's Word ; secondly, an acknowledgment of our sins ; thirdly, fear of hell ; fourthly, love of God ; fifthly, repentance ; sixthly, hope of salvation ; which sufficiently prepare a man, they say, to receive Justification : but the Apostle saith the contrary, that 'our sufficiency is of God.'^h

"The Imputation of Christ's merit and satisfaction, is the *near and next* cause of Justification,ⁱ and constituteth the essence and definition of it : which is, when God, for union with Christ, doth so apply and make proper Christ's merit to us, as if we ourselves had died and satisfied for our sins.^j As from Adam we draw guilt, and native evil : so from Christ we draw absolution from guilt, and reparation of God's image, called Regeneration.

"The Instrumental Cause of Justification, is Faith ; which is sometime taken largely, sometime strictly. Largely, Faith is taken for an assent to those things written in the Word, called 'historical faith.' Strictly, Faith is justifying, or miraculous. Justifying faith is a trustful assurance, which the Spirit of God stirreth up in the elect, firmly to apply^k the promises of God's grace.^l This Faith presupposeth Knowledge ;^m but, formally, it is assertion [*sic.*] towards God's promise.ⁿ Faith

^a 1 Cor. ii. 9.

^b Rom. v. 8, 10.

^c Eph. i. 6, 9 ; ii. 8.

^d Rom. iii. 25, 26. 1 John i. 7.

^e Eph. ii. 1.

^f See "A Discourse of Justification, Works, and How the Foundation of Faith is overthrown," by R. Hooker ; in Vol. iii. p. 390, sec. 14, &c. of Hanbury's ed. of Hooker's Works. 1830.

^g 2 Cor. iii. 5. Phil. ii. 13.

^h Rom. viii. 10.

ⁱ 2 Cor. v. 14, 21. Rom. iv. 5, 8.

^k Jas. ii. 22.

^l Rom. x. 6, 10. Gal. ii. 20.

^m Rom. x. 14.

ⁿ ver. 20.

justifieth not, as it is a quality, passion, or action in us, but as it is a relation, and uniteth us to Christ, whose satisfaction is imputed for righteousness to us.^a Faith applieth the promise to the particular person, and not the general only.^b Faith necessarily bringeth forth Good Works, yet it justifieth not in that respect.^c The proper Object of Faith, is the evangelical promise of grace in Christ.^d Faith hath degrees; increasing and diminishing; yet the essence and force of justifying remaineth in the least degree.^e Faith once wrought in the elect can never be utterly extinguished, for Faith is of the elect only;^f as the elect cannot perish, neither can their Faith.^g

"The immediate Effect of Justification known, is Adoption; by which, the elect do now actually please God, as his children and coheirs with Christ. Another Effect of Justification, is Peace of Conscience, when we perceive ourselves absolved from the guilt of sin, before God's judgment, and the judgment of our own conscience.^h Peace of Conscience hath degrees, sometimes more, sometimes less.ⁱ From Peace of Conscience ariseth Confidence that our Prayers are heard.^k Also, Assurance that our Good Works please God; also, Patient suffering of the Cross ariseth from the feeling of Justification.^l

"Now followeth our Sanctification, or re-formation into the Image of God, which is Christ's work in us. It is the change of our nature into better; that is, into the similitude of the perfection of God, called also, our Glorification.^m Justification and Sanctification differ thus: Justification is the Imputing of another's justice, to wit, Christ's; Sanctification is the Impression of Justice, that it may be in us.ⁿ In Justification, there is the Satisfaction of Christ; in Sanctification, there is the Obedience of a Christian! Justice is perfect and absolute, an undivided act at once; Sanctification is a work begun, not equal in all: Justification is first, Sanctification is after.^o Sanctification is a separation from filthiness of sin; from common profane use; and, a preparation and application to holy use, by the Spirit of God.^p Absolution from sin is not sufficient to salvation, unless there be also a restoring, or putting on, of good, called Sanctification.^q As Election is the peculiar work of the Father,^r Redemption of the Son,^s so Sanctification is the proper work of the Holy Ghost.^t Christ, by his obedience and death, hath merited for us the gift of Sanctification of the Spirit:^u this he hath merited with God, who, for his Son's sake, giveth us the Spirit.^v

"Our Sanctification hath two parts; the putting off the old, which is corrupt through the deceivable lust;^w the putting on the new man, which is after God created in righteousness and true holiness.^x The putting off the old man is the subduing, breaking, and abolishing of the sinful disposition and inclination that is in our nature:^y and of it,

^a Gal. ii. 20.^b Gal. ii. 20. 1 John iv. 16.^c Rom. iv. 5.^d Rom. i. 16.^e Rom. xii. 3. Mark ix. 24.^f Tit. i. 1. 2 Thess. iii. 2.^g Rom. viii. 38, 39.^h Gal. iii. 16.ⁱ Psal. xxx. 7. li. 12. xxxviii. 3.^k Rom. viii. 15.^l Rom. v. 3. Pages 58—63.^m 2 Cor. iii. 18.ⁿ Rom. viii. 30.^o John iii. 5.^p Rom. vi. 22. 2 Cor. vii. 1.^q Heb. xii. 14.^r Eph. i. 3, 4.^s 1 John ii. 1, 2.^t Rom. xv. 16. 1 Cor. vi. 11.^u 1 Cor. i. 30^v Gal. iv. 6.^w Eph. iv. 22.^x ver. 24.^y 1 Pet. iv. 3.

there be two parts ; death ; burial of the old man. Death, or mortification, is an actual effect of the application of Christ's death by the Holy Ghost, to our nature ; whereby our corruption, or body of sin, receiveth a deadly wound ; is feebled, and dieth daily. Burial, is the going forward of death ; and is an effect of the application of Christ's burial by the Spirit, whereby the old man, our body of sin, is more and more corrupted and, as it were, rotted in the grave.^a The putting on the new man, is when we take again of God habits and disposition to virtue ; and it is called the rising, or the quickening of the new man ; which is an effect of the application by the Spirit, of Christ's resurrection, whereby inherent holiness is begun, and, by degrees, continually increased.^b Thus Christ's death, burial, and resurrection, are to us, a 'gift' of justification ; a 'power' to mortify and quicken us ;^c and, an 'example,' or type, to follow in our course of life.^d

"The subject, or person sanctified, is the justified man.^e The justified person is to be sanctified throughout : particularly we are to be sanctified in the understanding, the will, the affections, the actions. The Understanding is regenerate three ways : by teaching and illuminating the mind with necessary knowledge ;^f by persuading the truth of God's favour to the believer ;^g by confirming us in the hope of perseverance, and eternal life.^h The Will is sanctified by making it right, and ready : right, when the will is inclined and carried in a straight course to that which is good, rightly known : ready, when there is a power and faculty to follow and do the good apprehended, and flee evil.ⁱ The Affections are sanctified, when our desires of meats, drinks, and other things that we lust after, are moderated according to God's law, and reason :^k and when our affections of joy, sorrow, love, hatred, anger, are so tempered according to God's law, and good reason, as we avoid all extremities of too much and too little, and keep the holy mean.^l

"This Sanctification is begun^m and perfected in this life. Always in this life, there is a mixture of the old man with the new ; an inclination to evil by nature, an inclination to good by grace ; the flesh and spirit are contrary one to another, so that we cannot do those things that we would.ⁿ Seeing there is this contrariety in us, we must resist and fight against sin continually ; in which, there must be a preparation ; a conflict. The preparation, is by taking the whole armour of God, as the shield of faith, the sword of the Spirit.^o The conflict, is the resisting of sinful temptations arising in us, or suggested any way to us ; and the victory is, when we so resist as sin ruleth not in us.^p

"The infirmities and defects of our Sanctification, are forgiven us in Christ.^q Sanctification hath many degrees, sometime more, sometime less.^r The children of God have some special sin or sins whereunto they are most prone, which they must have most special

^a Rom. vi. 4. ^b Rom. vi. 4. ^c Eph. i. 19, 20 ; ii. 1, 5, 6. 1 Thess. i. 6.

^d 1 Pet. ii. 21. ^e Rom. viii. 30. ^f Zech. xii. 10.

^g John xiv. 17. ^h Rom. v. 5. ⁱ 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5. ^j Rom. viii. 18, 22.

^k Rom. xiii. 13. ^l Ps. cxix. Eph. iv. 26. [1 Chr. xxix. 9.

^m 1 Cor. vi. 11. ⁿ Gal. v. 17. ^o Eph. vi. 16, 17. ^p Rom. vi. 14.

^q 1 John ii. 1. ^r Rev. ii. and iii.

care to mortify.^a Any one sin reigning in a man, argueth him to be wicked and unsanctified.^b The Effect of regeneration, or sanctification, is good works; namely, acts and operations proceeding from a regenerate will, understanding, and affections."^c

Of God's Will.—"God's Will, meaneth either the faculty of willing, or the act of willing; or the object, that is, the thing willed. In the first and second meaning, God's Will differeth not really from his Essence or Being; in the third, it really differeth, as he willeth other things besides Himself. In the first and second meaning, there can be no cause properly assigned, for there is no cause superior to God himself: in the third meaning, to wit, the outward object or thing willed, it hath a cause of absolute necessity. God willeth himself only; but of other things, without [or out of] himself, he willeth only of conditional necessity, or most freely: of conditional necessity, because such things as he actually willeth he cannot but will, seeing his will is unchangeable: most free he willeth, because he was indifferent, by Himself, to will this or that thing without [or out of] himself. In the third meaning, God's Will may change; as he would, of old, be worshipped by sacrifices of beasts; but now, since Christ's death, he will not so be worshipped.^d In the first and second meaning, God's Will is unchangeable; neither doth God begin to will that which before he would not, nor ever ceaseth to will that which before he would. So it is one thing, for God to change his Will, which can never be; another thing, to will the change of the thing which before he would, which is often. *Quest.*: Seeing God's Will is the first and universal cause of all things, and that cannot be changed nor hindered; whether doth God's Will impose a Necessity upon the things that he would have done? *Ans.*: It doth, on some things; but not on all: for seeing His Will is most effectual, therefore not only are those things done which he would have done, but they are done after that manner which he would. Now, God would have some things done necessarily; and some things, contingently; and therefore he hath for some things fitted necessary causes, by force whereof they are necessarily done; and, for some things, contingent causes, whereby they are contingently done. And seeing His Will is unchangeable and not letted, it followeth that not only those things are done which he would *to have* done, but also those things are done contingently, or necessarily, which he would *have so* to be done: so things have such a Necessity as God would they should, to wit, either absolute necessity, or conditional. Touching evil things, neither is it God's Will they should be, neither is it his Will they should not be; but it is his Will to suffer them to be done. It is not his Will that they should be, because they be not good of themselves, but by accident; it is his Will, to suffer them to be done, because, of his wisdom and goodness, He can bring forth good out of sinful actions. Things must not be esteemed as they are by accident, but as they are of themselves."^e

Being arrived at the close of Ainsworth's labours and life, we come to notice a passage penned by Roger Williams, who embraced anti-

^a Psal. xviii. 23.

^c Pages 63—66.

^b Jas. ii. 10. Ezek. xviii. 10, 11.

^d John iv.

^e Pages 73—75.

pædobaptism in New England, and who, in one of his controversial pieces, having remarked, of the "Separatists," that "most of them have been poor and low, and not such gainful customers to the Bishops, their Courts, and Officers," as the "Puritans;" adds, "That worthy instrument of Christ's praise, Mr. Ainsworth, during some time,—and some time of his great labours in Holland,—lived upon ninepence per week, with roots boiled, &c.:"^a his opponent replied, "Surely he was a man that deserved well of the Church, for sundry his learned, and painful, and profitable labours! One would hope that where the Lord blesseth a people with growth of godliness, the people would give best under the best ministers of that way. Mr. Ainsworth's name is of best esteem, without all exception, in that way who refused communion with the Church of England. And if his people suffered him to live upon 'ninepence a week, with roots boiled,' as the Examiner told us; surely, either the people were grown to a very extreme low estate, or else, the growth of their godliness was gone to a very low ebb."^b It is observable, that much obscurity hangs about this statement of Ainsworth's privations. If it were so excessive, it proves, proportionately, the operation of the Divine principles which enabled him to persevere, and not to be "ashamed of the testimony" of his Lord: and that "according to the power" given to him "of God," he patiently submitted to be a "partaker of the afflictions of the Gospel."^c Yet that his condition was such as gave occasion for these strictures, at the end of his days, is not inferrible from a genuine source, which supplies another and withal a gratifying attestation to his general worth. The writer of what is about to be produced is unknown to us, for he has not given even the initials of his name, in connexion with it; but that he was most intimately acquainted with the character which he describes is apparent. It is prefixed to Ainsworth's "Annotations upon the Songs of Solomon," 1623. 4to.; and it is surprising that, with such testimonies as are borne in this, and by the publishers of Ainsworth's two preceding works, any persons^d should have paid attention to seemingly fabulous relations of the cause of Ainsworth's death.

"Christian Reader! Be pleased to take notice that the Lord, in whose hand our life is, took to himself this reverend and judicious man, Mr. Henry Ainsworth, before he had perfected this his last labour, as his desire was... Of this kind he hath wrote divers, upon the Books of Moses, and the Psalms;" but, in my shallow understanding, he hath, like the swan, as some report at his death, sung sweetliest in this. Works of other subjects, he hath wrote divers; all, useful and profitable for the people and churches of Christ... I, being one of

^a "Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately Printed, Examined, and Answered. Lond. 1644." 4to. pp. 39. The *et cetera* at the end of the above quotation is Williams's.

^b "A Reply to Mr. Williams's Examination and Answer, &c. By John Cotton, B.D. Lond. 1647." 4to. p. 122. ^c 2 Tim. i. 8.

^d See Neal's Hist. Purit. vol. iii. ch. i." and Dr. Stuart's "Account," p. lx.

^e All his "Annotations" were printed collectively, in 1627, and again in 1639, folio. They appeared separately, in the following order—Psalms, 1612; 2d Edit. 1617. Leviticus, 1618. Numbers, 1619. Deuteronomy, 1619. Genesis, 1621. Exodus, 1622. Songs of Sol. 1623.

his charge, if I commend him, it may haply be applied to me as one 'that openeth his mouth wide to praise his neighbour in the gate.' Yet, to stop the mouth of opened envy, and to perform, in reverence and thankfulness, some duty in this behalf; and that others may labour to be imitators of those good things they hear, and I know, to be in him, which I doubt not but all that knew him will testify with me,—he was of nature, kind, courteous, and affable; of disposition, humble, meek, loving, and peaceable: in judgment, sound, modest, and judicious; in knowledge, excelling most, as an able minister of the New Testament, continuing a lightsome star in God's right hand, where the Lord placed him; in speech, profitable, and familiar: patient in bearing injuries; not opening his mouth to disgrace in the least, even him that notoriously and untruly slandered him; but clearing himself, commended his case to Him that judgeth justly. Briefly, for personal qualifications, he was a man of a thousand; yea, worthy of the rank of them that are to be preferred before ten thousand. In his ministry, painful and faithful, as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. Full of faith and good works; fruitful in his life; comfortable, in his death, to all the beholders, of which there were many, myself being one. But I must forbear to enlarge further, in that the more I consider of those excellencies that were in him, and the sweet society and profitable converse enjoyed in him, the more doth it pierce my heart with grief when I do consider the loss, not only I, but the whole Church of God that depended upon him hath, in special; besides the general want amongst others, by such profitable labours for general good, had the Lord pleased to give life and health to him."

CHAP. XXV.

ROBINSON'S ESSAYS.

THE contents of the literary miscellany, which constitute the bulk of the chapter on which we are thus entered, valuable as they are in themselves, give and derive importance from their being here intimately associated to the several other productions of their estimable author. The full title of the book is, "Essays; or, Observations Divine and Moral: Collected out of Holy Scriptures; ancient and modern Writers, both Divine and Human; as also, out of the Great Volume of Men's Manners: Tending to the furtherance of Knowledge and Virtue. By John Robinson.—The Second Edition. With two Tables; the one, of the Authors quoted; the other, of the Matters contained in the Observations.—Prov. ix. 9. Lond. 1638." 12mo. pp. 566. The first edition bears the date of 1625, 4to. pp. 324.

The author writes, in the Preface of this interesting manual, that besides the ordinary sources whence these Observations were collected, he had, in the days of his "pilgrimage, special opportunity of conversing with persons of divers nations, estates, and dispositions, in great

variety." And he affirms that "this kind of study and meditation" had been "full sweet and delightful," and that wherein he had often refreshed his soul and spirit "amidst many sad and sorrowful thoughts" unto which God had called him; he then prays that "it may find answerable acceptance with the Christian reader, and a blessing from the Lord."

Where all is good, it is the more difficult to select what shall give satisfaction to those readers, who, being governed by their own feelings and fancies, would have had what is selected by another to have given place for the introduction of what is in accordance with their particular tastes and impressions. This little volume is a depository of various excellencies. The method is "neither curious, nor altogether negligent;" but the themes, sixty-two in number, are in themselves generally attractive, being richly studded with apothegms; while the style in which they are embedded, is itself often intitled to commendation for its idiomatic purity.

We commence our extracts with parts of Observation

VII. Of Religion; and the differences and disputations thereabouts. — "Disputations in Religion, are sometimes necessary, but always dangerous; drawing the best spirits into the head from the heart, and leaving it either empty of all, or too full of fleshly zeal and passion, if extraordinary care be not taken still to supply and fill it anew with pious affections towards God, and loving towards men. And this the more, considering how the controversies in Religion are generally carried with more heat than of any other subject: for that, besides reason, art, credit, and persuasion of truth and right, which warm men in other differences, they are, in this, inflamed as it were with zeal for God and his service; for whom, and which, not to be fervent, seemeth to be derogatory to his and its honour. We are, therefore, carefully to beware, and earnestly to pray, that we may, in Controversies of Religion, strive for God, and according unto God; seeing in them, we both may easily and do dangerously err, if we miss at all: and therewith, that we neither make our adversary's cause worse than it is, nor conceive a sinister opinion of his affections in it, without reason: in both which, men seek dishonest and unconscionable advantages; and are sorry, in effect, that they whom they oppose are not worse than they are. He that strives for error, strives for Satan against God; he that strives for victory, strives for himself against other men; but he that strives for truth against error, helps the Lord against God's and his own enemy, Satan, the father of lies;^a and this, specially, if withal he handle God's cause according unto God. A man shows most knowledge and understanding in the matter of truth; but most grace in the manner of handling it, with reverence, holiness, and modesty.^b

"No difference, or alienation, in Religion, how great soever, either dissolves any natural or civil bond of society; or abolisheth any the least duty thereof. A king, husband, father, &c. though a heathen, idolater, atheist, or excommunicate, is as well and as much a king, husband, or father, as if he were the best Christian living; and so both

^a John viii. 44.

^b P. 79.

oweth, and hath owing unto him reciprocally the duties and offices of that state in which he is set, by an inviolable right; which they that deny are monsters among men, and enemies to human societies.^a

"To that of the Father,^b That many who at first serve God by compulsion, come after to serve him freely and willingly; I answer, That neither good intents, nor events which are casual, can justify unreasonable violence. And withal, That by this course of compulsion many have become atheists, hypocrites, and formalists; and being, at first, constrained to practise against conscience, lose all conscience afterwards. . . Yet do I not deny all compulsion to the hearing of God's Word, as the means to work Religion, and common to all of all sorts, good and bad; much less excuse Civil disobedience palliated with religious shows and pretences; or condemn convenient restraint of public idolatry; so as this rule of reason holds its place, namely, That the bond between magistrate and subject is essentially Civil, but Religious accidentally only, though eminently.^c For conclusion of this matter,—Let the godly magistrate consider, that as there is no church-state and professions so truly Christian and good, in which too many may not be found carried, in their persons, with a spirit plainly antichristian; so, there is hardly any Sect so antichristian, or evil otherwise, in church-profession, in which there are not divers truly, though weakly, 'led with the Spirit of Christ,'^d in their persons; and so, true members of his mystical body. With whom, to deal rigorously for some few aberrations, of ignorance or infirmity, were more to please Christ's enemy, in the oppressing of the person, than Christ, in so repressing his failing in some particulars; specially if they be not fundamental.^e"

Observ. ix.—Of Authority and Reason.—"Authority leads us to the author of a thing, and bids us rest in his word, whether for credence to his relation, or obedience to his commandment. Reason wills us to look to the thing itself, and to the arguments for or against it, taken either from common sense, or natural principles and conclusions; or other undoubted grounds of truth, or goodness of matter. The ground in Authority is, in a sort, personal; in Reason, real. It is a kind of impeachment of Authority, to examine the reasons of things; so is it a prejudice to Reason's work, to call Authority to counsel or question, save only when God speaks; for then, the Authority justifies the Reason, and Reason bids to receive the Authority and do all things commanded without reasonings."^f

Observ. xxiv.—Of Good Intentions.—"A *good meaning* no more sufficeth to make a good action, than a fair mark doth to make a good shot by an unskilful archer. This hath been fully verified in the Jews, who, of no less *good end* than the zeal of God, and desire, such as it was, to do Him pleasing service, persecuted Christ and his disciples unto the death. What *intention* could be better, or action worse? We must not, therefore, take 'the sanctuary of fools' by *good meanings* without knowledge. But, first setting our faces towards heaven by *meaning well*, must, further, so far honour God and humble ourselves unto him, as to resign our whole man also into his hands, to be guided

^a P. 85.
^{P.} 90

^b Augustine.

^c Keckerman.

^d Rom. viii. 14.

^f Philip. ii. 14.—Page 115.

by Him in the way thither ; joining our prayers with his who had less need to fear stepping aside that way than we, and yet said, ' With my whole heart have I sought thee : O let me not wander from thy commandments.'^a

" And yet, albeit a ' good end ' alone suffice not, yet there is nothing either good or tolerable without it ; no, not though it have never so good success. ' Although the good meaning excuse not wholly ; yet the evil wholly condemns.'^b This *good intention* and *end*, is the first and last in every lawful action.^c It is the first, and that which sets the agent awork to do what he doth, whether working reasonably, or naturally : it is the last, and so the best, and that at which he aims, as the perfection of his work. And this, where it is found, God so much regardeth, as he, sometimes, prevents an evil action in him in whom he sees a *good intention* ; as is to be seen in Abimelech, king of Gerar, whom God kept from sinning against him, and suffered not to touch Sarah, Abraham's wife, because he had taken her into his house ' in the integrity of his heart.'^d Sometimes also, God rewards the *good purpose* ; yea, though he refuse the work intended as incompetent, for some special cause, as in David, where he would have built the Lord a house.^e

" Always he that *means well*, yea though the work be evil which he doth, makes the devil, after a sort, serve God in it. He that doth that which is good in itself, for an evil end, makes God serve Satan : he that doth that which is evil for a good end, makes Satan therein, though not warrantably, serve God ; as the means serve the end ! And, considering how little truly good-doing there is amongst men, in comparison, it were well there were more *good meaning* ; yea, though it were without knowledge. By which, both fewer mischiefs would be done, and they that are done would therein be less heinous. ' We measure things,' saith Bodin, and it is true in a respect, ' by the ends of goodness ; and so better miss ; and we shall miss less in the means than in the end.' He who hath the mark in his eye, and aims at it, will hardly miss so much as he that takes a wrong mark to shoot at. And for true goodness, he who gets this general grace, To have his heart indeed and seriously bent upon the course of piety towards God, and innocency towards men, the Lord will not so far suffer to err in his way as to miss of heaven in the end, notwithstanding his particular aberrations of human frailty ; which God will cover under the veil of his rich mercy by the person's sincere faith and general repentance."^f

Observ. xxv.—Of Means.—" To trust to Means is idolatry ; to abuse them, want of wisdom, or of conscience, or both ; to neglect them, either desperateness, when a man is without hope of good by them,—or presumptuous tempting of God, when he expects good without them,—or sloth, when he will not trouble himself with them. With all which, unthankfulness to the Lord is joined, who provides them as helps against our infirmities ; and therewith profane sauciness also, if with the contempt of the Means which we have, we long after such as we have not. . . For though His *power* be not bound to

^a Psal. cxix. 10.^b Augustine.^c Bernard.^d Gen. xx. 5, 6.^e 2 Sam. vii. 5, 6.^f P. 240.

Means, yet his *will* binds us to such as he in mercy affordeth. . . In the careful use of natural Means we show most *wisdom*, and that we are not like beasts without understanding ; and of supernatural Means, prayer, and the like, the most *grace*, and that we are not as men which know not God. A man must be sure, in his most careful use of Means, always to bear in mind the end for which he useth them ; that he be not like the messenger who so minds his way as he forgets his errand ! To sever the Means and End to which they lead ordinarily, is vanity in all courses : in Divine matters, mere madness. He that, sinning without repentance, looks to escape hell, separates the End from the Means : he that without faith and obedience, looks for heaven, separates the Means from the End which he aims at : both, would pervert God's Word and work of providence ! " ^a

Observ. xxvi.—Of Labour and Idleness.—“ Proud folk despise Labour and them that use it. And so it would be thought, by many, far meaner than Joseph's brethren, a disgraceful question to be asked as they were by Pharaoh, ^b of what ‘ occupation ’ they were ? And this difference I have observed, for the matter in hand, that whereas in plentiful countries, such as our own, it is half a shame to labour ; in such others as wherein art and industry must supply nature's defects, as in the country *where I have last lived*, it is a shame for a man not to work, and exercise himself in some one or other lawful vocation. And, in truth, there is more comfort to a good man, in that which he gets or saves by his labour and providence, and God's blessing thereupon, than in that which comes to him any other way. For he considers it not only as a fruit of God's love, but withal, as a reward of his obedience unto God's commandment of labour and travail, to be undergone, in this world, of the children of men. ^c . Labour, spent upon things eternal, must not be counted lost, or too much ; seeing temporal things, of any worth, are not usually obtained without it. And, surely, if heaven and happiness could be had with so little pains and trouble as the world reckons, it were strange if they were worth the having ! And yet how many might obtain the ‘ pearl ’ ^d of Christ promised, with less pains than they take for earthly and transitory things, which yet oftentimes they are disappointed of ; yea, I add, than many take for hell, which their wickedness brings upon them unavoidably ! ‘ Labour not for the meat which perisheth ; but for that meat which endureth unto eternal life, ’ ^e saith Christ our Lord. ” ^f

Observ. xxvii.—Of Callings —“ The effectual Calling of a Christian, is that by which the Lord first differenceth, actually, and in the person himself, the elect from the reprobate ; and, by which, the Called approacheth and draweth nigh unto God that calleth him ; and, that takes away his sin which separated between the Lord and him, both by justifying and sanctifying him. This *general* Calling of a Christian is incomparably more excellent and honourable than any *particular* calling and state whatsoever. By it we are ‘ blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly things, ’ both for ‘ grace ’ and ‘ glory ’ ^g It alone is properly a ‘ holy Calling, ’ ^h hallowing all other callings ; which

^a P. 246—248.

^b Gen. xlvii. 3.

^c P. 250—253.

^d Psal. cxxviii. 1, 2.

^e Eph. i. 3, 6.

^f Matt. xiii. 46.

^g 2 Tim. i. 9.

also are so far lawful and lawfully used as they further it, and not otherwise.^a If the excellency of it were well weighed and rightly prized, no man, honoured therewith, should be thought worthy to be despised for any other meanness; nor without it, to be envied for any other excellency, how glorious soever in the world's eye.

"These two main privileges of God's providence, the Elect, before their effectual Calling, are made partakers of, above others: the *former*, That into what other, or howsoever otherwise grievous sins they fall, yet they are kept by the power of the Lord, from sinning against the Holy Ghost, of which there is no forgiveness.^b And this, the apostle insinuates where he testifies of himself, that before his Calling by grace, he was 'a blasphemer and persecutor;' but doing it 'of ignorance in unbelief,' he 'obtained mercy;' ^c which if he had done of malicious knowledge, he could not possibly have done. The *second* privilege is, That though such a man may fall into great dangers, so as there is oft but a step between him and death, yet still God will rescue and keep him alive till he be effectually Called to the participation of his grace in Christ: witness, the jailor in Philippi.^d God calls a man actually, in time; as he hath chosen him, in his eternal decree: that is, as he hath proposed to call, and save him in due time. And if there be a particular and effectual Calling of some above others, then was there, undoubtedly, a particular Election or purpose from eternity in God so to do; except we will say that God doth that in time which he did not from eternity purpose to do. And if the Lord work no otherwise in Calling of any to the grace of Christ than by *outward* means and motives, so leaving them, as some say, to the freedom of their will to determine itself by choosing or refusing the grace offered in the Gospel; then are many wicked men, so living and dying, more bound to the Lord for his work of grace towards them than are divers his holy and faithful servants. The reason is, because many of the former have been made partakers of the *outward* means and motives of grace, in preaching of the Gospel, godly examples, and education, in far greater measure, and more ample and excellent, than many of the latter have been. Neither are the true servants of God, by this doctrine, to go so far in humble thankfulness to God as did the proud 'Pharisee' in the Gospel, who thanked God that he was not like the 'publican' and other sinners; for whatsoever else they have cause to thank God for, by these men's gospel they have cause to thank themselves; and not God, that they are not like 'other men' ^e who have been made partakers of as great and ample *outward* means and provocations of grace as they have been.

"A *lawful* calling is necessary for every lawful work; the *general* calling of a Christian, before we can perform any christian work aright; and so, a *particular* calling to this or that state of life, before we perform the works thereof. The *inward* calling is requisite in regard of God, who knows the inwards of the man, and with what heart and affection he undertakes any state or action; so is the outward, also, because God is the God of order. Also, when a man knows him-

^a 1 Cor. vii. 20—24.

^d Acts xvi. 27.

^b Matt. xii. 31.

^c Luke xviii. 11.

^e 1 Tim. i. 13.

self to be *orderly* called to a condition of life, he both sets himself more cheerfully and roundly to the works thereof, wherein he is assured he serves God's providence by his order and appointment: and, with faith, expects a blessing from God upon his endeavours in that course of life in which His hand hath set him; and, withal, bears with comfort the crosses befalling him therein, as we see in David, whose shield of comfort against all darts of danger was, that God had selected him unto himself, and anointed him his king upon Sion, the mountain of his holiness.^a

"Little account is made, by many, of a *lawful outward* calling; whereas indeed it is that alone by which all states,—save those that are natural, and so are subjects neither to election nor change,—are both constituted and continued. For what makes him who yesterday was none, to-day to be a magistrate in the commonwealth, minister in the church, steward in the family, or any other officer or member in any orderly society, but an *orderly outward* calling by them who have lawful authority to confer that state upon him? This being neglected, opens a gap to all confusion in all states. The gifts of a man enable him to his office; his grace sanctifies both the gifts and office to the person; his *inward* calling persuades his heart to undertake the *outward*, 'in desire to glorify God, and in love to men;'^b his execution of it in the works thereof presuppose it, and testify his faithfulness in it; but only the *outward orderly* calling confers the outward state and condition of life."^c

Observ. XXXIII.—Of Afflictions.—"Albeit the love of God towards his people be always the same in itself, yet is the manifestation thereof very divers. Before Christ's coming in the flesh, in whom the grace of God appeared,^d God showed his love more fully in earthly blessings, and peace; and more sparingly in spiritual and heavenly: but now, on the other side, he dealeth forth temporal blessings more sparingly; and spiritual, with a fuller hand. It is not improbably gathered, that after the destruction of the dragon and beast, and recalling of the Jews after their long divorce from the Lord, the blessings of both kinds shall meet together, and the church enjoy, for a time, a very graceful state upon earth both in regard of spiritual and bodily good things. In the mean while, many would fain have their worldly advantage and the obedience of the Gospel to agree together further than they will. And when they cannot frame the world and their worldly conveniency to the Gospel, they will fashion the Gospel to the world, and to their carnal courses in it. Pity it is, that such men were not of the Lord's counsel when he first contrived and preached his Gospel; that they might have helped him in some such discreet and middle course as might have served the turn both for heaven and earth! But let the world, in its foolish wisdom, say and do what it will or can, the way is 'narrow' which leads unto 'life' and considering man's naughtiness, it is neither fit, nor hardly possible, that it should be broader.^f

"Both good conscience and wisdom must be used in applying such Scriptures as speak of the afflictions of Christians for well-doing;

^a Psal. iii. 4; ii. 6.

^d Tit. ii. 11.

^b Calvin.

^c Matt. vii. 14.

^e P. 245—249.

^f P. 309, 310.

neither is all that can be said out of every text thereabout to be applied to all times. . . Though the times, in the general, should be very evil, yet for a person who himself is well furnished with earthly good things, well fed and clad, and in outward peace, to dwell much upon the afflictions of Christians, specially with application to the present state of things, is not to hold decorum, but hath an appearance more orator than preacher like.^a . .

"A man may much increase or lessen a *cross*, by the course which he suffers his mind to run in it; seeing all crosses have some conveniences joined with them; as all commodities have some discommodities: If a man set his thoughts awork upon the inconveniences and discommodities alone which are in it, he shall heap sorrow upon sorrow; but if, on the contrary, he draw into consideration such conveniences, as usually fall in with their contraries, he shall always find some matter of ease; and, sometimes, that 'meat' comes 'out of the eater,'^b and that which, at first, seemed a cross is rather a benefit. It is a most dangerous thing for any to deem his afflictions extraordinary; lest, by so doing, he prejudice himself against ordinary comforts; which we should with readiness and thankfulness embrace, and not look for angels from heaven to comfort us, or for manna from heaven to feed us!"^c

"Observ. xxxvii.—Of Society and Friendship.—"To him that knows the use of true friendship, no earthly thing is more delightful than the sweet society of wise and honest friends, whether for recreation after study, or labour; or, communication in a prosperous state, or comfort in an afflicted. He that so esteems not this benefit is unworthy of it. Yet for myself, though I have ever thus valued truly loving Friends, notwithstanding considering unto how many dangers and calamities mine afflicted state hath been exposed, I have counted it a benefit that I have not had many such as were in danger to take excessive sorrow for any misery that hath or could befall me. Some Friends, in this respect, have a very ill and unfriendly fashion: if any good come to them, they conceal it from their friends; if any hurt, they hasten to fill their ears with that to the utmost. Such are more perversely childish than children; for as they will straight complain to their mothers of any hurt that befalls them, so, on the other side, if any good come to them, though it be but an apple or nut, they will as readily run and acquaint them with it also! Such persons are commonly lovers of themselves, envious, and unthankful. We, on the contrary, should rather hasten and desire to manifest to our Friends matter of gladness, when good befalls us, than of sorrow, in our crosses; and show therein, both our love toward them in procuring their rejoicing with us, and also, our wisdom and strength of faith and patience in the silent swallowing of our sorrows, without grieving our Friends more than needs must. So we read of the woman that had lost her piece, who lighted the candle, swept the house, and sought it diligently; and all this she did alone: but when she had 'found it,' then she called in her friends and neighbours to 'rejoice' with her.^d It is best mourning alone; and best rejoicing with company.^e

^a P. 311, 312. ^b Jud. xiv. 14. ^c P. 317. ^d Luke xv. 8, 9. ^e P. 356—358.

"As none can sin against the Holy Ghost, and irremissably, but they whom God hath received into some degree of Fellowship with him, at least in the knowledge of the Truth; so there is no so great enmity amongst any others as amongst them who of Friends become enemies... And if it so come to pass, that our Friends become or appear so ill as that in their friendship there is more hurt or danger than in their hatred, it is yet 'better we untwine than break the cord of former friendship,'^a save where some extraordinary unworthiness suddenly breaks out, and which urgeth present renunciation."^b

Observ. XLVIII.—Of Prayer—"No Christian exercise hath so many counterfeits as Prayer; which, whilst all would seem to practise, few, in truth and experimentally, know. We may *say* prayers, and *sing* prayers, and *read* prayers, and *hear* prayers, and yet not *pray indeed*. Yea, we may out of a kind of natural instinct, by reason of the indissoluble relation between the creature and the Creator, be carried towards God so far as to appeal unto him, or heartily wish good from him; wherein, as one saith, 'the soul gives testimony to God,'^c and yet be far from praying aright; that is, from making known our 'requests' to God^d 'according to his will,'^e with faith in his love, and the feeling of our own wants in our hearts.^f And the reason why this true Prayer is not every man's work, is because God must first work it in men's hearts, by pouring upon them 'the *spirit* of grace and supplication,'^g thereby to teach them both what to pray, 'as they ought,'^h for matter, and how, for manner; and, without the hand-leading of which *spirit* we dare not in truth approach unto God,ⁱ but do, by reason of the guilt of sin, fly from his presence, as Adam did, how nigh unto him soever we seem to draw.^k

"By Prayer all things are 'sanctified' to our use, which are sanctified in themselves 'by the Word of God';^l by it, we have spiritual right to our daily bread, in what abundance, and by what natural or civil right soever, we possess it before; by it, we obtain many good things of all sorts at God's hands, unto which we could attain by no art or industry, or other helps: as the favourites of kings get more by begging than any other can do by any other faculty. Besides, 'as by conversing with men, we do by little and little learn their manners, and have bred between them and us a certain mutual affection; so by our conversing with God in prayer, we learn the manners of heaven, and feel increase both of love in us to God, and of God to us.'^m Lastly, by Prayer we obtain, with the good things prayed for, the confirmation of our faith in God's goodness towards us, whereof he giveth us testimony in hearing and granting our 'requests'ⁿ put up to his majesty. And, in this respect, a good thing received by Prayer hath a double good in it.

"God is to be invoked not only with the heart and with the tongue, but, as one speaks, 'with the hand also';^o as Asa and the men of

^a Cicero.

^b 1 John v. 14.

^c Rom. viii. 26.

^d Taffin.

^e P. 360, 361.

^f 1 Kings viii. 47—50.

^g Calvin.

^h Phil. iv. 6.

ⁱ Tertullian.

^j P. 429.

^k Seneca.

^l Phil. iv. 6.

^m Zech. xii. 10.

ⁿ 1 Tim. iv. 4, 5.

Judah prayed to God, and fought with their enemies.^a And for us to ask any thing at the hands of the Lord, which, withal, we do not offer ourselves ready instruments to effect and bring to pass, is to tempt God's power, and to abuse his goodness. To pray for that which we desire not, is to mock with his majesty, as Austin confesseth of himself that, 'in his youth, he begged of God chastity and continency, but was afraid lest he should be heard too, soon of him.' All things live by heat; and the life of Prayer stands in the heat of earnest and fervent desire. And 'how should we make account that God should hear us, if we hear not ourselves? or look that God should be mindful of us, if we ourselves mind not, with intention of thought and desire, what we ask of him?'^b 'I,' saith the Father,^c 'prayed, when I was little, with no little affection, that I might not be beaten at school;' but how many grown men pray but with little, if any, affection, that they may not be beaten in hell! Our Prayers must be earnest, as well for small things as great, temporal as eternal; but with different degrees of earnestness, according to the degrees of goodness or necessity of the things prayed for. But as for faith, our every degree should be the same, whatsoever the thing be which we pray for according to God's will; seeing the truth of his promise, upon which our faith resteth, is the same in all things, small and great, and always infallible.^d

" 'Whosoever,' saith one,^e 'will bring his enterprises to good effect, must begin with prayer to God, and end with praising of him.' And he that begins not his work in that manner, specially being of any difficulty or weight, is in danger, if it succeed, rather to end in his own praises than in God's.^f

" A readiness to pray earnestly to God for good things, and the same improved accordingly, is a kind of power from heaven to him that hath it, that he shall receive the good things prayed for; both because all true Prayer is by the teachings of 'the Spirit' of God,^g which 'searcheth' the mind of God,^h and so acquaints him therewith in whom it dwells; and also because such a disposition hath faith not only joined with it as a companion, but as the very parent of it; which faith, on man's part, ever presupposeth a promise on God's.

" From the use and fruit of this heavenly grace of prayer, nothing can keep him that keeps himself in the favour of God; though many things can from other exercises of religion: not want of fellowship of men, nor solitariness of place, nor depth of dungeon, nor darkness of the night, nor thickness of walls neither, but his 'devout prayers will find way of ascending unto God.'ⁱ Blessed be his Name who hath provided for his poor servants in their most doleful and desolate estate, this ready means of divine comfort; whereof they, in whom his Spirit dwells, cannot possibly be deprived!

" Prayer in secret, and by him that is alone with God, hath these advantages above that which is public and in the church: First, that it is less in danger of the taint of hypocrisy. The proud pharisee, as

^a 2 Chron. xiv. 11.

^d P. 432—434.

^e Rom. viii. 26.

^b Cyprian.

^g Nazianzen.

^h 1 Cor. ii. 10—16.

^c Austin.

^f P. 435.

ⁱ Cyril.

well as the humble publican, goes to the temple to pray.^a And the hypocrites love 'to pray standing in the synagogues and in the corners of the streets, that they may be seen of men.'^b He that prays in secret, doth it to be seen of God.—Secondly, In private, a Christian may descend to such particulars as in public, or before others, he will not, nor ought to mention. Thirdly, He may in private, use such expressions and outward manifestations for the better passage of his heart's affection; specially being perplexed with sorrow, or fear, as before others were unseemly and immodest. In that day of the great mourning in Jerusalem, when they shall look upon Him 'whom they have pierced,' and shall mourn for him 'in bitterness,' every house and family shall mourn 'apart, and their wives apart.'^c

"On the other side, Public Prayer wants not its prerogatives: as first, That it is performed in the order and ordinance of the church; which the other is not. Secondly, That in the church and congregation, many agreeing touching a thing to be asked, have a special promise that it shall be done for them of their Father in heaven,^d upon whom they set, by their prayers, as it were, 'in a troop.'^e Lastly, In our Public Prayers, and praises of God, we do give testimony of his providence in governing the world and all our affairs, and that he is present with his church and hears their requests; for the convincing of atheists and epicures, and confirmation of others in believing undoubtedly his care over his people and servants."^f

Observ. XLIX.—Of Oaths and Lots.—"There is great affinity between an Oath and a Lot... In an Oath, we appeal to God as a wise and righteous Witness and Judge, knowing what is truth, and hating and punishing falsehood and lies.^g In a Lot, we appeal to God as to an absolute Lord, for the 'disposing' of persons and things by his more singular work of providence;^h with which alone, he that casts the Lot refers himself, if he mock not both God and man, wholly renouncing his own wit and skill every way, for the furthering of *this* chance, event, or lot, rather than *that*. Some may be, and are, too scrupulous in both: but a thousand times more, are too profanely prodigal of the one and other... An Oath is a part of God's worship, though much used civilly, as civil things are religiously; in which, we make clear and solemn confession of God's presence, wisdom, truth, justice, and omnipotence. There is in it no shadow of any shadow or type; and, therefore, no colour why it should not be moral and perpetual, and as lawful for us now as for the church before Christ... When our bare word will not be taken, and the weight of the matter requires it, we do pawn our best jewels, as our truth, faith, and verity, in an asseveration; as Christ our Lord confirmed divers his weighty sayings with a doubled 'amen.' But now, if men will not accept of our pledge neither, we procure God for our Surety in an Oath; unto whose justice we also enter counterbond for punishment by him, if we deceive... Common and light Swearing, argues such a degree of irreverence of God's majesty, as we may truly and boldly say that the heart of a common

^a Luke xviii. 10.

^b Matt. vi. 5

^c Zech. xii. 10—14

^d Matt. xviii. 19.

^e Tertullian.

^f P. 437—439.

^g 2 Cor. i. 23.

^h Prov. xvi. 33.

and customary Swearer is void of all grace and true fear of God : . . This sin being directly against God's majesty, he reserves, by his providence, the punishment of it ordinarily to himself: spiritually, by hardness of heart and impenitency in this life, usually to the end thereof; and both bodily and ghostly, by hell-fire for ever : where, it is also like, that the devils and damned men do and will swear and curse, in their utter rejection from God, and intolerable torment ; and so make their sin and course of blaspheming as endless as their punishment for it !"^a

Observ. LII.—Of Sin and Punishment from God.—“ All sins, save that first of Adam, and men's very last, are both sins in themselves, and effects of former sin, and causes of latter ; and that, not only by God's just though severe judgment in punishing one by another, but oftentimes also by a kind of natural and necessary coherence and affinity. Sometimes one sin brings on another by provoking unto it, as rash anger unto strife ;^b sometimes to back it, as Peter's denying of Christ did his after forswearing him ;^c sometimes, to conceal it, as all other evils draw on lying ; and theft, murder, many times ; sometimes, to maintain it, as pride doth covetousness and oppression ; and sometimes, to countenance it, that it be not disgraced, as Herod's rash oath drew after it the beheading of John the Baptist.^d And of these, commonly a lesser draws on a greater, as lesser sticks set the greater on fire.

“ So also by those degrees of iniquity do men proceed in one and the same particular enormity : in which, as in a chain drawing from heaven to hell, each link moveth his next from the one and smaller end to the other, greater. First, there is in a man, concupiscence, by which he is ‘ drawn away ’ from God, unto whom he ought to cleave with the whole heart : and, having once let go his hold on him, the true and unchangeable Good, he is forthwith seized by some appearing and counterfeit good, and thereby ‘ enticed,’^e as the bird by falling on the ground is taken in the snare, from which, while she held aloft, she was free. Upon this inveigled affection, and deceived judgment thereby, comes consent of will to have or do the thing which is evil ; called, by the apostle, the conception of lust,^f which that it may bring forth sin,^g in outward act and execution, wants nothing but opportunity. This sin perfected, by a continued course therein without repentance, brings forth death^h unavoidably. He, therefore, that begins to do evil, or to forsake that which is good, in the affection of his heart, is like him that puts his feet into a pit, and lets the hold of his hands go ; and without God's gracious hand catching hold of him, can never stay till he come to the bottom of the pit of perdition. And no marvel of this progress in evil, seeing every sin, how small soever in degree, hath joined with it the contempt of God. And, therefore, the safest way against the flame, is to quench the spark by which it may be kindled : so, against this fire of hell, to quench betimes the spark of concupiscence and lust. This is done partly by withdrawing from it the occasions and incitements of and unto sin, which are as fuel for nourishing it . . . As

^a P. 440—446. ^b Prov. xv. 18. ^c Matt. xxvi. 70, 72—74. ^d Matt. xiv. 10.
^e James i. 14. ^f Rom. vii. 7. ^g Jam. i. 15. ^h *Ibid.*

water, fire's contrary, quencheth it, so do the spiritual means of grace, as prayer, meditation upon God's Word, and the like, quench, by degrees, the sparks of sin and fire of hell. The greatness of the sin is not always to be esteemed by the thing done; for, as much crookedness may be found in a small line, so may a great evil be committed in a small matter.^a

"The sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, or in the world to come,^b is not only committed by them who have sometimes professed the Gospel; but by others also, though never coming so far, but being convinced of the truth thereof, do maliciously hate, blaspheme, and persecute it; and therein, sin against the work of the Holy Ghost in their own hearts. And this, Christ insinuates against the Scribes and Pharisees,^c who yet never came to profess Christianity. The reason of the irremissableness of this sin is not any defect either in the mercy of God, or merits of Christ; as though the evil in it were greater than the good in them; but for that God hath set those bounds of his grace and mercy, that he will never vouchsafe faith and repentance to that person who once despith his Spirit in that its holy work. And considering how oft the Scriptures speak of this sin, not only for warning of persons in themselves, but also for direction touching others so sinning;^d it is to be feared that the same is more ordinary where the Gospel is preached than the most make account of; and, that many maliciously hating and persecuting—specially after some singular profession made and forsaken—true and conscionable Gospellers, would do the same by the Gospel itself, if they were not restrained by fear of men and shame of the times."^e

Observ. LXII.—Of Death.—"By natural Death, divers men, how like soever they have been in their temporal state, become most unlike in their eternal; the wicked, miserable without hope; and the godly, happy without fear. And by the same Death, both they and all other, in other things, altogether alike, how unlike soever they have been in them formerly. After Death, remains no natural or civil relation, as of father, son; husband, wife; or the like: all these are for this life only. The lifeless earth, unto which the body 'returns,'^f is altogether

^a P. 462—465. The progress of Sin, as represented in the above paragraph, may be paralleled by another representation, called "The Ladder of Sin," in p. 19, of "A Treatise of the Great and General Day of Judgment. By Henry Greenwood, M. A. Lond. 1614." 16mo.—"The sin of Thought," he writes, "the sin conceived in the heart of man, is not only a sin, but it is the root and beginning of all sins whatsoever: for it is not that which goeth into man that 'defileth' him; but that which 'cometh out' of him; that is, that which proceedeth from the heart of man. Matt. xv. 11—The Devil first suggesteth; after suggestion cometh cogitation; after cogitation followeth affection; after affection followeth delectation; after delectation cometh consent. Now is the sin of Thought fully committed.—After consent followeth operation; after operation followeth custom; after custom followeth desperation; after desperation followeth defending of sins committed; after defending of sins committed followeth vaunting, boasting, and glorying in sin, which is next to damnation itself. Thus the heart is the fountain from whence springeth all sin whatsoever!" ^b Matt. xii. 32. ^c Matt. xxii. 31, 32.

^d Luke xii. 10. Matt. xii. 31, 32. Mark iii. 28, 29. ^e 1 John v. 16. Heb. vi. 6; x. 29. 2 Pet. ii. 1. Jude 4. ^f P. 467, 468. ^f Eccl. xii. 7.

uncapable of them : so is the soul, being a spiritual substance, whether in heaven or hell. With them in glory, after the end of the world, 'GOD shall be 'ALL IN ALL ;'^a and men shall be like the angels,^b neither taking wives, nor giving in marriage, nor remaining married ! Peter and Paul neither are nor shall be apostles there ! Neither is the virgin Mary, Christ's mother, there ! But they only remain those persons which sometimes, *upon earth*, had these states and relations upon them."^c

CHAP. XXVI.

ROBINSON'S POSTHUMOUS TREATISE.

THE piece which presents itself next in order for attention is "A Treatise, 'Of the Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England : ' Penned by that Learned and Reverend Divine, Mr. John Robinson,^d late Pastor to the English Church of God in Leyden. Printed according to the Copy that was found in his Study after his decease ; and now published for the common good. Together with a Letter ; written by the same author, and approved by his Church : which followeth after this Treatise.—John vii. 24.—Printed Anno 1634." 16mo. Pref. pp. xviii. Treat. pp. 77.

" "The Printers" inform us, in their address "To the Christian Reader," that "the work was perfected and *written* by" Mr. Robinson's "own hand ; and so found, after his death, which is nine years since, in his Study. Yet have we thought it good, all this while, to conceal it, in respect of that desire we had to the peace of that Church whereof the author of this treatise was, for so many years, a Pastor : in regard, we did perceive that some, though not many, were contrary minded to the author's judgment expressed in this treatise."

We interrupt the address of the Printers, at this place, designedly, because it will better illustrate the origin of Robinson's Manuscript ; and be serviceable also, concerning the further particulars which will be presented from the address itself.

^a 1 Cor. xv. 28.

^b Matt. xxii. 30.

^c P. 557, 558. Bishop Hall, in an Epistle to Sir Edmund Lucy,—Dec. iii. Ep. vi. *ante* 1608,—"Of the different degrees of Heavenly Glory ; and our Mutual Knowledge of each other above ;" tells his friend, "Comfort you therefore in this, You shall know and be known. But far be, from hence, all carnal and earthly thoughts ; as if your affections should be, as below, doubled to your wife, or child. Nature hath no place in glory : here is no respect of blood ; none of marriage. This grosser acquaintance and pleasure is for the paradise of Turks, not the heaven of Christians ! Here is, as no marriage, save betwixt the Lamb and his Spouse, the Church ; so no matrimonial affections. You shall rejoice in your glorified child ; not as your child, but as glorified. In brief, let us so inquire of our company, that, above all things, we strive to be there ourselves, where we are sure, if we have not what we imagined, we shall have more than we could imagine !"

^d "Robinsz." on the title-page itself.

"Here followeth* a true Copy of a Letter, sent to London; written by the Author of the former Treatise, and read in public; and, by the whole consent of the Church, was sent to London, in answer to a Letter sent by the Church of London to the Church of Amsterdam and Leyden."...

"To our Beloved in the Lord, the Church of Christ, in London; &c.—It may seem strange unto you, Brethren, . . . that we should have deferred, thus long, our answer unto your Letter; and as unseasonable, that after so long delay, we should now frame an answer. Our defence, in the former case, is, partly, the other Church's^b keeping the same so long in their hands, before they sent it unto us; and partly, their contentions arising about it; of which, we both desired to see some issue, and hoped, withal, that by occasion thereof, we might come to communicate our counsels together; as we conceive, by your joint Letter, your desire to have been. But both in vain! For the latter, then,—partly fearing, lest we should seem to neglect you; and, partly hoping, that some use might be made thereof for after times and occasions,—we thought it better late than never to address this our answer; yet so, as you are, in the first place, to be intreated by the Pastor of the Church here, to take knowledge that *he* was not very willing to read publicly that your Letter, for two reasons. The one, a loathness that either strangers or brethren should take knowledge of that inordinate and lawless course held by such there, as both in regard of their years and learning, and especially of their place in the church, should have been an example unto the rest in wisdom, sobriety, and christian forbearance; specially in a case threatening division and dissipation . . . Secondly, For that *he* conceives it not orderly, that the Bodies of Churches should be sent to for counsel; but some chief persons. Power and authority is [*sic*] in the Body, for elections and censures; but counsel for direction in all difficult cases, in some Few. In which regard every 'particular church' has appointed its Elderships for ordinary counsellors; to direct it, and the members thereof, in all difficulties; with whom, others are also to advise upon occasion; 'specially, ordinary. 'The Priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.'^c . . .

"You demand, First, 'whether you have done well in retaining her,'—'to wit,' the Maid about whom the difference was,—'she leaving [her] practice, according to her promise?'—Answer: We judge that therein you did well, yea, though she had continued her practice upon occasion, and without neglect of the church whereof she was a member: how much more, leaving it, as she did! Considering the action itself, the Hearing of the Word of God; the great provocation she had thereunto; the state of the other church, about which your next question is moved; and, with all these, that excommunication is the heaviest censure which the church can inflict for the most heinous offence most obstinately stood in; we deem it against that brotherly forbearance which the stronger owes to the weaker, so severely to censure a failing, so supposed, of that kind.

* P. 65.

^b Amsterdam.

^c Mal. ii. 7.

“To their assertion, That she was an idolater; having broken the second commandment; for that Mr. Jacob's people were judged ‘idolaters’ in their going to the Assemblies; and, therefore, from 1 Cor. v. 11, ‘If any called a brother,—be an idolater, &c.’ we answer, That here are divers consequences and collections made, without rule of charity or ground of truth. To grant, as the truth is, that many things in the Assemblies are against the second commandment, which forbids nothing but idolatry expressly; and by consequence, whatsoever tends thereunto; and, withal, that Mr. Jacob's people did partake with divers of these evils: yet we deny it to agree either with Christianity, or civility in common course of speech, to challenge every such practice as the committing of idolatry, or such persons as idolaters!.. Indeed, he that is under the Law, and judgment thereof, doing the least evil against the first or second commandment, is an idolater; and against the sixth, a murderer; and so for the rest, in regard of God and the rigour of justice; whom yet, for men so to call and prosecute, were rash and rude at the least. But now, if the person can, in respect of other good things, by the Word of God and utmost extent of charity, be deemed to have any the least interest in the grace of the Gospel; to censure such a one as an idolater, thief, murderer, and the like, is against both charity and godliness!..

“Secondly: ‘Whether Mr. Jacob's congregation be a true Church, or not?’—We have so judged; and the Elders of the Church at Amsterdam, and the Body of the church with them, as we conceive: and so do we judge still...

“Thirdly: ‘Whether Mr. Staesmore and his wife are received and retained in our churches, by that covenant which they made with God in Mr. Jacob's church; or, whether they have renounced it as false, and made no other?’—Answer: Their receiving here was only by the covenant made with God and the church there continued; and none otherwise, the persons having testimony and dismission from the church there; and so were, in the virtue of the same covenant, by us commended and conveyed to that other church in Amsterdam.

“Fourthly: To your fourth demand, about your ‘carriage towards your Teacher, and other brethren renouncing communion with you,’—it is both unreasonable now to answer, and difficult for us who are ignorant of such circumstances and manners of carriage by them, as by which, offences are much aggravated, or extenuated.

“Fifthly: ‘Whether their pretence of having the Truth, be sufficient to make them the church; and, to warrant their above-mentioned dealing?’ Answer: Neither the ‘pretence’ of having, nor the ‘having’ of the Truth indeed, makes the church, in the sense in hand: no more than the ‘having’ some other particular commendable virtue by some, makes them ‘the church,’ excluding them that want it. As Rev. ii. and iii. The visible and ministerial church, is the whole Body, and every member thereof: not some parts, Acts xx. 1 Cor. xiv. 23. Rom. xii. 1 Cor. xii; of which, some of these members have more ‘comeliness,’ and some less. The church is a state spiritual and political: not personal error, therefore, or other sin, makes any cease

to be a member thereof. And if the greater number be members still, though in error; the smaller cannot be the Body. Besides, if some particular sin or error, make the greatest part not to be members; then, much more two or three particulars; which thereupon, the church might not censure for any error or other sin; to wit, if they were not members: lastly; this confirms that popish and presumptuous ground, that 'the church cannot err.'^a

"Sixthly: 'Whether Women have voices with the men, in the judgments of the churches?'—Answer: The apostle teacheth, plainly, the contrary, 1 Cor. xiv. 34. 1 Tim. ii. 12; and though he speak particularly of prophesying and teaching; yet lays he down a more general rule, forbidding all such speaking as in which authority is used that is 'usurped over the man,' which is done specially in judgments. And if a woman may not so much as move a question in the church for her instruction, how much less may she give a voice, or utter a reproof for censure?

"And this answer we return at the length, Brethren, to your Letter and demands; and therewith our loving salutations in the Lord... Your loving brethren, John Robinson, and Church with him.—Leyden, 5 April, 1624."

We resume, now, the course of the "Printers'" address, which proceeds in these words,—“And this we judge to be a sufficient reason of our so long delaying of publishing this treatise to the world. Yet, to our grief, we have now, just cause to put this same on foot. . . We, who have observed Athaliah's spirit,^b in part, to be in some who have laboured to assume the power to themselves which is proper to the church, and so, Diotrephes like,^c would cast out whom they please, and retain whom they thought good; and, . . will labour to rend that church in pieces in which they have lived for many years together; and, that we may not seem to accuse them of any thing without just reason, we desire the Christian Reader, and themselves, to consider this that follows.

"First; Their schism, or, as they call it, 'their leaving the church,' doth arise upon this occasion; to wit, That two, which were members of the same church with them, having, upon some occasion, heard some of the Ministers in England preach, and it coming to the knowledge of some of these who have now made this rent [of] the church, they would presently have these persons dealt withal as for sin; and if they did not repent, after dealing, they would have the church to proceed to excommunicate them *ipso facto*: which the church not willing to consent unto, these men could not be satisfied, but they would have their own wills done, or else they would rent from the church! Which proceeding of theirs, if it were approved of and followed, no church could long continue together in peace; for what these four or five men have done, that may any other man do; so that if any man do con-

^a "No faults disannul the being of a church, until contempt of God's Word be added thereunto, after due conviction. The faults and errors of a church may be severely reprov'd and convinc'd, according to the quality thereof; and yet the church not be condemn'd." H. Barrowe, *Observations*, p. 242. Quoted in *Hull's Com. Apol.* p. 37.

^b 2 Kings xi. 1.

^c 3 John, 9.

ceive any of his brethren to walk in any such sin which he judges doth deserve excommunication, if the church will not thereto consent, he may rent himself from the same. . .

"We desire to give the Reader to take notice of these two things : first, That this practice, of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England, is not against any article of faith which is by this church professed, whereof the author of this Treatise was a pastor ; it being no act of church communion ; for if ' hearing ' simply, were an act of communion, then every heretic, or atheist, or whatsoever he were, who should come unto the church of God, should have communion with them ; which, if it were true, as the following Treatise proves the contrary, then it were good for every church that will avoid communion with profane men, to meet in private, and then to shut their door when their own company is met together : else I cannot see how they can avoid having communion with wicked men ; to wit, if bare hearing be an act of communion. Secondly ; As this hearing is not against any articles of their faith ; so, likewise, it was not, in the judgment of the church, esteemed as a thing that might not be borne withal. And this may appear by a copy of a Letter which we have here following published ;^a where the church, . . do sufficiently make it appear, that their judgment did manifestly differ from those which now have made this breach. . . The church, when this Letter was written, enjoyed the pastor ; and their company was five times greater than it was when this breach was made. . .

"But some of these that have made this division, have not denied but faith is wrought by the preaching and hearing in England : and yet, which is wonderful contradiction, they say it is not the Word of God as it is there preached ! So that, it seems, there is something besides the Word of God which is an ordinary means to beget men to the faith ; and, there is another word, besides God's, that will do it ! " . . As if they should say, it is God's Word if Mr. Canne shall preach it ; but if another that is a Minister in England, preach the same, it is none of God's Word : so that men's outward callings, true or false, makes the word to be the Word of God, or not to be the Word of God : an assertion rather to be pitied than refuted. . .

"Thus have we thought good, having been ear-witnesses of these things here propounded, to set down our censure of them." . .

Robinson opens his Treatise with lamentation ; "accounting it a cross" that he is "in any particular compelled to dissent from" his "christian countrymen ;" but confesses that he holds it a "benefit and matter of rejoicing," when he can "in any thing, with good conscience, unite with them in matter, if not in manner ; or, where it may be, in both." In "testimony of mine affection this way," he writes, "I have penned this Discourse, tending to prove 'The hearing of the Word of God, preached by the Ministers of the Church of England,—able to open and apply the doctrines of Faith by that Church professed,—both lawful, and, in cases, necessary, for all of all sects or sorts of Christians, having opportunity and occasion of so doing ; though sequestering

^a See above.

themselves from all communion with the Hierarchial Order there established.'"^a

He describes three sorts of "opposites:" Those who truly desire to be ruled by God's Word, "either for their confirmation in the Truth; or reformation, wherein, through human frailty, they step aside." To these, he "especially" directs his discourse. The second sort, he calls those "whose tender and scrupulous conscience makes them fearful and jealous of every thing." These, he entreats "to take knowledge of a distinction most useful for their direction, in things 'lawful in their kind,' and 'good in their right use.'" The third sort, he represents to be "more untractable than the former; and more vehemently bent against the thing propounded" by him. Of these, whom he judges too unwilling to read or hear what "crosseth their prejudices," he remarks he must yet say something "touching them; out of the woful experience of many years taken of them; though not much," he adds, "I thank the Lord, amongst them unto whom I have ministered."

"Some of these," he continues, "I have found carried with so excessive admiration of some former guides in their course, as they think it half heresy to call in question any of their determinations or practices. We must not think that only the Pharisees of old, and Papists of later times, are superstitiously addicted to 'the traditions of the Elders' and 'authority of the Church.' . . Some again, are as much addicted to themselves, as the former, to others; conceiving, in effect, . . that they cannot err, or be deceived. And this, especially in such matters as for which they have suffered trouble and affliction formerly; and so, having bought them dear, they value them highly. . . There is a third sort also, highly advancing a kind of privative goodness and religion; and who bend their force rather to the weakening of other men in their courses, than to the building up of themselves in their own. . . Fourthly; there are some to be found so soured with moodiness and discontentment, as they become unsociable, and almost *Λυκανθρωποι*, Werewolfs, as they speak; if they see nothing lamentable, they are ready to lament! . . Lastly; There want not who—as Jehu, in his fierce marching, covered his ambition, cruelty, and zeal for his own house, under the pretext of zeal for God's—think to cover and palliate their own both grosser and more proper, and personal, corruptions, under a furious march not only against the failings, but the persons also, failing of infirmity in matters of church order and ordinances."^b . .

"These things thus premised, the 'Objections' follow, which I have either heard from others, or can conceive of myself, most colourable against the practice by me propounded; and they are of two sorts. Some of them are framed upon supposition that the Ministers in that Church are, in themselves, lawful and of God, but not yet to be heard, by reason of the abuses and evils to be found in their ministrations. Others, withdraw hearing,—and those, the more,—upon the contrary supposition; to wit, that the very order and constitution of that Church and Ministry is papal and unlawful."^c

^a P. 1—3.

^b P. 3—12.

^c P. 13.

"Now, the examination of the grounds of the one or other, I will not, in this place, meddle with; but, . . . grant, for the present, to either part their ground, and so examine, distinctly, what exceptions they can or do build thereupon. . . .

"Objection i. 'There is danger of being seduced and misled, by the errors taught in the Assemblies.'—Answer: We must not lose the benefit of many main truths taught, for danger of some few errors; specially in lesser matters. . . . This exception hath its weight against the hearing of priests and Jesuits, . . . but not against many Ministers of the Church of England.

"Objec. ii. 'He that, in any thing, partakes with that Church in which sins known are suffered unreformed, partakes in all the sins of that Church: as he that swears 'by the altar,' swears by the offerings upon it, which it sanctifies.'^a—Ans.: I partake not in the sins of any, . . . except the same sins either be committed, or remain unreformed, by my fault; otherwise, Christ our Lord had been enwrapped in the guilt of a world of sins in the Jewish church; with which church he communicated in God's ordinances; living and dying a member thereof. . . . As he who partakes with the altar in the upholding of the offering, partakes with the offering; so he that partakes with the Church in the upholding of any evil, hath his part in the evil also. This, I grant willingly; but deny, as a most vain imagination, that every one that partakes with a church in things lawful, joins with it in upholding the things unlawful to be found in it! . . .

"Objec. iii. 'But this course of hearing, will offend weak brethren not persuaded of the lawfulness of it.'—Ans.: It will offend more, and many of them weaker, and that more grievously, if it be not performed. It is an offence taken, and not given.^b . . .

"And these are the principal Objections, upon the former ground; they, upon the latter, follow.

"There is, in the hands of many, a Treatise, published by a man of note, containing 'Certain reasons to prove it unlawful to hear, or have spiritual communion with, the present Ministry of the Church of England.' [1608.] This hath been answered, but indeed sophistically, and in passion. Neither hath the answerer much regarded what he said or unsaid, so he might gainsay his adversary. With that answer was joined another, directed to myself; and the same doubled, pretending 'Public communion' upon 'Private';^c but not pressing at all, in the body of the discourse, that consequence; but proceeding upon other grounds: And, in truth, consisting of a continued equivocation in the terms 'public license, government, ministry,' and the like, drawn to another sense than either I intended them, or than the matter in question will permit. . . . But it is no new thing, even for learned and godly men, to take more than lawful liberty, in dealing with them against whom they have advantage, of the times favouring them, like the wind on their backs. But God forbid I should follow them herein.^d . . .

^a Matt. xxiii. 19. 20.

^b P. 13—20.

^c See back, p. 256.

^d P. 21, 22.

"And for the Treatise mentioned, it must be observed, how, both in the title and body of the book, the author confounds as one 'hearing of,' and 'having spiritual communion with, the Ministry, &c.:' which, as it is true of such as stand in spiritual and political church-union with a Church, and the ministry thereof, who, accordingly, have church communion in the public acts and exercises of that Church; so is it not true of others which are members of, not in ecclesiastical union and combination with, the said Church.^a . .

"Now, for Preaching by some, and Hearing by others,—which two always go together,—they may be, and oft are, performed without any religious and spiritual communion at all passing between the persons preaching and hearing. . . Hearing simply, is not appointed of God to be a mark and note either of union in the same faith or order amongst all that hear; or, of difference of Christians from no Christians; or of members from no members of the church; as the sacraments are notes of both, in the participants: the hearing of the Word of God is not so enclosed by any hedge or ditch, Divine or human, made about it; but lies in common for all, for the good of all.—The particular objections follow.

"Objec. i. 'No man may submit his conscience to be wrought upon by an unlawful and antichristian Ministry; neither hath God promised, or doth afford any blessing upon it; neither can any have the sanctified use thereof!'—Ans. . . 'Though God bless not the 'unlawful' office of ministry, which is not of Himself; yet he may and doth bless the truths, taught by the officer, which are of Himself and from heaven. To deny this, of many in the Church of England, is, Balaamlike, to curse where God would have us bless.

"Objec. ii. 'To hear such a Minister, is to honour, approve, and uphold his office of ministry.'—Ans. . . 'If this were a good ground, That every one approves of the evil done, in matter or manner, where he is present; none could live, with good conscience, in any society of men upon earth! Persons so minded are best alone; for with others, they will keep no peace. . .

"Objec. iii.—'By this, then, it seems a man may be present at any act of idolatry, and so do as others do that practise idolatry, yet not approve of it. And so the three nobles, in Daniel, needed not to have put themselves upon such pikes of danger as they did, for not falling down as others did in the place.'—Ans. . . 'It is the custom in popish countries, that all that pass by a Cross must, in honour of it, have it on the right hand. . . Now, if I ride with others that way, I may do the thing that they do, and keep company with them, and yet not honour the Cross as they do. It is, besides the former, the manner that such as so pass a Cross, should, in further honour, put off their hat to the said Cross; but if I do this also, I plainly manifest an approbation of the superstition. The reason of the difference is, Because I have another, just cause, to do the former thing, namely, to keep on with my company; but have no just cause of the latter. . . To the Objection moved: Seeing no other cause could reasonably be conceived of the king's commanding such a thing, or of their doing the

^a P. 22.

thing at his commandment, save the worshipping of the idol,^a— they, in so doing, could not have escaped the just blame of idolatry. But now, I have just causes—more than one—of my Hearing; and amongst the rest, my edification; and, therefore, cannot be challenged therein, to approve of the Ministers; state; or standing. . .

“Objec. iv. ‘He that hears them preach, hears them as ministers of the Church of England, and as sent by the Bishops; and in so hearing them, hears and receives them that send them: according to that of our Saviour, Luke x. 16; John xiii. 20.’—Ans. . . The Ministers in the Parishes, have not the Doctrines of the Gospel from the Bishops, as they have their Office; but from God, in his Word: and, so far forth as a man hears, that is, hearkens to, and receives them, [the Doctrines], by receiving it, [the Word], he, so far, hearkens to and receives Christ.

“Objec. v. ‘Yet such as hear them, have communion with their Office of ministry, what in them lies.’—Ans. . . That is, they have no ‘communion’ at all with it, if it lie not in them to have any; as it doth not. . .

“Objec. vi. ‘Is there, then, no communion at all between the teacher and taught? What profit, then, comes there, by such hearing?’—Ans. . . He may reap fruit by hearing him ‘feed’ his flock,^b or seeing him minister baptism to any member thereof. Here is ‘communion’ only in the effects of the truths taught. . . If Hearing, simply, imported church-communion, none but church-members might lawfully hear!

“Objec. vii. ‘In the true church, indeed, is *order*, that the church-covenant go before church-communion; but not so, in the false.’—Ans. . . Hearing, being not properly an act of communion, cannot import communion, necessarily. . .

“Objec. viii. ‘But it is the *order* of the Church of England, that all that hear, are, and so are reputed, members of that Church.’—Ans. : I deny that there is any such ‘order.’ . . Excommunicants are permitted to hear Sermons, though not Divine-Service, as they call it. . . If the church with me, should make a law, canon, or order, that all who come in and hear me preach should thereby become ‘members’ of it; we were the more foolish in making such an order; but they never a whit the nearer either for membership or communion!

“Objec. ix. ‘He that hears appears to have communion with the Church and ministry; and ‘all appearance of evil’ ‘is to be avoided!’—Ans. : The Scripture, . . is meant either of the Doctrine in ‘Prophecy,’^d of which I have some probable suspicion the apostle seems properly to speak; or, of that which appears evil, to a right-discerning eye. . .

“Objec. x. ‘None can ‘hear without a preacher;’ nor ‘preach except he be sent;’^e therefore, I cannot lawfully hear him that hath not a lawful sending.’—Ans. ; That conclusion is neither in the text, nor sound. . . The apostle’s meaning there, is not to show what is unlawful, but what is impossible! . . If faith come by the preaching, in England, to any; it follows thereupon, that such preachers are ‘sent’ in the apostle’s sense.

^a Dan. iii. 4, 5. ^b Acts xx. 28. ^c 1 Thess. v. 22. ^d ver. 20. ^e Rom. x. 14, 15.

"Objec. xi. 'The sheep of Christ 'hear his voice,' but 'strangers' they will not hear.'^a—Ans.: Christ doth not there speak of the outward hearing; but of the hearkening unto, that is,—as he expressed himself,^b—of the knowing and believing of his voice, and following it. So John ix. 27, 'I told you before, and ye did not hear;' that is, not believe: And, 'God hears not sinners,' ver. 31, that is, approves not of them and their prayers, &c. . . .

"Objec. xii. 'The Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, warn God's people of false prophets; which the Ministers of that Church are, having an unlawful calling.'—Ans.: They warn 'not to hearken' unto them,^c nor to 'believe' them, but to 'try' them;^d which, without our hearing them, cannot be done. Not that all 'false prophets' are to be heard by all, that they might 'try' them; for that were to tempt God. . . No man's unlawful outward calling, makes him a false prophet; nor his outward lawful calling, a true; but his true or false doctrine only, makes him a true or false prophet. . . And to 'prophecy,' in our sense, is nothing else but to 'speak to edification, exhortation, and comfort.'^e . . It were good, if they in whose mouths the challenge of 'false prophets' is rifest, would better weigh how themselves expound and apply the Scriptures, in their prophesyings! lest, notwithstanding any outward lawful church-state, they be deeper wounded by the rebound of their own accusations this way, than their adversaries!

"Objec. xiii. 'The Lord forbids Judah going to Gilgal, or to Bethel.'^f—Ans.: . . The Scriptures, everywhere, forbid the going or coming, to such places or persons, as in or by which some evil is done; to wit, of any thing evil or unlawful in, or with, them.

"Objec. xiv. 'They that eat of the sacrifice, partake of the altar;^g so they that receive the Word from an unlawful officer 'partake' with his office.'—Ans.: I deny the consequence. The 'office' is not to the Word, as the 'altar' is to the sacrifice. . . The altar 'sanctifieth the gift';^h but so doth not the 'office' make that to become the Word of God which was not so actually before. . . No sacraments may now be eaten but in the church; whereas the Word may be preached to any, as well out of the church as in it.

"Objec. xv. 'The places called temples and churches, having been built for idolatry, should be demolished; and, therefore, are not to be frequented: specially being accounted, and made, holy places.'ⁱ—Ans.: No place now, is holy or unholy, as then. Suppose it be the magistrate's duty to destroy them,—of which, I now dispute not, nor, how far he should proceed therein,—yet I deny the consequence; and, that I may not use that lawfully, which he ought to destroy. . . I know no law in force, nor doctrine received, in the Church of England, that ascribes any holiness to the places;^k and for errors and abuses

^a John x. 3—5, 8, 27.

^b Ver. 3, 5, 14, 16, 26, 27.

^c Deut. xiii. 3.

^d 1 John iv. 1.

^e 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

^f Hos. iv. 15.

^g 1 Cor. x. 18.

^h Matt. xxiii. 19.

ⁱ Deut. xii. 3. [1 Kings xii. 29.

^k Richard Hooker wrote, in 1597, "Manifest . . it is, that the very majesty and holiness of the place where God is worshipped, hath in regard of us great virtue,

personal, they rest in the persons so erring. . . I have no more religious use of the place in which I hear publicly, than in which I pray privately in my house or chamber!^a

"Objec. xvi. 'Seeing 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin;' what Word of God, and so of faith, is there for this practice?'—Ans.: . . As few or no good things, of any kind, are so well used by some, but others as much abuse them; so is it to be feared that there will not want who will change their lawful liberty this way, into lawless licentiousness, and so take up, instead of all other religious exercises, a hearing course only. And those specially of them, who, disliking the present Church-state in England, yet want due zeal, and love to that which themselves approve not: . . I demand of such, What is this course of Hearing such Ministers, as whose state of ministry they approve not? Is it any particular ordinance left by Christ, and enjoined all Christians in all ages and places? Verily, no! . . It is lawful to use it upon occasion, as it is to borrow of other men; but to make it our course, is to live by borrowing, which no honest man, that can do otherwise, possibly would do. Yea, what differs it from a kind of spiritual vagabondry, in him that can mend it, though with some difficulty, to live in no certain church-state, and under no church-order and government.^b . . If we continue therein [in God's Word] as we ought; in good conscience towards God; zeal for his ordinances; modesty in ourselves, and charity towards other men, specially towards them with whom God hath joined us in the most and best things; taking heed lest by any uncharitable either judgment of, or withdrawing from, their persons, for such human frailties as unto which, into one kind or other, all Adam's sinful posterity are subject; we sin not more, by our course held *against* them; than they, by theirs *in* them; which God forbid.^c

To conclude. For myself, thus I believe with my heart before God; and profess with my tongue, and have, before the world; That I have one and the same Faith, Hope, Spirit, Baptism, and Lord, which I had in the Church of England, and none other. That, I esteem so many

force, and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stir up devotion; and *in that respect*, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind." Eccles. Polity, bk. v. sect. 16.

^a "We hold with J. Rainolds, That unto us Christians no land is strange, no ground unholy; every coast is Jewry, every town Jerusalem, every house Sion; and every faithful company, yea every faithful body, a Temple to serve God in. Conf. with Hart, 1585, ch. viii. The contrary opinion Hospinian rejecteth as favouring Judaism,—*alligat enim religionem ad certa loca: De orig. Temp. lib. iv. cap. 2.* Whereas the presence of Christ among two or three gathered together in his Name, Matt. xviii. 20, maketh any place a Church, even as the presence of a king with his attendants maketh any place a Court." Geo. Gillespie's "Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies. 1637." Edit. 1660. 4to. Pt. iii. ch. i. sect. 9. p. 123.—"It is a church or temple also, that glittereth with no marble, shineth with no gold nor silver, glistereth with no pearls nor precious stones, but with plainness and frugality; signifieth no proud doctrine nor people, but humble, frugal, and nothing esteeming earthly and outward things, but gloriously decked with inward ornaments; according as the Prophet declareth, saying, 'The king's daughter is altogether glorious inwardly.'" Homily XIVth of the Church of England: Against Peril of Idolatry. 1563.

^b P. 25–57.

^c P. 62.

in that Church, of what state or order soever, as are truly partakers of that Faith,—as I account many thousands to be,—for my Christian brethren; and myself a fellow-member with them, of that mystical Body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout the world. That, I have always, in spirit and affection, all Christian fellowship and communion with them; and am most ready, in all outward actions and exercises of religion, lawful, and lawfully done, to express the same. And withal, That I am persuaded the Hearing of the Word of God there preached, in the manner and upon the grounds formerly mentioned, is both lawful and, upon just occasion, necessary for me and all true Christians withdrawing from that Hierarchical Order of church-government and ministry, and the appurtenances thereof; and uniting in the Order and Ordinances instituted of Christ, the only King and Lord of His church, and by all his disciples to be observed. And, lastly, That, I cannot communicate with, or submit unto, the said Church-order and ordinances there established, either in state or act, without being condemned of my own heart; and, therein, provoking God, who is greater than my heart, to condemn me much more. And, for my failings,—which may easily be too many one way or other,—of ignorance herein; and so for all my other sins, I most humbly crave pardon first and most at the hands of God; and so of all men whom therein I offend, or have offended, any manner of way; even as they desire and look that God should pardon their offences.”^a

Here we should close our account of the admirable Robinson, but that so much interest attaches to him, that we cannot withhold what follows, derived, as was Secretary Morton’s account already given,^b by another hand,^c from Governor Bradford’s Manuscripts; and though it may seem to be travelling over some of the same ground, the additional circumstances add materially to our estimate of the characters of Robinson and his companions.

^a P. 63, 64.—The question discussed in the above Treatise, was revived and further handled in “A Case of Great and Personal Use: Whether we may lawfully hear the now Conforming Ministers who are re-ordained [enjoined in the Act of Uniformity], and have renounced the Covenant; and, some of them, supposed to be scandalous in their lives? Considered, and Affectionately Resolved. By a late Eminent Congregational Divine. London, 1677.” 16mo. pp. 26. We avail ourselves of a passage in p. 21. “Ordination is not so necessarily connexed with Preaching, either by God or man: Scripture light mentions Preaching and Hearing as duties, Rom. x.; whereas yet there could be no Ordination: nor are they so inseparably joined by our Laws. But if they were, it is sufficient to my conscience. That God hath not so joined them. Our actings, and the reasons or grounds of them, are not to be interpreted, in church-matters, by human laws: If they were, it would be difficult to inhabit some Commonwealths with a good conscience! Our living within the precincts of such a Parish, our laws interpret, a being of the same particular church with them for all church-ordinances: but this, being man’s law only, we judge ourselves not so necessarily involved by our habitation. A church, according to Scripture, is a Spiritual Body. The limits are part of the essence and constitution of such a Body, and therefore ought to be Spiritual and of the same nature; and not merely human, as is the division of Parishes.”

^b See back, p. 390.

^c The New England Chronology. Part I. From the beginning of the British Monarchy in the Accession of King James, the first monarch of Great Britain, Mar. 25, 1602-3: To the beginning of the New English Colonies in the Set-

" 1606. Oct. The purely reformed church in the north[-east] of England, by reason of the distance of their habitations, are obliged to assemble in two several places, and become two distinct churches. In one, besides several of note, is Mr. John Smyth, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, who is chosen their pastor; but these afterwards going over into the Low Countries, and falling into errors, there, for the most part, bury themselves and their names. But in the other church, besides several worthy men, is Mr. Richard Clyfton, a grave and reverend preacher, and the famous Mr. John Robinson who is afterwards their pastor, .. as also Mr. William Brewster, a reverend man who afterwards is chosen Elder...

" 1607. This fall, Mr. Clyfton's and Robinson's church, in the north[-east] of England, being extremely harassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, begin to fly over to Holland, with their Rev. Pastor, Mr. Clyfton.^a

" 1608. Feb. This Spring, more of Mr. Robinson's church, through great difficulties from their pursuers, got over to Holland; and afterwards the rest, with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, who are of the last, having tarried to help the weakest over before them. They first settle at Amsterdam, and stay there a year, where Mr. Smyth and his church had gotten before them.

" 1609. Mr. Robinson's church having stayed at Amsterdam about a year, seeing Mr. Smyth and his company were fallen into contention with the church that was there before him, and that the flames thereof were like to break out in that ancient church itself—as afterwards lamentably came to pass—which Mr. Robinson and his church prudently foreseeing, they think it best to remove in time, before they were any way engaged in the same; though they knew it would be very much to the prejudice of their outward interest, as it proved to be; yet valuing peace and spiritual comfort above other riches, they therefore with Mr. Robinson^b remove to Leyden about the beginning of the twelve years' truce [Apr. 9th] between the Dutch and Spaniards: [they] choose Mr. Brewster assistant to him, in the place [or office] of an Elder, and there live in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbour citizens for above eleven years...^c But the Rev. Mr. Clyfton stays at Amsterdam, and there dies.^d

tlement of the First at Plimouth, Dec. 31, 1620. Being a brief Account of Matters relating to those new-discovered Countries while settled only by the Aboriginal Natives: Reciting the several Voyages from England thither; with the most material Affairs, especially of Great Britain, that led the way to their Settlement by the English Inhabitants." 12mo. pp. 254. No place or date; but the Dedication is subscribed, "Boston, Nov. 24th, 1736, Thomas Prince." We have seen the same impression, with another title-page, beginning, "A Chronological History," &c. and called Vol. I. but no second volume has appeared. ^a *Vide*, Prince, p. 254. ^b *Ibid*.

^c "By this it appears that both Baylie, and Hornius [Historia Eccles. et Politica.] are mistaken in representing that Mr. Smyth set up his church at Leyden; when it was to avoid him and his company that Mr. Robinson and his church removed from Amsterdam to Leyden. And by several passages in Governor Bradford's MS. it seems as if they began to remove to Leyden at the end of 1608." Note, by Prince. ^d *U. sup.* p. 254.

"1610. Dec. 31st... About this time, and the following years, many came to his church at Leyden from divers parts of England, so as [that] they grow a great congregation.

"1612. Aug. In these times are great troubles raised by the Arminians in Holland. In Leyden especially, there are daily and hot disputes in the schools about the Arminian doctrines, the two Divinity professors being divided, — Episcopius teaching for them, Polyander against them,^a—and the contention grows to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one will hear the other. But Mr. Robinson, though he preaches thrice a week, and writes sundry books, besides his other manifold labours, yet goes constantly to hear them both. Whereby he is grounded so well in the controversy; sees the force of all their arguments; knows the shifts of the Arminians; and, being himself otherwise very able, none is fitter to engage them, as appears by sundry disputes, so as he begins to be terrible to the Arminian party.

"1613. And about this year, it seems that Episcopius sets forth sundry Arminian theses, at Leyden, which he would defend against all opposers. Upon which, Polyander and the chief preachers of the city desire Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but being a stranger, he is loth to engage. Yet the others telling him, that such was the ability and expertness of the adversary, that the truth is in danger to suffer, if he would not help them, are so importunate as at length he yields; and when the day comes, he so defends the truth and foils the opposer, as he puts him to an apparent *non-plus* in this great and public audience. The same he does a second or third time, upon the like occasions; which as it causes many to give praise to God that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procures Mr. Robinson much respect and honour from those learned men and others: and it is said by some of no mean note, that were it not for giving offence to the State of England, they would prefer [advance] him otherwise, if he pleased, and allow his people some public favour.

"1617. This year, Mr. Robinson and his church begin to think of a remove to America, for several weighty reasons: as, 1. The difficulties in Holland, discouraged many from coming to them out of England, and obliged many to return. Many who came to them and desired to be with them, could not endure the great labour and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they endured; but though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their suffering, yet they left them as it were weeping; as Orpah did her mother-in-law Naomi, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be Cato's. For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the Gospel, with them; yet, alas! they admitted of bondage with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred the prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions.—2. By reason of these difficulties, with the licentiousness of the youth, and temptations of the place, many of their children left their parents; some becoming

^a Vorstius had been ordered to retire, Nov. 1611.—Prince, *in loco*.

soldiers, others taking to foreign voyages, and some to courses tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents, and fear lest their posterity through these temptations and examples should degenerate, and religion die among them.—3. From an inward zeal and great hope of laying some foundation, or making way for propagating the kingdom of Christ to the remote ends of the earth, though they should be but as stepping-stones to others. Upon their talk of removing, sundry of note among the Dutch would have them go under them, and make them large offers; but choosing to go under the English Government, where they might enjoy their religious privileges without molestation, after humble prayers to God, they first debate whether to go to Guiana or Virginia. And though some, and none of the meanest, are earnest for the former, they at length determine for the latter, so as to settle *in a distinct body*, but under the general government of Virginia. Upon which they send Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver to treat with the Virginia Company, and see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there.

“ Nov. 12. Sir Edwin Sandys writes from London to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster: wherein he says, ‘ Your agents have carried themselves with that discretion as is both to their own credit and theirs from whom they came. And the seven Articles subscribed with your names, have given the gentlemen of the Council for Virginia that satisfaction which has carried them on to a resolution to forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good.’

“ Dec. 15.* Mr. Robinson and Brewster date their letter of thanks from Leyden to Sir Edwin; wherein they write, ‘ We have set down our requests, subscribed with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and sent them to the Council by our agent John Carver, to whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself; and for your encouragement we will not forbear to mention these inducements: 1. We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us; to whom, and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that He will graciously prosper our endeavours according to the simplicity of our hearts. 2. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. 3. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world. 4. We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant to the Lord; of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. 5. And, lastly, It is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again.’

“ 1618. Jan. 27. Mr. Robinson and Brewster write from Leyden to Sir John Worstenholme; wherewith they send an account of their principles to be communicated to the King's Privy Council, who had received some ill impressions against them, namely,—‘ Touching the ecclesias-

* “ I suppose old stile.”—Prince

tical ministry, namely, of Pastors for teaching, Elders for ruling, and Deacons for distributing the church's contributions, as also for the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; we wholly agree with the French Reformed Churches, according to their public Confession of Faith; though some small differences are to be found in our practice in some accidental circumstances: as, 1. Their ministers pray with their heads covered, ours uncovered: 2. We choose none for Governing Elders but such as are able to teach; which ability they [the French churches] do not require: 3. Their Elders and Deacons are annual, or at most for two or three years, ours perpetual: 4. Our Elders administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for public scandals, publicly before the congregation; theirs, more privately and in their Consistories.

"Feb. 14. S. B., who delivered this letter, writes, that 'Upon Sir John's reading it, I asked his worship, What good news he had for me to write to-morrow? He told me, Very good news, for the King's Majesty and the Bishops have consented. But, for your letters, He would not show them at any hand, lest he should spoil all!'

"May. Though the agents of Mr. Robinson's people find the Virginia Company very desirous of their going; .. yet they found it a harder piece of work than they expected. For though many means were used, and divers of worth, with Sir Robert Naunton, Chief Secretary of State, laboured with the King to obtain it, and others wrought with the Archbishop to give way thereto, yet all in vain. They indeed prevail so far as that the King would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carry [themselves] peaceably; but to tolerate them by his public authority under his seal would not be granted. Upon which, the agents return to Leyden, to the great discouragement of the people who sent them.

"1619. Feb.—Notwithstanding the great discouragement from the King and Bishops' refusing to allow them liberty of conscience in America, under the Royal Seal, yet casting themselves on the care of Providence, they resolve to venture; and send two other agents to agree with the Virginia Company: but the said Virginia Company falling into great disturbance and factions, these affairs are long delayed.

"May 8... Sir Edwin Sandys chosen [in April] Treasurer and Governor of the Virginia Company.

"Sept.—After long attendance, the Leyden agents obtain a patent granted and confirmed under the Virginia Company's Seal. But the patent being taken out in the name of Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them; and Providence so ordering that he never went, they never made use of his patent, which cost them so much charge and labour. However, the patent being carried by one of their messengers to Leyden, for the people to consider, with several proposals for their transmigration made by Mr. Thomas Weston of London, merchant, and other friends and merchants as should either go, or adventure, with them, they are requested to prepare with speed for the voyage.

"1620.—Upon receiving these, they first keep a day of solemn prayer, Mr. Robinson preaching a very suitable sermon from 1 Sam.

xxiii. 3, 4. strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions, and then [to] conclude how many, and who should prepare to go first. For all that were willing, could not get ready quickly. The greater number being to stay, require their Pastor to tarry with them; their Elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with the other. Those who go first, to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stay; with this proviso, That as any go over or return, they shall be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial: and those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can... Those who are to go first, prepare with speed, sell their estates, put their money into the common stock to be disposed by their managers for making general provisions. There was also one Mr. Martin chosen in England to join with [their agents] Mr. Carver and Cushman. He came from Billericay in Essex: from which county came several others, as also from London and other places, to go with them. And a ship of sixty tons is bought and fitted in Holland, both to help to transport them and to stay in the country.

"June 10th... The ship in Holland being ready, they spend a day in solemn prayer; Mr. Robinson preaching from Ezra viii. 21.

"About July 21st,^a the English voyagers at Leyden leave that city:.. and July 22nd,^b the wind being fair, they go aboard,.. and come to Southampton...

"Mr. Roger White, in a letter from Leyden, of April 28th,^c 1625, to the Governor and Mr. Brewster, has the following words, 'It has pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor, Mr. Robinson.^d He fell sick Saturday morning, Feb. 22d.^e Next day, taught us twice. On the week, grew weaker every day, feeling little or no pain. Sensible to the last. Departed this life the first of March, 1624-5. Had a continual inward ague. All his friends came freely to him: and if prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. We still hold close together in peace; wishing that you and we were again together.'^f

^a Prince supposes "Old Style."

^b *Ibid.*, and he remarks that "both Mr. Morton and Dr. C. Mather seem to mistake in saying 'July 2nd.'" See back, p. 394. note.

^c "That is, Apr. 18th, our style." ^d "About the fiftieth year of his age."

^e "Feb. 12th, our style, 1624-5."

^f "When I was at Leyden, in 1714," writes Prince, p. 160, "the most ancient people from their parents told me that the City had such a value for them as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he lies buried, which the English still enjoy. And that as he was had in high esteem, both by the City and University, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry, mourned his death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave. His son Isaac came over to Plymouth Colony, lived to above ninety years of age, a venerable man whom I have often seen, and has left male posterity in the county of Barnstable, [Massachusetts.]" We were disappointed at not finding any mention of Robinson, or of his church at Leyden, among the interesting notices subjoined to the Rev. W. Steven's "Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam. 1833." 8vo.

CHAP. XXVII.

CHARLES I.—LAUD.—BURTON.—THE PROFFERS.—WITHER.—
PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

A GLANCE at the true character of Charles I. is essential to the entertaining of something like a correct opinion concerning its influence on the spirit and measures of his time. His very youth was unpromising, from bodily ailments, and from successive developements of certain of the ingredients in his mental composition.^a His courtiers often prayed God, "that the Prince might be in the right way where he set; for if he were in the wrong, he would prove the most wilful of any King that ever reigned."^b What were the principles he had imbibed, may be judged of from the high doctrines addressed to him by his father,^c and from his pupilage under Buckingham! Allied, too, by marriage, to the most intriguing and ambitious of women that ever had the means of influencing the counsels, and of accelerating the destinies of a great nation struggling against the paramount influence of a foreign jurisdiction, Charles became the victim of her wiles, and sacrificed his manly preeminence, even "the majesty of a monarch,"^d to her "little practices."^e To Henrietta is attributed the consummation of their joint folly: *Allez, poltron!* "Go, coward,"—she exclaimed, "and pull those rogues out by the ears, or never see my face any more!"^f

The struggle for the mastery, which divided the King and his people, is matter of universal notoriety: his repeated dissolution of parliaments, and his governing without one for twelve successive years, with the measures to which he resorted for supplies; and, not least of all, his chief counsellors in both Church and State; are themes of inexhaustible interest and instruction. With a dependent, servile, yet

^a Archdeacon Echard, p. 417.—Hist. Stuarts, p. 15.—Bishop Burnet's *Own Time*, vol. i. p. 18.—Rapin's, *Hist. Engl.* vol. ix. p. 90.—According to Sanderson in his "Complete Hist. of the Life and Reign of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave," 1658, fol. p. 6, "An. 1625. Besides Charles, the then kings of Spain and France *stammered*; but he with the least imperfection of them all."

^b Roger Coke, *Detection of the Court and State of England*; &c. 1691. 16mo. vol. i. p. 211.—Lilly represents Charles to have been, in childhood, "beyond measure wilful, and unthankful:" but he adds, "Yet while he was young, he followed his book seriously, which his elder brother, Prince Henry, could not endure; and therefore king James would frequently blame Prince Henry with the neglect of his book, and tell how his brother Charles followed it; whereupon the prince would reply, 'When that he himself should be king, he would make his brother Charles archbishop of Canterbury!'" *Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles I. late King of England.* 1651. 4to. Reprinted in *The Life of William Lilly*, &c. By Charles Burman. 1774. 8vo. p. 177.

^c King James's Works.

^d Hume's *Hist. Engl.* Charles I. *an.* 1642.

^e Clarendon's *Hist. Reb.* vol. i. p. 166. iii. p. 328.—Nuncio's *Mem.* p. 854.—Burnet, vol. i. p. 31.

^f Jan. 3d, 1641-2. *Hist. Stu.* p. 107.—Echard, p. 419, 520.—"She had no more passion for him, than what served to promote her designs." Mrs. Hutchinson, *Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson*, vol. i. p. 135.

insolent, domineering clergy,^a intolerant and vindictive, and with a bench of lawyers as subservient as they were mercenary,^b Charles had the temerity to set himself in array against his three kingdoms; and what wonder, therefore, when the mitre, the ermine, and the sceptre were alike sullied, that the imperial tiara itself should drop from its wonted elevation? "A man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation," even Lord Clarendon advises, "who considers, on this occasion, the method of God's justice; a method terribly remarkable in many passages,—that the same principles, and the same application of those principles, should be used to the wresting all sovereign power from the Crown, which the Crown had, a little before, made use of for the extending its authority and power beyond its bounds, to the pre-judice of the just rights of the subject."^c "He is a great stranger," says another royalist lord,—Falkland,—"who knows not that this kingdom hath long laboured under many and great oppressions, both in religion and liberty."^d And this same authority tells us, in another place, that "the Prelates brought in superstition and scandal under the titles of 'reverence' and 'decency'; and defiled our Church by adorning our churches!"^e

King James's lessons of king-craft, produced among a people awakened to their own privileges the inevitable result; for, as it has been said, "By a fatal policy, men well affected to the Church of England, but enemies to arbitrary power, were driven, in spite of themselves, to side with the Puritans, in order to strengthen their party, and enable them to oppose the designs of the Court."^f But we revert to an authority against which no cavil may be apprehended: "In the House of Commons were many persons of wisdom and gravity, who, being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the Court, had all imaginable duty for the King, and affection to the government established by law or ancient custom; and, without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any con-

^a "The inferior clergy took more upon them than they were wont, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that civility and condescension they had used to do: which disposed them, likewise, to a withdrawing of their good countenance, and good neighbourhood, from them." Clarendon. vol. i. p. 97.

^b "The irreverence and scorn the Judges were justly in. . . In the business of ship-money, and many other cases in the Star Chamber and at the Council-board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and insolencies, in the speeches and orations of the Judges, much more offensive, and much more scandalous than the judgments and sentences themselves. Besides, that men's minds and understandings were more instructed to discern the consequence of things, which before they considered not. . . He hath been but an ill observer of the passages of those times we speak of, who hath not seen many sober men who have been clearly satisfied with the conveniency, necessity, and justice of many sentences, depart, notwithstanding, extremely offended and scandalized with the grounds, reasons, and expressions of those who inflicted those censures; when they found themselves, thinking to be only spectators of other men's sufferings, by some unnecessary inference or declaration, in probable danger to become the next delinquents." *Ibid.* p. 70.—72.

^c *Ib.* vol. ii. p. 542.

^d Rushworth's Hist. Collections, vol. iv p. 184.

^e *Apud* Wither.

^f Rapin, vol. x. p. 258.

siderable alteration in the government of Church or State. . . Frequency of Parliaments ; redress of grievances ; and, calling the king's arbitrary ministers to account ; were the ends proposed by the major part of both Houses, without the least thought of destroying the civil or ecclesiastical government."^a The concessions of the noble historian, while putting the best colour on the royal cause, amount, of themselves, to a severe censure on his Master. "The indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety, and devotion of a hundred. It cannot be denied but there was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and very scandalous for the persons who presumed, often, to determine things out of the verge of their own profession, and 'in ordine ad spiritualia,' gave unto Cæsar what Cæsar refused to receive."^b

How vain is it for an arm of flesh to strive to repress the operation of the intellect of a powerful nation awakened to a just apprehension of what is its rightful claim ! The cherished scion of liberty preserves vitality and acquires strength, though its roots be washed by the flood, and its stem agitated by the whirlwind. Physical, must at last, in such a case, yield the victory to moral force. The gradual advances that the growth of liberty, civil and religious, had been making in our own nation, were not unperceived and disregarded among those classes whose interests were threatened with impoverishment or destruction. So far back as the year 1622, Hall, just made Bishop of Exeter, published "*Via Media : The Way of Peace*," in which he tells James, "There needs no prophetic spirit to discern, by a small cloud, that there is a storm coming towards our Church : such a one, as shall not only drench our plumes, but shake our peace. . . Only the powerful breath of your Sovereign Authority can dispel these clouds. . . I see every man ready to rank himself unto a side, and to draw in the quarrel he affecteth."^c No one could possibly conjecture, at that time, wherein lay the extremity of the danger which should be most deprecated. Two years later, however, we learn from the same authority, in a Sermon preached before his Majesty, that "it is not hard for men to foresee" the events that are coming upon the Church of England. "Surely," he exclaims, "if we grow unto that anarchical fashion of *Independent Congregations*, which I see, and lament to see, affected by too many, not without woful success,—we are gone ; we are lost, in a most miserable confusion !"^d

Adverting to the state of affairs generally, at the period when James died, Roger Coke uses these words, "The nation was rent into four parties ; namely, the Prerogative ; which exalted the King's divided Will from the Laws and Constitutions, above his royal or regal Will : the Country, or Legal party ; which stood for the legal establishment of Church and State : and, the Puritan ; and Popish party. After the treaties of marriage between the Prince and the Daughters of Spain and France, the Popish and Prerogative parties joined for carrying on the Court-designs, and were opposed by the Country and Puritan parties ; and, as the Prerogative and Popish factions grew more insolent, so the

^a Clarendon, vol. i. p. 184. iii. p. 128.

^c *Ibid.*

^b *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 77.

^d Aug. 8, 1624.

Puritan party gathered strength and reputation among the vulgar or ordinary people, insomuch that in number they became more than all the other three."^a

When James was importuned, in 1621, to raise Laud to the See of St. David's, he gave his reluctant assent in these memorable words, to the then Lord Keeper Williams, acting but as Buckingham's instrument, "And is there no woe, but you will carry it; then take him to you, but, on my soul, you will repent it."^b

Two reasons induce us to present an account of a publication which does not professedly or obviously fall in with our general design. The first is, that the treatise emanates from one who eventually embraced the same cause in which we are concerned; and who obtained, through it, a notoriety which excites curiosity to learn anything about the bent, prejudices, and pursuits, of his mind and intellect, before he had become enlightened by a more correct acquaintance with the New Testament plan of disseminating the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Christ; and so of extending the reign of Christ over the whole habitable world, by the operations and sealing of the Holy Spirit of promise.^c It is in vain to attempt to enforce ordinances imposed only "until the time of reformation"^d and belonging, therefore, to dispensations annulled, according to the letter, by "the bringing in of a better hope:"^e limiting our sacrifices to continual "praise," and to what is implied in the general injunction, "to do good, and to communicate."^f The next reason which induces us to notice the work before us, is the opportunity it affords for introducing an account of a proceeding commenced by the Puritans, but which has not of late been thoroughly understood; and the particulars connected with which, help to illustrate the condition of affairs under the Prelatical government, and consequently, add to our information of the causes of its overthrow. These remarks have been drawn from us by "A Censure of Simony: Or, A most important Case of Conscience, concerning Simony, briefly discussed; not altogether, perhaps, unparallel for the Meridian of these Times. By H. Burton, Rector of Little St. Matthews, in Friday-street, London.—*Caveat Mercator!*—Mark viii. 36.—Lond. 1624." 4to. pp. 134.

This work, "grown slowly," the author tells "his gracious Lord and Master," Charles, Prince of Wales, "by successive and intermissive hours borrowed from my Court-service, and my Church-cure," displays much of that sort of reading and sentiment which has converted it into a kind of antiquarian repository, wherein is "impanelled a grand jury of ancient and learned Doctors, whose joint verdict is here delivered."^g Notwithstanding, however, all its treasure of authorities and definitions, in the first chapter, from Canonists and Schoolmen, the Censurer settles

^a A Detection of the Court and State of England during the Four last Reigns, and the Interregnum; &c. 1694. 16mo. vol. i. p. 206.

^b Memorial of Archbishop Williams, by John Hacket, Bishop of Litchfield, 1693. fol. Pt. i. p. 64. Hacket adds, that the King "went away in anger, using other fierce and ominous words, which were divulged in the Court, and are too tart to be repeated." ^c Eph. i. 13.

^d Heb. ix. 10. ^e Chap. vii. 19. ^f Chap. xiii. 15, 16. ^g Pref.

finally upon Calvin's terms in Acts viii., where he defines Simony to be, "a desire or act of buying or selling the Gifts of the Holy Ghost;" and then gives an exposition of Acts xx. 28, in which, with Lyra, he would interpret the *ἐπισκόποι*—"overseers"—to be the whole order of ministry; superior, or inferior and subordinate.^a

His second chapter is occupied about "certain objections and nice distinctions," till, by a sort of legerdemain, he contrives to find in his "conclusion," that "*Tithes*, holy tithes, are a Gift of the Holy Ghost!" and "therefore, the desire or act of buying or selling holy tithes," by which, he says, he understands all Church maintenance, "is Simony." He illustrates his particulars by instancing bishops, *par eminence*, "sky-soaring spirits;" such, he says, as reverse the Apostle's interrogatory, and ask "who is *not* sufficient for these things?" And he concludes with a remark concerning the "leaden heads" and "golden hands" of "these 'sufficient' men."

The next chapter affords an example of that kind of perversion or obliquity of understanding which they are liable to who resolve to strain their positions beyond fair limits. He had inquired, in the foregoing chapter, "what reason hath any man of reason to think" as is there propounded: here, his language is, "Tithes, I am sure, were once sacred; and what God hath once made sacred, call not thou common. But when 'sacred'? When! why not, when Adam was first created! When he was endued with the ten morals of the Law! And is it not more than probable [!] that among the ten, the Lord allotted a *tithe*, for the maintenance of his service; seeing, among the ten, he appointed a time for his service, even the Sabbath-day; the Sanctification whereof, tithes were properly to attend upon? Tithes, then, no doubt [!] were 'sacred' from the beginning of Adam's creation. For else, when did Abraham learn to pay tithe of 'all' to Melchisedec, the priest of the Most High God?" Under the want of express precept, he seeks, in this strange mode of showing tithes "to be consecrate and sacred, by

^a We give the following curious piece, from Bishop Hall's *Satires*, 1597. Bk. II. Sat. v. This work, the Archbishop ordered to be burnt!

"Saw'st thou e'er '*Siquis*' patched on Paul's Church-door,
To seek some vacant Vicarage, before?—
'Who wants a Churchman, that can Service say;
Read, fast and fair, his monthly Homily;
And Wed, and Bury, and make Christen-souls;
Come to the left-side-alley of Saint Pouls.'
Thou servile fool! why couldst thou not repair
To buy a Benefice at Steeple-Fair?
Thou moughtest, then, for but a slender price,
A'vowson thee with some fat Benefice!
Or, if thee list not wait for dead men's shoon,
Nor pray, each morn, th' Incumbent's days were done,
A thousand Patrons, thither, ready bring
Their new-fal'n Churches to the chaffering;—
Stake three years' stipend. No man asketh more!
Go, take possession of the Church-porch door,
And ring thy bells; luck-stroken in thy fist,
The Parsonage is thine or ere thou wist!
'Saint Fools of Gotam,' mought thy Parish be,
For this thy base and servile Simony."

^b 2 Cor. ii. 16.

Divine instinct or institution," confirmation from the Book of Tithes of one of those "sufficient men;" a "learned and reverend prelate of our Church;"* who had concluded, therein, "the ordinance" of the tenth, "to be morally perpetual from the creation!"

As though that were not enough,—supposing Burton to have made it clear,—he proceeds in the chapter following, to argue for the perpetuity, and consequently for the sacredness, of tithes under the New Testament dispensation; choosing to overlook that the framework of the Levitical institution was dissolved, and with it the ritual obligations annexed thereto; for that "the children of Israel" are now "without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim."^b Whence, then, the re-appropriation of tithes? Where are now "the children of Levi," to whom the Lord said he had given "all the tenth in Israel for an inheritance, for their service which they serve?"^c Here is the precise limitation, "in Israel," with the application, "their service!" So that Burton's assumption, and his proof, being alike far-fetched and untenable; we need attend no further upon his foregone conclusion: "The 'tithes' is the Lord's' saith the Law; and doth not the Gospel ratify the same, saying, 'Give unto God those things that are God's?' Is not this an express precept? Indeed, Christ and his apostles being busy in founding a new Church, suspended the practice of receiving tithes until the decrepit Synagogue of the Levitical ordinance expired, and the final obsequies thereof were fully ended: but," adds Burton with dogmatic boldness,—“they left abundant evidence in their Gospels, to evict the right of tithes to Christ's ministers in the succeeding ages of the Church."

Passing to the twelfth chapter, tithes recur; and in truth, they would appear, by coming round and round again, to be that one point which affected Burton's interest; for here, he concludes "all those to be Simonists, or favourers of them, that deny tithes to be *jure Divino*: for why deny they this, but flattering themselves that thus they may the more licentiously buy and sell them; and so hold the poor minister's nose to the grindstone; whereas although they had been dedicated only by man, yet ought they not so to be profaned." Here, again, we leave him, without pursuing his course through the four other chapters. The last of them is followed by a Corollary "directed, especially to all Lay-patrons and Lay-purchasers of the sacred portion!" And, notwithstanding that other ingredients swell the ecclesiastical category, "Simoniacal," the whole subsides into the pet word, Tithes: "In no case, sacred Tithes are to be bought and sold." Yet, as though it had been Burton's reserved cherished project, after holding a short parley with a presumed objector, he avows that "There is a way of purchasing the sacred Tithes, which would be both acceptable to God, profitable to his Church, and comfortable to the soul and conscience of the purchaser himself!" He explains his plan to be the purchase of Tithes-improper, "redeeming of them, to restore them to God again, for the maintenance of his Ministry:" and at this place he bursts out, "O noble purchase! So rare as unheard of. A worthy object indeed,

* Dr. Carleton, Bishop of Chichester. ^b Hos. iii. 4. ^c Num. xviii. 21.

for every rich good man to pitch the eye of his charity upon ; a worthy subject to deal in. Would ye erect a new hospital ; save your labour : you have all ready at your hand in an Improprate Parsonage, both house and domains ! Plant your hospital there ; a hospital not only for poor bodies, but for poor souls too ; poor, starved souls : for a Parsonage, being rightly used, is a very hospital for the poor in both these kinds !” His final prayer is, that the Lord God would “strengthen the hands, and stir up the hearts of all true Christians, to put their helping hands to this great work.”

We have alluded at the commencement of our remarks on Burton's “Censure,” above, to the opportunity it would give for explaining a transaction which could not but have had a considerable effect in the distempered state of those times. Before publishing this book “Of Simony,” the author had, “in behalf of many poor souls that perish for want of food,” petitioned Parliament, in 1624, complaining of the evil of Improprations :* “No minister,” he tells them, “of any parts,” would take the Cures, “the allowance for the vicar and curate is so pitifully small.” They were, he continues, “necessarily devolved upon some poor ‘ten-pound man’ at the most ; nay, in many places, lower value, and that by more than half, in my own knowledge.” His instance is his native town, in Yorkshire, where “above this forty years there hath not been a preacher, but only a poor reader ; one of the cheapest rate : yea, one that dwelleth two long miles off, at another town, where he hath also another Cure ; posting between—albeit now a poor emeritous octogenary Levite—to serve both ; hired at so small a rate as, I think, himself, as poor as he is, would blush to name it ; although the Parsonage itself be worth two hundred and forty pounds, at the least, by the year.”

From what Burton had thus done, we surmise that the “project” of the Company of Feoffees, or Purchasers of Improprations, might take “beginning.” Heylyn assigns it to the year 1626, “when Preston governed the affairs of the Puritan faction ;” and he represents the design to be the setting up of “stipendiary lecturers” in market-towns, particularly in such as sent burgesses to Parliament. “Great,” he says, “were the sums of money which the piety of the design, and the diligence of their Limitaries, brought in . . . most men admiring, all applauding, the nobleness of such a popular and religious act.” So it was, however—and it is convenient for us to anticipate the result—that Heylyn himself, visiting “frequently” a place where “one of these new lectures had been founded,” observed “that the Impropration of that place remained in the same Lay-hands as before it did ;” and that “the man there planted, in that lecture, was one of a notorious inconformity.” His jealousy being excited, he instituted an investigation, which resulted in his having “submitted” to preach “the Act Sernon, at St. Mary's,” Oxford, July 11th, 1630, from Matt. xiii. 15. He made occasion, in it, to denounce not only the scheme, but the managers or “chief patrons of the faction,” as dangerous innovators ; and roused alarm, by exclaiming, “Will they not, in

* The Commons had just previously passed a bill to the Lords, that patrons as well as the presentees shall take the Oath of Simony.

time, have more preferments to bestow; and, therefore, more dependencies, than all the Prelates in the kingdom?" The plot, for such it was, succeeded: "no sooner were these words delivered, but a general consternation showed itself in the looks of his auditors:" so he describes it. And alleging the pretext of being "alarmed on the one side, and threatened by the other," Heylyn, as he would have it appear, surprised the new Chancellor of the University, Laud, by sending to him the Sermon with a Letter proffering "to make good his charge:" information which, he says, "came opportunely" to his Lordship! Between those two, the Aspirer, and "his great minion,"^a it was not long before the Feoffees found themselves in the Court of Exchequer, and eventually, in 1632, in Heylyn's own words, "the Feoffment damned; the Impropriations by them bought, confiscated to his Majesty's use; and the merit of the cause referred to a further censure."^b

Thus was frustrated one of the devices of the Puritans for supplying the pulpits, "in places of greatest need,"^c efficiently, with a preaching ministry; a measure which so greatly commended itself, that Fuller informs us, "it is incredible what large sums were advanced, in a short time, towards so laudable an employment." And so much did he approve of the managers, that he adds, "my pen may salute them with a 'God-speed;' as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the design."^d Again; he says, "their criminal part was referred to, but never prosecuted in the Star Chamber, because the design was generally approved; and both discreet and devout men were, as desirous of the regulation, so, doleful at the ruin of so pious a project."^e Its frustration was made one of the articles of impeachment against Laud, whose defence, as he records it, is, that "I was, as then advised upon such information as was given me, clearly of opinion, that this was a cunning way, under a glorious pretence, to overthrow the Church-government, by getting into their power more dependency of the Clergy, than the King and all the Peers, and all the Bishops in all the Kingdom had. And I did conceive the plot the more dangerous for the fairness of the pretence; and that to the State, as well as the Church."^f

No wonder if the shameful act of confiscation, "by the Archbishop's procurement,"^g—such are Fuller's words, though Laud had not reached the Primacy,—added to the resentment which was increasing every day against him, and drove wise men out of the pale of the Prelatical Church. Such was the case, in particular, respecting the learned John Davenport, B.D. whom Heylyn records as one of the four clergymen who constituted a third part of the Feoffees;^h and of whom Laud's own testimony is, that he was "a most religious man, who fled to New Englandⁱ for the sake of a good conscience!"^k Thus we have shown,

^a Pryne. "Canterbury's Doom," 1646. fo. p. 396.

^b Life of Laud, p. 209—212. ^c Fuller's, Church Hist. 1655. bk. xi. p. 136.

^d Ibid. p. 137.

^e Ib. p. 143.

^f Hist. of Laud's Troubles and Trial. 1695. fo. p. 372.

^g Church Hist. p. 143.

^h P. 210.

ⁱ In 1637.

^k In his "Answer to Lord Say's Speech," p. 47.

from what probably grew out of it thus far, why we judged it proper to give an account of Burton's Censure of Simony.*

Events of momentous importance, too, sprung out of two publications of Richard Mountagu, Bishop of Chichester, and afterwards of Norwich. In 1624, the first of those works came forth under the title of "A Gag for the New Gospel? No! a New Gag for an Old Goose: Or, an Answer to a late Abridger of Controversies, and Beliar of the Protestant's Doctrine." The Parliament took offence, and sought the suppression of this book, and the censure of its author, through the Archbishop, Dr. Abbot. But no sooner had Charles ascended the throne, than forth came the same offensive doctrines, dedicated to himself, under the title of "Appello Cæsarem: A just Appeal from two unjust Informers." 1625. 4to. pp. 322.

The Commons speedily summoned Mountagu to their Bar, but Charles let them know, that as Mountagu was his servant and Chaplain in Ordinary, "he had taken the business into his own hands;" at

* The following particulars of another work of Burton's will serve further to show the man and his times. "The Baiting of the Pope's Bull: Or, An Unmasking of the Mystery of Iniquity, folded up in a most pernicious Brief, or Bull; sent from the Pope, lately, into England, to cause a Rent therein for His re-entry. With an Advertisement to the King's Seduced Subjects. By H. B. Lond. 1627." 4to. pp. 95. In his Epistle Dedicatory to the King, Burton styles himself "Your poor old Servant;" and in another Epistle "To the Lord Duke of Buckingham," he describes this "Bull" as "lately sent over into England." The Pope's object was to prohibit his "Catholic Sons" from taking "The Oath of Fidelity" to Charles I. ["If violence proceed so far, as it compel you to that pernicious and unlawful Oath of Allegiance of England; remember, that your prayer is heard of the whole assembly of the Angels beholding you; and let your tongue cleave to your gums, before you cause the Authority of the Blessed Peter to be diminished with that form of Oath."—Urbanus Papa VIII. dilectis Filiis Catholicis Angliæ. Dat. Romæ S. Petri, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die 30 Maii, 1626.] A matter in which, Burton says, he had not been thus bold to meddle, if he had "seen but some Public Edict for the burning of the Brief; as also for the effectual banishing of all Jesuits;" of whom, "England is fuller, at this day, than ever. and now, while the Pope's iron is in the fire, how do they sweat in beating it to perfection!" To meet the objection, "But if they be caught, they are put in prison;" he responds, "Alas, they are there but as a bird tied to the net,—to call other birds." Again, representing his Grace pleading ignorance, "But you 'know no Jesuits;'" Burton remarks, "The greater is your danger and ours:" and presently, he presses his point, without further circumlocution, upon the Duke's conscience, "And were it not miraculous," he tells him, "if the Court itself, especially your Grace's house, should be free even from many of such flies which fly blow the purest flesh with their flatteries: . . . It is good, therefore, your Grace should make a speedy and diligent search in the Court; in your own house, and in all the skirts of it round about; and so also, throughout the whole Land; what Jesuits are lurking anywhere, and to give them the reward of traitors!"—"Nor let this my boldness seem strange to your Grace; though, perhaps, you be not much acquainted with such as will speak the downright truth. . . I fear neither prison, nor death itself, that I may discharge a good conscience both towards my God and my King and Country. Nor fear I to be censured as a 'Polypragmatic.'" He warns Buckingham against any who shall, "by hook or crook," hinder his Grace from reading this book; "no doubt," he says, "but your Grace will take that man for no other but a pestilent traitor; and if he be not a Jesuit, yet certainly possessed of a Jesuitical spirit, as seeking to smother such an important overture. . . Your Grace's poor Orator, Henry Burton."

which the House was much displeased, and, thus was created the first breach between them and the King.^a Laud took some alarm on this occasion, and recorded in his Diary, "I seem to see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England: God, in his mercy dissipate it!"^b It had been well if Charles had ever borne in mind the wise adage of the Lord Keeper, Williams, "The love of your people, is the Palladium of your Crown."^c

^a Coke, "Detection" vol. i. p. 228. ^b Jan. 29. 1625-6. Edit. 1694, fo. p. 27.

^c Coke, *sup.* p. 235—A production came forth, this year, under a title which, if we should leave unnoticed, would seem, for that reason, to acquire a claim to attention beyond what it really merits. The piece supplies something towards filling the chasm occasioned by the palsied condition into which nearly the whole body of the antiprelatists was reduced by the sway of an Authority which after a while yielded to a combined *momentum* awfully retributive. Paget and his colleagues were the parties immediately encountered by this thrasonical adversary, who must have occasioned sensations of annoyance in the high-northern advocate for Presbytery, now a sharer in that kind of defamation which he had himself meted to his fellow-exiles. No interdiction at the press would be apprehended against a work of this description, adapted apparently to circulate only in a Caledonian anti-Knoxian sphere.

"Vox Vera: Or Observations from Amsterdam. Examining the late Inso-lencies of some Pseudo-Puritans, Separatists from the Church of Great Britain. And closed up with a serious Threefold Advertisement for the general use of every good Subject within his Majesty's Dominions, but more especially of those in the Kingdom of Scotland. By Patricke Scot, North Briton.—Lond. 1625." 4to. pp. 62.

"This task was penned after my safe 'exposal upon a foreign shore, when the sad remembrance of some of my friends and familiars, lately sunk into the unsatiable belly of the vast Ocean, much distempered my brain, and confused my memory." So he tells "the Generous Reader;" an introduction which portends that "Vox Vera" may be interpreted, "Vox Fusca!"

"The common obligation of every good Subject," so he writes, in p. 3, tieth me . . . to sound the depth of these riotous misdemeanors which, in my late survey of the United Provinces, I have seen at Amsterdam and other places. . . . There I did behold every bookseller's shop, and most pedlars' stalls, loaden with the Nullity of Perth's Assembly; the Altar of Damascus; the Dialogue betwixt Theophilus and Cosmophilus; the Speech of the Church of Scotland to her beloved Children; and the Course of Conformity, joined with all these—severally printed before—reprinted in one volume, and to be sold at no less rate than if they had been Oracles of Apollo!" Other works, relating to Scotland, he adduces, in the next page, and remarks, "These were closed up with a malicious Satirism against a learned grave Treatise written by the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose integrity of life and sincerity of Religion, none but barking curs can tax."

Having prepared his reader, as he hoped, in p. 5, by what he says of "seeming holiness," he then shows what reality there was in his own, adding, "It is credibly reported, that an Amsterdam Sister did encourage her own daughter to perjury, by telling her, 'It is better to fall into the hands of God than of man.' Ask whatsoever schismatic, the reason of their profession, and they will answer, That the sacred Scripture is the level whereby they square the frame and infallibility of their several churches."

"Let us look," he says, in p. 9, "with impartial eyes upon the late proceedings of our own Separatists," meaning the Scots, on several of whose works he descants, and at p. 34, he says "Next, let us look upon the Merchants and Tradesmen, the Brethren of Separation; and we shall see that they propound private gain to themselves, as the main end of their seeming devotion: that, under this colour, they think it tolerable to cheat or cozen what they can, either by sophisticated wares, false weights and measures, or by any other close decree sealed by 'yea and nay,' because it is a praiseworthy part of their trade, a

Laud was ever forward to charge upon others the effects of that misrule in which he was a chief participater and promoter: an instance will be found in "A Sermon preached on Monday the sixth of February [1625-6,] at Westminster: at the Opening of the Parlia-

mystery of their profession, without which they cannot be thought to be fit to deal in the world; and for warrant, forsooth they will tell you, with a whining voice, 'Christ' commanded us 'to be simple as doves, but wise like serpents!'"

This is but an insignificant amount of what this "good subject" saw with "impartial eyes," for he subjoins, in the same page, "The residue of the life, allotted to this short task should fail me, if I should insist upon the antipathy betwixt their profession, manners, and life; or, if I should bring some of those best-masked hypocrites upon the stage, I should need no other colours to paint them, nor pencil to delineate them, but their own; but, in distaste of the lavish, scandalous tongues and corrupted pens, of most of their profession, I will forbear, and hold it Religion not to insult over any man's personal infirmities. . . I could point," he continues, p. 35, "at every myrmidon, as well in their Presbyterial or Consistorian Achilles; at the authors of the Instructions sent to Amsterdam, for the advancement of the Catilinarian works of Didoclavus Anonimus, and Philadelphos; by what convoys the Brethren's contribution was sent, and who returned huge volumes of seditious libels, printed at a dearer rate than the abaters would willingly have bestowed either upon Subsidy, Hospital, or other more pious uses."

The "serious Threefold Advertisement"—begins at p. 44, thus; "First, then, I come to you, my Lords, that are Bishops and Rulers, by place, in the Church of Scotland: I need not call to your memory, that you are the sickles, under your Sovereign, to cut down every weed in the garden of the Church; the snaffles, to bridle schisms; and the centinels, to foresee nequid detrimenti Ecclesia patiat. . . There is no possible way unto peace and quietness," says this obsequious friend of their lordships, p. 45, "unless the probable voice of every entire society or body-politic overrule all Private Opinion of that same body. Councils are to no purpose, if once their determination set down, men may afterwards defend publicly their opinions. . . These considerations I leave to your fatherly care; if I have said too much, or to little purpose, it is because I can do nothing but tattle." Then, with a sort of paradox, he adds, "If I were able to do more I would do it, that our divisions might not be told in Gath, nor our nakedness published in the streets of Askelon."

Two pages forward, he says, "In the Second Place: I come to you, of the Ministry of Scotland, or elsewhere within his Majesty's dominions, that are Lanterns of direction unto your fellows," and he tells them "Although I be not of the tribe of Levi, yet I am of the tents of Shem: regard not then, who it is that speaketh, but weigh the truth of what I shall speak." Which way the balance of their judgments would preponderate may be conjectured from what we find him speaking in p. 51. "There is none so ignorant amongst you, but knoweth *vos estis dii* is a prerogative or *summum imperium* given to Kings; and *estote subditi*, a command of obedience, telling Subjects, that as the hand must wither that toucheth, so the tongue must fall out that taxeth the Lord's anointed; against whom the very angels of heaven give not a railing judgment before the Lord!" In p. 55, he touches upon what implies indisputable weight; "In your long digging the barren, desolate, and unfruitful quarry of Dissension, you have gotten nothing but unanswerable stones for the Sanctuary, and rubbish of scandal for yourselves: but from the rich mines of Obedience, Peace, and Christian Society, ye shall reap a golden [!] harvest of those fruits of our Faith, which are only able to direct us towards Heavenly Jerusalem." Now, for a climax, at p. 59, he tells them "Your policies are discovered, your machinations are laid open; and, for aught that can be seen, nothing resteth but expectation of your speedy amendment, or of condign chastisement for offences of so high quality: *Rebello in Principes conatu irrito imperia semper promovit!*"

"Lastly;" that is, in the Third Place, he congratulates, in p. 59, "all good Subjects," as well for their "by-past constancy, as soliciting" their "wonted

ment. By the Bishop of St. David's."^a This second parliament of Charles, fell under the ban of Heylyn for "not making such use" of Laud's "good doctrine" as "they should have done," and he adds to it, the following whimsical conceit: "At such time as the former parliament was adjourned to Oxon, the Divinity School was prepared for the House of Commons, and a chair made for the Speaker in, or near, the place in which his Majesty's Professor for Divinity did usually read his public lectures, and moderate in all public disputations: and this first put them into conceit that the determining of all points and controversies in religion did belong to them... For after that, we find no parliament without a committee for religion; and no committee for religion but what did think itself sufficiently instructed to manage the greatest controversies of divinity which were brought before them. And so it was particularly with the present parliament."^b

Which *professed* the better divinity, the committee of one house or the bishops in the other, may be largely disputed, but the quality of Laud's is displayed in this sermon, wherein, upon Psalm cxxii. 3—5, "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is at unity in itself,—or compacted together.—For thither the tribes go up, even the tribes of the Lord, to the testimony of Israel, to give thanks unto the Name of the Lord. For there are the seats—or the thrones—of Judgment; even the thrones of the house of David;" Laud told the Parliament that "the Church and the Commonwealth; God's *house*, the Temple, and the King's *house*, the *house* of David, are met in my text."^c Thus did he confound things that differ, the material with the metaphorical; and still further did he confound them by enlarging "the type to the State" and to the Church."^d

After describing some historical effects of evil dissensions, without showing whence they originated, Laud comes to touch his auditors by an application to themselves: "But I pray," says he, "what is the difference; for men not to meet in counsel, and, to fall in pieces when they meet? If the first were our forefathers' error," he adds, "God, of his mercy, grant this second be not ours."^e

From the State, he passes to the Church: "The Church—take it catholic—cannot stand well if it be not compacted together into a holy unity in faith and charity. It was miserable, when St. Basil laboured the cure of it: for distracted it was then,—as St. Gregory Nazianzen witnesseth,^f into six hundred diverse opinions and errors. And it is miserable at this day."^g

Having shown that State and Church "owe much to unity," he concludes truly, that therefore they "owe very little to them that break the peace of either."^h Thus far Laud proceeded without stopping to

obedience to God and his Vicegerents." And in p. 61, he proffers them his advice, *quod valeat sufficit*, "Do not curiously pry into the mysteries and cabals of Princes, which are so unsearchable, that, without touch of disloyalty or admission, they are not to be approached by Subjects; in whom it is contemptuous looseness to be more apt to censure things that are best done, than willing to understand the reasons why they are done!"

^a 4to. pp. 54.

^b Life of Laud, p. 146.

^c P. 4.

^d P. 8.

^e P. 11.

^f Orat. xx.

^g P. 14.

^h P. 15.

consider that there is a "peace" the product of "policy," as destructive to the true Church, or to a State, as is the breach of that unity which springs from open dissension.^a Had he but acted upon his own doctrine, to make and hold peace by "a paring off round about of heated and unruly affections in the handling of differences;" and, "a paring off of foolish and unlearned questions, yea and of many modal, too, such as are fitter to engender strife than godliness;"^b he would have seen more of that kind of "peace" for which the royal Psalmist prayed. But what hope of any peace, "if every man may preach as he list, though he pretend the Law and the Gospel too; Jerusalem will be quickly out of unity in itself!"^c Laud did not, however, overlook the consequence of his argumentation,—fatal to it, as we think,—that his "Jerusalem" would be translated into Rome! "While," says he, "they seek to tie all Christians to Rome by a Divine precept, their ambition of sovereignty is one and a main cause, that Jerusalem, even the whole Church of Christ, is not at unity in itself this day."^d

Wherefore did he not see something like this nearer home? "It is not probable," so he says, "Jerusalem should be long at unity in itself, if justice and judgment do not uphold it:"^e herein lies the secret of real "unity!"

It should seem that breach of "unity" was not peculiar to Churchmen and Separatists; for we are reminded of "a time when the Ecclesiastical" judicature "took too much upon them;"^f but that now "the time was come, in this Kingdom, that the *Civil Courts* are as much too strong for the Ecclesiastical!"^g And Laud, while deprecating the disastrous consequences of this reaction, or "revenge," does not forget to remind "the house of David" that God "set the High Priest very high in the Sanhedrim!"^h And to arouse "David," he assures him, in the name of "the Church of England," that "they, whoever they be, that would overthrow 'sedes Ecclesiæ,' the 'seats' of Ecclesiastical government, will not spare,—if ever they get power,—to have a pluck at the 'throne' of David. And there is not a man that is for *parity*,—all fellows, in the Church,—but he is not for monarchy in the State. And certainly, either he is but half-headed to his own principles, or he can be but half-hearted to 'the house of David!'"ⁱ Charles, who was present,^k had done well if he asked himself, Whether is the wiser, this Lord Bishop, a State-creature, or the Blessed Lord who put all *His* Apostles and Disciples upon a "parity?"^l

For the analogy, in Civil government, Laud was constrained, while making the most he could of his theme, to declare, "I have no will to except against any form of government assumed by any State:" and

^a Dan. viii. 25.

^b P. 18.

^c P. 23.

^d P. 31.

^e P. 33.

^f P. 37.

^g P. 38.

^h *Ibid.*

ⁱ P. 40.—Southey, having copied this passage out of Nalson's Collections, 1683. fo. vol. ii. p. v., assigns Laud's Sermon, erroneously, to Charles's "first" parliament. See "Book of the Church." Ed. 1838. 8vo. ch. xvii. p. 446. "How exactly," says Nalson, "he hit the truth in his conjecture, the event did most tragically justify." Could "the event," we ask, have occurred, had "the seats of judgment, Ecclesiastical and Civil," been "famous for justice?" See Laud, p. 48.

^k P. 48.

^l Matt. xx. 26; xxiii. 8.

again, he says, "I do not, by this, deny but that there may be the city in peace, and administration of justice, in other forms of government, sometimes as much, sometimes more!"^a Since, then, Christian obedience can subsist also in other States than "monarchical;" and that whatever the mode of Civil government be, it is ever liable to mutation; the imputation of unrighteous disobedience must, in all, be judged by the relative conditions of the governors and the governed: and thus the limited monarchy with which our country is now blessed is, happily, not capable of being an instrument of oppression under the sway of other Lauds, as when our fathers groaned, and bled, and died. Let them who affect to despise and depreciate the memory of the best friends of civil liberty and of religious freedom, be tossed henceforth upon one of the horns of Laud's dilemma, for the only "half-hearted" to our better constituted "house of David!"^b

Carleton, bishop of Chichester, Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, Yates, and Rouse, had all written against Mountagu. When the Commons, April 18th, 1626, by "a terrible thunderbolt,"^c censured his Book, because there were divers passages in it "especially against those he calleth 'Puritans,' apt to move sedition betwixt the King and his Subjects, and between Subject and Subject;" the press being unlicensed during the sittings of Parliament; so many other attacks upon Mountagu's book proceeded from the pens of Goad, Featley, Ward, Wotton, Prynne, and Burton, that, it has been remarked, "the encounter seemed to be betwixt a whole army and a single person." And more than these would have appeared, but that Laud, and the bishops of his party, called in some, and stopped others, and "questioned" the printers and authors of "such prohibited pamphlets." Prynne and Burton had, however, procured for themselves, a Prohibition from Westminster Hall, to stay proceedings against them in the Court of High Commission, which was tendered, "in so rude a manner, that Laud was like to have laid them^d by the heels for their labour." Such are the words of Laud's ancient panegyrist, who adds, "Henceforth, we must look for nothing from both these *Hotspurs*, but desire of revenge!" Heylyn could not find, it seems, any better motive for the intrepid course which these anti-Laudeans resolved now to pursue; excited but by what he calls "an ill-governed zeal;" a phrase which may be excusable, "considering how much they exercised the patience of the Church!"

^a P. 44.

^b Laud adopts the reading of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, *ἐπὶ super domum David*, in verse fifth of his text; and he employs all the casuistry which that reading gives occasion for, to justify placing "one throne, or seat, upon another," *sedes super sedem*; but, alas for him, the particle [ב] in the Hebrew, is never used in the sense of above or upon! Moreover, the text is but a parallelism; and had Laud been content with that, he needed not to have felt the necessity he did for obviating an objection, by telling his auditors that "a primacy, or superintendency, or what you will, above the house of David, in his own kingdom, is a dangerous and an ill construction of *super domum David*." p. 43.

^c Heylyn, p. 155.

^d This word is referred to the "officials," by Le Bas, in his *Life of Laud*, p. 89; who adds, "the conflict, therefore, was beginning to wax hot."

Heylyn shall retain the benefit of his own narration, wherein, it may be, "he seemeth just."^a Burton, he tells us, "had been a servant in the Closet to his Sacred Majesty, when he was prince of Wales; and, being once in the ascendant, presumed that he should culminate before his time. He took it very ill, that he was not sent as one of the Chaplains into Spain, when the Prince was there; but worse, that Laud, then Bishop of St. David's, should execute the office of clerk of the closet at such time as Bishop Neile was sick, and he be looked on no otherwise than as an underling still. Vexed with that indignity, as he conceived it, he puts a scandalous paper into the hands of the King; for which, and for some other insolencies and factious carriage, he was commanded, by him, to depart the Court; into which, being never able to set foot again, he breathed nothing but rage and malice against his Majesty, the Bishops, and all that were in place above him, and so continued till the last: it being the custom of all those whom the Court casts out, to labour, by all means they can, to out-cast the Court!"^b For the present, we leave Burton under these auspices.

Charles and his parliament were, already, on such discordant terms, that he threatened "to try new counsels," which, his Vice-chancellor, Sir Dudley Carleton, told the Commons he feared "to declare what they are, or may be!"^c Thus was struck the first note of that terrific warning which, from that moment, caused to be banded in heart and hand, those patriots to whose promptitude and firmness^d we owe, under Providence, all our Civil and Religious Liberties. Charles's instruments resorted immediately to Elizabeth's policy, who, "when she had any business to bring about among the people, used to 'tune the pulpits,' as her saying was."^e Accordingly, in September, Laud was appointed to reduce certain instructions "into form;" when he did not omit to advance and prefer the pretensions of his order: "It is not long," he makes the King declare, "since we ordered the State to serve the Church, and, by a timely Proclamation, settled the peace of it; and now, the State looks for the like assistance from the Church, that she and all her ministers may serve God and us." Again; "Breach of Unity," he represents the King as declaring, "is grown too great and common amongst all sorts of men." What "unity" is meant, must be guessed at; for "the peace" of the Church had been "settled;" nevertheless, Laud makes his Majesty declare further, "We have, by all means, endeavoured Union, and require of you to preach it; and Charity, the Mother of it; frequently, in the ears of the People. We know their loyal hearts, and therefore wonder the more what should cause distracted affections." The "dextrous performance" of this service, writes Heylyn, "raised Laud higher in his Majesty's opinion of him, than before he was."^f

Aspirants were not wanting to act up to the full spirit of these instructions from the Court; and as Religion was being converted again into an engine for political machinations; it could not but be that the party opposed to the unrestricted exercise of "the whole extent" of the

^a Prov. xviii. 17.

^b P. 155.

^c Hume, Hist. an. 1626.

^d "Unpliability and independence," says Hume; an 1628, June 15th.

^e Heylyn, p. 161.

^f *Ib.* p. 162—165.

prerogatives of the Crown, should strenuously maintain the privileges of the people, which "falling under a more fortunate management" than the measures of the Court did, their own engine was played against them "with the most terrible success."^a Thus, we are told that while matters went on "smoothly about the Court," they met with "many rubs in the Country."^b Some of the preachers.—adds this authority,— "did their parts according as they were required." The same writer will subserve our purpose, by our extending his account of the present posture of affairs among his own partisans, because he conveys that information without which what ensued could not be correctly understood, and because his authority will protect us from the suspicion of misrepresentation. Let us, then, attend to this "Chaplain to Charles the First, and Charles the Second," as well as Chaplain and Biographer of "the most reverend and renowned Prelate," Laud.—"Sibthorpe, Vicar of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, advanced the service in a Sermon preached by him at the Assizes for that County. The scope of which sermon was, to justify the Lawfulness of the general Loan, and of the King's imposing taxes by his own Regal power, without consent of Parliament; and to prove, that the People, in point of Conscience and Religion, ought cheerfully to submit to such Loans, and Taxes without any opposition! The licensing of which Sermon, when it was offered to the press, being refused by Archbishop Abbot, and some exceptions made against it, the perusing of it was referred to Laud, April 24th, 1627, by whom, after some qualifications and corrections, it was approved; and after, published by the author, under the name of 'Apostolical Obedience.'"^c Not long after, Dr. Manwaring, one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, and Vicar of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, published two Sermons, from Eccles. viii. 2, on the same occasion; the one, before the King, at Oatlands; the other, at Alderton, in July. These sermons, he intituled by the name of 'Religion and Allegiance:' both of them tending to the 'Justification of the Lawfulness of the King's imposing Loans and Taxes on his People, without consent of Parliament; and that the imposition of such Loans and Taxes did so far bind the Consciences of the Subjects of the Kingdom, that they could not refuse the payment of them without peril of eternal damnation!'"^d

Let us attend, here, to a Prediction which this state of affairs gave rise to: "Who shall occasion" the Civil wars, and "how?" Without stopping to inquire what Muse "did inspire Wither, Prynne, and Vicars;"^e the first of this triumvirate delivered himself of this warning—

"MARK well, O Britain! what I now shall say,
And do not slightly pass these words away:

If ever in thy Fields,—as God forbid,—
The blood of thine own children shall be shed
By Civil Discord, They shall blow the flame
That will become thy ruin, and thy shame:—

^a Hume, *sup.*

^b Heylyn.

^c Heylyn, p. 167.

^d Ibid. And see Hacket, Pt. ii. p. 74—6.

^e Hudibras; by S. Butler. Pt. i. Cant. i.

And thus it shall be kindled.—When the times
 Are nigh at worst, and thy increasing crimes
 Almost complete, the Devil shall begin
 To bring strange crotchets and opinions in
 Among thy TEACHERS; which will breed disunion,
 And interrupt the visible communion
 Of thy Establish'd Church! And in the stead
 Of zealous Pastors, who God's Flock did feed,
 There shall arise, within thee, by degrees,
 A clergy that shall more desire to fleece
 Than feed the Flock: a Clergy it shall be,
 Divided in itself; and they shall thee
 Divide among them, into several factions,
 Which rend thee will, and fill thee with distractions:
 They all, in outward seeming, shall pretend
 God's glory, and to have one pious end;
 But, under colour of sincere devotion,
 Their study shall be Temporal Promotion;
 Which will, among themselves, strange quarrels make,
 Wherein thy other Children shall partake,
 As to the Persons, or the Cause, they stand
 Affected; even quite throughout the Land.

One part of these, will for Preferment strive,
 By lifting up the King's Prerogative
 Above itself: they shall persuade Him to
 Much more than Law, or Conscience, bids him do;
 And say, God warrants it! His holy Laws
 They shall pervert, to justify their Cause;
 And impudently wrest, to prove their ends,
 What God to better purposes intends.
 They shall not blush to say, That every King
 May do like Solomon, in every thing;
 As if they had his warrant: and shall dare
 Ascribe to Monarchs, rights that proper are
 To none but Christ; and mix their flatteries
 With no less gross and wicked blasphemies
 Than Heathen did: yea, make their Kings believe
 That whomsoever they oppress or grieve,
 It is no wrong; nor fit for men oppress'd,
 To seek, by their own Laws, to be redress'd!

Such Counsel shall thy Princes then provoke
 To cast upon thee Rehoboam's yoke:
 And they, not caring, or not taking heed
 How ill that ill-advised King did speed,
 Shall multiply thy causes of distraction.
 For then will, of thy Priests, the other faction
 Bestir themselves: They will, in outward shows,
 Those whom I last have mentioned oppose.
 But, in thy ruin, they will both agree
 As in one centre, though far off they be
 In their diameter. With lowly zeal
 An envious pride they slyly shall conceal:
 And, as the former, to thy Kings will teach
 Mere Tyranny; so shall these other, preach
 Rebellion to the People!"^a

^a Britain's Remembrancer: Containing, A Narrative of the Plague lately past; A Declaration of the Mischiefs present; And, A Prediction of Judgments to come: &c. By George Wither. 1628. 24mo. p. 262, 263.—He writes, in A Premonition, "If you find any thing which may seem spoken out of due time, blame not me altogether; for it is above two years since I laboured to get this book printed... I was fain to imprint every sheet thereof with mine own hand, because I could not get allowance to do it publicly."

Can any one, in our days, wonder that with such Ecclesiastics, and with such Courtiers, the Nation "was already, to the last degree exasperated?"^a Or, that when the Commons assembled, in March, 1627-8, they should discover the same independence of spirit which had actuated their predecessors?^b How they acted then, will be seen, in some respects, after it has been shown how, in one respect, the Parliament was endeavoured to be stimulated to act. For this purpose, and under the like impression of utility with which a work of the same author is introduced into this chapter, some notice is due to "Israel's Fast: Or, A Meditation upon the Seventh Chapter of Joshua; A fair Precedent for these Times.—By H. B., Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday-street.—Josh. vii. 13.—Lond. 1628." 4to. pp. 38.

The Epistle, consisting of twelve pages, and subscribed "Henry Burton," is addressed "To our Royal Joshua, and Lay Elders of Israel, now happily assembled in Parliament."^c The following passages from the Epistle furnish the best help towards revealing the enigmatical obscurity which characterises the "Meditation," delivered, it should seem, on occasion of a Fast, though the time when it was observed is not recorded; yet it must have been between the seventeenth day of March and the fourth day of April.^d

"The *mite* which, here, I presume to offer into the rich *treasury* of your grave Wisdoms is 'Israel's Fast:' a poor Meditation,—conceived formerly, but brought forth in this season, I hope in a good hour,—which though it be out of my penury for want of better means of expression, yet springeth it from the superabundance of my zeal and hearty well-wishing. And this Fast being performed by 'Joshua' and 'the Elders of Israel' upon Israel's discomfiture, I know not to whom more fitly to recommend it than to You our Royal Joshua and Noble Elders of Israel now assembled in one entire Body-Representative of this goodly Church and State. All this Fast was about the trespass of one 'Achan:' but if our Israel have many *Achans* in it, the more need is there of Israel's Fast! Yet not a Fast alone. It is but the preparative to the purgative potion, as here; not as Jezebel's Fast, to devour Naboth's vineyard; but Israel's Fast, to preserve God's Vineyard, by purging out the *Troubler* of Israel! This troubler was Achan, but unknown to Joshua and the Elders till found out by Divine lot: and are the *Troublers* of our Israel so concealed as we need Divine lots to discover them? Yet, if so, God wants not his Divines, those of his 'lot;' such as of whom the good King Jehoshaphat said to his people, 'Believe his prophets, so shall ye prosper.'^e I am the least and unworthiest of all God's 'prophets:' and some must speak, lest the crying of the senseless 'stones's should convince us of unfaithful cowardice!"

Having described different sorts of Achans; as Papists, and Waverers, Burton says, "A third sort of Achans are Neutralizers, but so as the bias of their affection wheels and turns them round to Popery.

^a Hume, an. 1627.

^b "They possessed such riches," says Hume, an. 1628, "that their property was computed to surpass, three times, that of the House of Peers!"

^c Prorogued June 26th.

^d See Heylyn's Life of Laud, p. 178.

^e Κληρος

^f 2 Chron. xx. 20.

^g Luke xix. 40.

These are so much the more pernicious plagues to Israel, in that, under the seemly veil and matron-like habit of 'the Church of England,' they labour to bring in the old Babylonish strumpet hoodwinked, that we should all re-acknowledge her for a Mother. As may appear in a certain book of 'Private Devotions,'^a so called, published by Authority. The main scope thereof all along being to reduce us all to one Church, and that none other but, forsooth, 'the Holy Catholic Church' of Rome: but the whole 'mystery of iniquity' folded up therein would require a more particular unfolding. These Neutralizers, or Popish Arminians, or Arminian Papists, or what ye will! under the name of 'the Church of England,' dare vent any Arminian heresy. As in a book lately published by Authority too, there is this most blasphemous Arminian heresy,^b that 'There is a goodness objective in the creature, which, in order of nature, is precedent to the act or exercise of God's Will;' thus, by necessary consequence, making the 'creature,' a God, having a self-being independent but only upon God's bare prescience; upon which, and not upon that supreme cause of causes 'God's Will,' he hangeth the being and well-being of all the creatures! And this sort and confederacy of Achans have gotten such a high hand, that no Book may be set out, if it be directly against Popery and Arminianism; nor against Popery in special, but with some qualification or ingredient such as this, 'That the Church of Rome, though she have many errors, yet is a true Church!' And by this device they do, like Balaam, mightily prevail; and that with great ones, scholars and others, to draw us to some friendly commerce and correspondence with that 'whore.' And they are grown so much the more confident, because they have Authority in their hand either to approve or prohibit what Books they list. Whereas if the way were open, as formerly, freely to print Books 'by Authority' against Popery and her confederate Arminians, their Neutralizing Achans, as so many owls, would fly into their dark cells, as not able to withstand the sunbeams of the Truth. But we hope and pray that Joshua and the Elders of Israel will take such order, that, instead of Popish and Arminian books, Orthodox books may be freely published 'by Authority.' And suffer me to speak, O noble Sages of Israel,—I am for God, and my King; for Religion and my Country,—if you, O Joshua and the Elders of Israel, purge not out these pestilent Achans, or else clip their wings, they must needs bring utter confusion upon this State ere it be long. They daily creep into high favour in Court; they prevail mightily by their plausible, insinuating, intoxicating flattery. They go about, as the prophet Hosea speaks, 'to make the King glad with their lies.'^c Their themes and theorems are, that Kings are 'partakers of God's own Omnipotency;' though this be a Divine attribute, incommunicable to any creature: that 'justice can be no rule or medium whereby to give God, or

^a "Which is in such request with the Jesuits, as they make it their usual pocket-book, as a fair bait, covering their Romish hook, to catch our simple fish." *Margin.*

^b "God's eternal and blessed Will, Providence, Wisdom, Free-Grace, Glory, and consequently his whole essence, overturned by an Arminian trick; and that also backed with abused 'Authority.'" *Margin.*

^c Hos. vii. 3.

the King, his right.' As if 'right' were not grounded upon 'justice' as the 'rule' of it! Take away 'justice,' and where is 'right'? Or, as if the service which we perform to God were not bounded [founded] upon God's laws, which are 'holy, just, and good!'^a Yea, God neither commands nor accepts any other service at our hands but such as his Law prescribes: and thus our 'service' becomes just and 'reasonable.'^b Yet with such-like glossings they think that *Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est?*

"Great Potentates thus to applaud,
They reckon it no little laud!"^c

"Nor do they blush not only to preach these things to the face of the Court, but dare, also, publish in print this their shame to the open view of the world, not without great disturbance both to God and the King.

"Now the Lord Jesus deliver our good and gracious Joshua from these Achans, that his sweet disposition may not be enchanted with their Syren-songs. Herein the joint courage and zeal of you, Elders of Israel, is required. Take away these Achans from the King, and his throne shall be established in righteousness!

"Many other branches of the Achan faction there are, whom your Wisdoms can more easily find out: but the Master-piece of your wisdom is to find out,—if any such Monster be to be found in *rerum natura*,—where the *main* root and head of all these branches and members lurketh! That must be digged and stocked up; else, if it be but pruned, it will but sprout the thicker. If they go on thus, God's fearful judgments must needs fall heavy upon this Land."

The "Meditation" is headed "Joshua vii, 6, &c.," but as 'the passages from the Epistle answer our end fully, and as the author had not as yet put himself in a complete position to be expelled from the pale of the Episcopal Church, we desist from giving anything from its contents. Let us, then, consider what relates to the Parliament now assembled.

Sir Francis Seymour asked, in the House, "Hath it not been preached in the Pulpit, or rather prated, that 'all we have, is the King's, by Divine Right'? But," he continued to say, "when Preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant Statesmen, we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a Bishopric!"^d To this Parliament it is that we owe the Bill of Rights. The Commons also impeached Manwaring, whose Sermon had been printed by special command of the King! "There is nothing," it has been remarked, "which tends more to excuse, if not justify, the extreme rigour of the Commons towards Charles, than his open encouragement and avowal of such general principles as were altogether incompatible with a limited government." But to prove the temper of the Court, remarks the same historian, "no sooner was the Session ended, than this man," Manwaring, "so justly obnoxious to both Houses, received a pardon,

^a Rom. vii. 12.

^b Rom. xii. 1.

^c Had the times permitted, this line would perhaps have been printed thus, "They reckon it no LITTLE LAUD!"

^d Hume.

and was promoted to a Living of considerable value :"^a and he subjoins, that, "if the Republican spirit of the Commons increased, beyond all reasonable bounds, the Monarchical spirit of the Court; this latter, carried to so high a pitch, tended still further to augment the former : and thus, extremes were everywhere affected; and the just medium was gradually deserted by all men,"^b

Manwaring having been disposed of, the Commons drew up a Remonstrance, representing to the King "That there was a general fear conceived in his People, of some secret working and combination to introduce into this Kingdom Innovation and Change of holy Religion."^c The King, soon after, dissolved the Parliament;^d and then "gave order unto Laud, whom he found to be much concerned in the Remonstrance, to return an answer thereunto."^e Laud forgot himself so much as to put into his paper, purporting to be the King's, this passage, "Our People must not be taught by a Parliament Remonstrance, or any other way, that We are so ignorant of truth, or so careless of the profession of it, that any opinion, or faction, or whatever it be called, should thrust itself so far and so fast into our Kingdom without our knowledge of it: this is a mere dream of them that wake, and would make our loyal and loving People think we sleep the while. In this Charge there is great wrong done to two eminent Prelates^f that attend our Person; for they are accused, without producing any the least show or shadow of proof against them; and should they, or any others, attempt Innovation of Religion, either by that open or any cunning way, We should quickly take order with them, and not stay for your Remonstrance."^g

^a Hume.—Heylyn's remark is, "This was indeed, the way to have his Majesty well served; but such as created some ill thoughts amongst the Commons." P. 180.

^b Hume.

^c Heylyn, p. 180.

^d "The worst word," says Hacket, that the king gave to the Remonstrance was, 'That no wise man would justify it.' . . . "The chief Tribunes," he says, also, "spoke their discontents aloud, 'That they had given a bountiful levy of five subsidies, and were called *fools* for their labour.'" Pt. ii. p. 79.

^e Heylyn, p. 182.

^f Laud and Neile.

^g Heylyn, p. 182.—Some idea of the extent of Prelatical espionage and surveillance now in exercise may be gathered from the contents of Instructions, dated May 19th, 1628, from Dudley Carleton, at this time Ambassador Extraordinary at the Hague, and addressed "To the Synod of the English and Scottish Clergy in the Netherlands." The fifth Article of which, runs thus :—"His Majesty is well satisfied that they—the foresaid Clergymen—will carefully observe the Directions which his royal father, King James, formerly issued :—namely, to prevent the assumption of the Pastoral Office by any who have not been legally clothed with that sacred character; that they examine into, severely censure, and endeavour effectually to repress, every known species of immorality; and his Majesty further enjoins them to keep a watchful eye upon those who write books or pamphlets derogatory to the Church or the State of England, and to use every means to prevent them." The Synod replied in a respectful but firm tone to the whole of this communication; but, in relation to the second Article, which orders "that they shall in nowise undertake to exercise the power of Ordination," they ask somewhat indignantly, "Are the Churches of England and Scotland to take upon themselves the sole privilege of ordaining ministers for Congregations in other Countries where they have no authority, and where the Churches are not dependent on them, being under another, and a Foreign State?" The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam: &c. By William Steven, M.A. 1833. 8vo. p. 262, 264.

Charles's ill-fated Minister, Buckingham, having fallen by an assassin's stroke, Laud, now Bishop of London, was "called unto the helm, and steers the course of the Ship of State by his sage directions!"^a This new accession of power, he exercised in endeavouring to effect the suppression of Biblical doctrinal investigation. In the name of the King, he issued a Declaration to be prefixed to the Book of Articles, which proved to be another false step, and "of great influence in the course of our story."^b It assumes "the settled continuance of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England Established; from which We shall not endure any variation or departing in the least degree:" and, asserting the prerogative of a Vicegerent in the Kingdom of Christ, it directs authoritatively, that "in these both curious and unhappy differences which have, for many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, We will that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes be shut up in God's Promises, as they be generally set forth unto Us in Holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them."^c Under this specious covert, all doctrinal controversy was confined to the Court party, and "the whole council of God" was restrained to "Our Princely care, that the Churchmen may do the work which is proper unto them."^d Such was the dread of Censure from their superiors, that they who were opposed to all the novel tenets of Arminius, drew up a Petition to his Majesty, stating the "evils and grievances under which they groaned;"^e but it was stopped on its way to the King!

The House of Commons, upon this, intervened, and voted, what the writer whom we are making use of called an Anti-Declaration concerning the Articles of Religion; rejecting "the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others, wherein they differ from us." Thus was brought into collision with the dominant Ecclesiastics, "a company of Lay persons, met together on another occasion, who, though they might probably be supposed for the wisest men, could not, in reason, be relied on as the greatest Clerks!"^f Whatever they were, their "power began to grow more formidable every day," and "nobody durst adventure a reply" to them, "till Laud himself thought fit."

^a Heylyn, p. 187.—Laud betrayed his arbitrary disposition, when, during the solemn transactions at the Council Table, "he so far forgot the Statesman and the Bishop, as to threaten Felton with the rack." Happily, "on reference to the Judges, it was unanimously declared by them, that no such punishment as Torture is known or allowed by our law. And the consequence," we are as happy to find, "was precisely what might be expected from this unfortunate eruption of violence and passion; namely, the immediate circulation of the saying, that 'Crown Law was more favourable to the Subject than Crown Divinity!'" Rushworth, vol. i. p. 637, 639; cited by Le Bas, *Life of Laud*, p. 120; yet this writer has done all he could to extenuate this "Churchman's mistake," in this, and almost every other instance.

^b Heylyn, *sup.*

^c *Ib.* p. 189.

^d *Ib.* p. 188.

^e *Ib.* p. 190.

^f *Ib.* p. 191.—Heylyn might have recollected here, what passed in the other House of Parliament, when, in 1529, Bishop Fisher, on being reminded of Chaucer's apothegm, "The greatest Clerks are not the wisest men," retorted, that "He did not remember any Fools, in his time, who had proved great Clerks." Hume, chap. xxx.

Entangled in the Jesuit's web of Expediency, he propounded for reason what he had virtually condemned in the "Declaration," and admits, that if an Article or Canon "bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to, so that it be a sense 'secundum analogiam fidei;' and that he hold it privately without distracting the Church; and this, till the Church, that made the Article, determine a sense."^a

The year 1628-9 ushered in the meeting of a new Parliament, with the defection of Sir Thomas Wentworth from "the popular faction" to become "the greatest zealot for advancing the monarchical interest;" and he and Laud, "joining heart and hands," co-operated "for advancing the honour of the Church, and his Majesty's service."^b The aspect of public affairs, threatening and gloomy indeed, brought out so many ill-boding prognostics, that his Majesty, under colour of performing an act of grace, resolved "to please the people," for, besides putting the laws in force against a presumptuous Catholic, styled Bishop of Chalcedon; recalling to his councils Archbishop Abbot; and advancing to the mitre "a thorough-paced Calvinian;" he ordered Mountagu's "Appello Cæsarem" to be called in: his motive for which, is cruelly betrayed by his professed servant, Heylyn, who says, his Majesty called it in "not in regard of any false doctrine contained in it; but, for being the first cause of those disputes and differences which have since much troubled the quiet of the Church." And he adds, "it was objected, commonly, to his disadvantage, that this was not done till three years after it came out; till it had been questioned in three several Parliaments; till all the copies of it were sold; and then, too, that it was called in without any Censure either of the author or his doctrines: that the author had been *punished* with a very good bishopric; and the book, seemingly discomtenanted to no other end but to divert those of contrary persuasion from writing or acting anything against it in the following, [this], Parliament!"^c

The Commons were so strenuous, that a week only had passed before they resumed their "old care of Religion;" which "they insisted on with such importunity," that his Majesty resented "their delay in his business;" informing them, "that he was very ill counselled" if Religion were in "so much danger as they had reported."^d Nothing deterred, however, the House appointed a select committee to examine into the complaints against his Majesty, for favouring and protecting the several Clergymen whom the House had censured. This committee was inundated, as it were, with the "flowing in" of "reports," as Heylyn chooses to term them, "of turning tables into altars; advancing towards, or before, them; and, standing up, at the Gospels and the Gloria Patri." No sooner was it received by the House than

^a Heylyn, p. 192.—Such was the vigilance and arbitrary conduct of the Prelates at this time, that, as Burton writes, "In the most public place of the kingdom, Preachers have been forced sometime before, to show their Sermons before they were preached; and some were not suffered to preach for their very text's sake whereupon they proposed to preach." Epistle, before "A Trial of 'Private Devotions,' &c." 1628.

^b Heylyn, p. 194,

^c Ib. p. 195.

^d Ibid. p. 196.

they turned over to the committee a petition from the booksellers and printers, complaining of the "restraint of books written against Popery and Arminianism; and the contrary, allowed of;" and, that the licensing of books was "restrained" to Laud and his chaplains. Charles became "so exasperated" by all their proceedings, which comprised their "voting down" tonnage and poundage, that on the second day of March "he adjourned the House," which broke up "in an uproar;" and, on the tenth day of the same month, he "dissolved the Parliament."^a

How the state of parties stood at the time of the death of James has been shown:^b David Hume tells us what was their present position. "The appellation 'Puritan' stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were," he continues, "the 'political puritans,' who maintained the highest principles of Civil liberty; the 'puritans in discipline,' who were averse from the ceremonies and episcopal government of the Church; and, the 'doctrinal puritans,' who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first Reformers. In opposition to all these," he adds, "stood the Court-party, the Hierarchy, and the Arminians."^c

CHAP. XXVIII.

CHARLES.—LAUD AT HIS ZENITH.—LEIGHTON.—BIRTH OF
CHARLES II.—THOMAS HOOKER.

By the last dissolution, the die was finally cast; the King, and a Parliament, were for ever to be irreconcilable. His Majesty's severity in prosecuting the chief members who had been concerned in the "tumult," converted them into popular "leaders;" because, as we are told, they "had so bravely, in opposition to arbitrary power, defended the liberties of their native country."^d

We shall not be in danger of our authorities being impugned, while we continue to borrow their words and admissions whose predilections were all in favour of Charles and his adherents. It was his Majesty's resolution, says Hume, not to call any more Parliaments "till he should see greater indications of a compliant disposition in the Nation;" and, "henceforth," he remarks, "the general tenor of his administration still wants somewhat of being entirely legal, and perhaps more, of being entirely prudent."^e If this passage accorded with its framer's notion of the philosophy of history, it would seem that, in his mind, a studied palliation of what should compose the truth of history, is, on an occasion even of primary importance, a duty; but on considering the strong bias of his mind to favour a dynasty, not in his time obliterated from traditional interest, here is as much evidence of impartiality as might be expected.

The popular ferment had increased to so high a degree, that, on the day in which the Parliament was adjourned, a paper, it is said, was

^a Ibid. p. 197.

^b See back, p. 466.

^c Hist. an. 1629.

^d Ib.

^e Ib.

thrown into the premises of the Dean of St. Paul's, to this effect, "Laud, look to thyself; be assured thy life is sought, as Thou art the fountain of all wickedness. Repent thee, repent thee of thy monstrous sins, before thou be taken out of the world." On which, Laud made this reflection, "Lord, I am a grievous sinner; but I beseech thee, deliver my soul from them that hate me *without a cause*!" A similar paper was directed against the Lord Treasurer Weston.^a

Dr. Alexander Leighton,^b a Puritan divine, and a physician, father of Sir Ellis Leighton, and of the amiable Archbishop Leighton, was seized upon for a victim, to expiate the popular excesses by indignities and sufferings, compared with which decapitation would appear to have been lenient and merciful. The execution of the illegal and flagitious sentence pronounced against him, was delayed several months through the culprit's escape from his keeper, according to Heylyn;^c but Hume says the execution was suspended for some time, in expectation of his submission.^d

All the circumstances considered, it cannot come on the reader with surprise, that, in August, "Laud falling into a burning fever," the rest

^a Laud's Diary, Mar. 29, 1629. edit. 1694. p. 44.

^b General Ludlow informs us, in a Letter, published in 1691, and again in 1812, 4to. p. 45, that, "By his answer to the Star-Chamber Court, Leighton confessed, that when the Parliament was sitting, in the year 1628, he drew up the heads of his book; and having the approbation of five hundred persons under their hands, whereof some were Members of Parliament, he went into Holland to get it printed; that he printed but between five or six hundred, only for the use of the Parliament; but they being dissolved, he returned home, not bringing any of them into the Land, but made it his special care to suppress them." It is certain that a copy had come into possession of the Government, and the *gravamina* of the author's offence were, according to Heylyn, p. 198, that he incited the Parliament "to kill all the Bishops, and to smite them under the fifth rib;" a charge not found in the indictment: and, that he "branded" the Queen, "by the name of an Idolatress, or Canaanite, and the Daughter of Heth." Leighton's own words respecting the Bishops are, "These fifty years and upward, the Lord hath pleaded by his agents, at the bar of your Parliament, for his own privileges, against the intrusion of the *Hierarchy*:" and he exclaims, shortly after these words, "Smite that *Hazael* in the fifth rib; yea, if father or mother stand in the way, away with them, we beseech you: *Nam potius pereat unus quam unitas*: make rather a rotten tree fall, than that the rotting drops thereof should kill the sheep." He then adds, "The means whereby our deliverance from this evil may be wrought, shall be discovered in the handling of the last position." p. 240. His book nearly closes with these words: "We fear they are like pleuritic patients that cannot spit, whom nothing but incision will cure—we mean, of their Callings, not of their Persons,—to whom we have no quarrel, but wish them better than they either wish to us, or to themselves. One of their desperate mountebanks out of the pulpit, could find no cure for us,—their supposed enemies,—but 'pricking in the bladder;' but we have not so 'learned Christ.'" The book is anonymous, and consists of 344 pages. 4to., with two engravings: its full title is, "An Appeal to the Parliament: Or, Sion's Plea against the Prelacy. The sum whereof is delivered in a Decade of Positions. In the handling whereof, the Lord Bishops, and their appurtenances, are manifestly proved, both by Divine and Human Laws, to be intruders upon the Privileges of Christ, of the King, and of the Commonweal; and, therefore, upon good evidence given, she heartily desireth a judgment and execution.—Printed in the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost." October, 1628.

^c P. 198.

^d Ann. 1630.

of this year "was of little action;" nor will it seem surprising that while laid aside from active service, "his thoughts were working." It will occasion some surprise, nevertheless, on reading Heylyn's description of the matters which so troubled Laud's mind. "He saw the Church decaying both in power and patrimony: her Patrimony dilapidated by the avarice of several Bishops, in making havoc of their Woods to enrich themselves; and, more than so, in filling up their Grants and Leases to the utmost term, after they had been nominated to some other bishopric; to the great wrong of their successors: Her Power, he found diminished partly by the Bishops themselves, in leaving their dioceses unregarded, and living altogether about Westminster, to be in a more ready way for the next Preferment; partly, by the great increase of Chaplains in the houses of many private gentlemen; but, chiefly, by the multitude of Irregular Lecturers, both in city and country, whose work it was to undermine as well the doctrine as the government of it."^a This testimony of Laud's own Chaplain, should fully exonerate all the parties calumniated by the Dependants on this defalcating and servile Hierarchy! The Private Chaplains, and Irregular Lecturers, were but natural results of the abuses which furnished just pleas for their numbers being increased, and their conduct emboldened. Laud framed, under ten heads, Instructions and Orders, and obtained the Sign Manual, to be observed by the Bishops. We notice that the second article enjoins every Bishop, somewhat significantly, "that he waste not the Woods where any are left!" And, that the ninth denounces it "a hateful thing, that any man's leaving the Bishopric, should almost undo his successor!" Afternoon Lectures are suppressed, on the specious ground of their breaking the "ancient and profitable Order" for Catechising; and Lectures in market-towns, are restricted to "Othodox Divines," who are ordered to "preach in Gowns, and not in Cloaks, as too many do use!"^b

This busy interference with the peculiar duties of the Archbishop, was resented by the mild Abbot, who would not enforce the Orders, and even inhibited an Archdeacon from his jurisdiction, who had suspended two Lecturers, whom Heylyn describes "obstinately inconformable to the King's directions." He remarks, further, "If an Archbishop could be so unsatisfied for putting these Instructions into execution, as his place required, there is no question to be made, but various descants and reports would be raised upon them by most sorts of people. The country gentlemen took it ill to be deprived of the liberty of keeping Chaplains in their houses, from which they had not been debarred by the laws of the Land. . . . Nor were the Chaplains better pleased than their masters were." The Bishops, in the poorer bishoprics, complained "privately," so says Heylyn, in addition, "That now the Court Bishops had served their own turns upon the King, they cared not what miseries their poor Brethren were exposed unto." But "greater," continues Heylyn, "were the clamours on the Puritan faction." And he subjoins, "But notwithstanding these

^a P. 198.^b P. 199.

secret murmurs on the one side, and the open clamours of the other, Laud was resolved to do his duty!"^a

Let us turn to our other authority, for his description of the ill-fated Ecclesiastic, whose doings and destinies, if so we may speak, give the colour to the leading events of his time.

"With unceasing industry," writes Hume, under the year 1630, Laud, "studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting, in the cause of Religion; that is, in imposing, by rigorous measures, his own tenets and pious ceremonies on the obstinate Puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every humane consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper, made him neglect the views of prudence and rules of good manners." This was he, who, in Hume's own words, "acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdoms." Once more, he tells us, also, "It must be confessed, that though Laud deserved not the appellation of a Papist, the genius of his religion was, though in a less degree, the same with that of the Romish: the same profound respect was exacted to the sacerdotal character; the same submission required to creeds and decrees of synods and councils; the same pomp and ceremony was affected in worship; and the same superstitious regard to days, postures, meats, and vestments. No wonder, therefore, that this Prelate was, everywhere, among the Puritans, regarded with horror, as the forerunner of Antichrist!"^b Such are some of the sentiments extorted, through the force of Truth, from a pen which was too much employed to asperse those with whom he who guided it did not sympathize, either in feelings or motives: and it deserves notice, that his acknowledgments are accompanied by qualifying terms, which produce an effect not in harmony with his apparent candour; as are those of "pious" ceremonies, and "holy" purposes.

That the "wise and holy"^c Laud's vigilance was not restrained to affairs at home, besides what we have exhibited under the year 1628, Hume enables us to confirm in a passage which concludes with an impressive remark. Laud, he says, "advised that the Discipline and Worship of the Church should be imposed on the English regiments, and trading companies, abroad. All foreigners, of the Dutch and Walloon congregations, were commanded to attend the Established Church; and indulgence was granted to none, after the children of the first denizens. Scudamore, too, the King's ambassador at Paris, had orders to withdraw himself from the communion of the Hugonots. Even men of sense were apt to blame this conduct; not only because it gave offence in England, but because in Foreign Countries it lost the Crown the advantage of being considered as the head and support of the Reformation."^d

^a P. 201, 202.

^b An. 1630.

^c Le Bas, p. 147.

^d State Papers collected by the Earl of Clarendon, p. 338; cited by Hume, an. 1630.

"In return for Charles's indulgence towards the Church,"—mark Hume's words!—"Laud, and his followers, took care to magnify, on every occasion, the Regal Authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain and detestation, all Puritanical pretensions to a free and independent Constitution. But while these Prelates were so liberal in raising the Crown, at the expense of Public Liberty, they made no scruple of encroaching, themselves, on Royal rights the most incontestable; in order to exalt the Hierarchy, and procure to their own Order dominion and independence! All the doctrines which the Romish Church had borrowed from some of the Fathers, and which freed the Spiritual from subordination to the Civil power, were now adopted by the Church of England, and interwoven with her political and religious tenets. A divine and apostolical character was insisted on, preferably to a legal and parliamentary one. The sacerdotal character was magnified as sacred and indefeasible: all right to spiritual authority, or even to private judgment on spiritual subjects, was refused to profane Laymen: ecclesiastical courts were held, by the Bishops, in their own name, without any notice taken of the King's authority." Charles himself, remarks Hume, did not foresee "that the ecclesiastical power which he exalted, not admitting of any precise boundary, might, in time, become more dangerous to public peace, and no less fatal to royal prerogative," than the independent spirit of Parliament.*

The tide of fortune ran, for the present, with so strong a current, that, the Chancellor of Oxford having died unexpectedly, on Saturday the tenth day of April, Laud's friends used such expedition "to make sure work of it," that they procured a Convocation for the Monday following, and "before any competitor should appear," the election passed "clear for the Bishop of London."^b

Among the incidents of this year, 1630, occurred the birth of the Prince, afterward Charles II., on which, as the event has justified the foresight, we greatly rejoice that the Constitutional loyalty of those whom Heylyn designed to stigmatise, is confirmed by his own pen: "The birth of this young prince, as it gave cause of great rejoicings to all good Subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the Puritan faction, who laid their line another way, and desired not that this King should have any children; insomuch that at a feast in Friday-street, when some of the company showed great joy at the news of the Queen's first being with child, a leading man of that faction—whom I could name were it worth the while^c—did not stick to say, 'That he could see no such cause of joy as the others did.' Which said, he gave this reason for it, 'That God had, already, better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful progeny by the Queen of Bohemia, brought up in the Reformed religion; whereas it was uncertain what religion the King's children would follow, being to be brought up under a mother so devoted to the Court of Rome!'"^d

* Hume, an. 1630.

^b Heylyn, p. 208.

^c We do not "stick" at claiming this distinction, "of a leading man," here, for Henry Burton.

^d P. 209.—Even Echard says, "They foretold, by a distant foresight, the succession of this family to the crown; and it must be owned, that they were

This opportunity is embraced, to introduce one of those rare pieces whose entire absence would impair the perfect fidelity of our representation of the rigorous aspect of that age, and of the actual deportment of those who stood up, in the Name of the Lord, by warnings and supplications, to leave their testimonies against prevalent corruptions; and who proceeded to spend themselves in cultivating untried portions of their Master's vineyard: "the field is the world."^a This is exemplified in "The Danger of Desertion: Or, A Farewell Sermon of Mr. Thomas Hooker, sometime Minister of God's Word at Chainsford [Chelmsford] in Essex; but now of New England. Preached immediately before his departure out of Old England 1641." 4to. pp. 20.

The Editor's name does not appear. The author of the *Lives of the Puritans* remarks, that this Sermon is published in the *Works of William Fenner, B. D. Rector of Rochford, Essex; who died about 1640.*^b It is printed, however, the last in a posthumous volume of "Practical Divinity: Or, Gospel Light shining forth in Seven Choice Sermons; &c. 1650." 12mo. pp. 295.^c With Fenner's name upon that title; but the Sermon itself is headed "The Signs of God's Forsaking a People. Being the last Sermon that he preached." That it was pirated from Hooker appears from its having been printed in Hooker's lifetime, and from the numerous various readings: but we have adhered as closely as could be to Hooker's copy, which has the disadvantage of having come out of the press with more numerous instances of carelessness than almost any other publication that has passed under our review. The Epistle before our copy of the Sermon contains an earlier announcement than Fuller's in his *History of Cambridge, 1655*, that Hooker "was trained up in Immanuel College:" the editor, whoever he were, states that "the author" did not desert his place "in any envy, hatred, or other like disrespect against the Church of England;" and he is pleased to add, "like many rigid Separatists, who account herself to be no Church, and her ministers to be no ministers, but," he continues, "partly to enjoy a greater liberty, . . partly to propagate the Gospel, and make it known to such as had not heard it before." It may be gathered hence, to what class the editor belonged; and as for Hooker, this Sermon, and what else will come in due course, will declare his principles and actions.

THOMAS HOOKER was silenced in or about the year 1630, by Laud, who resisted the testimony of forty-seven "conforming" ministers, that they "esteem and know the said Thomas Hooker to be for doctrine, orthodox; for life and conversation, honest; for disposition, peaceable, and in no wise turbulent or factious."^d He withdrew into Holland, and settled at Delft, which appears to supply an interval in the list of ministers there, between Forbes and Parker.^e From Delft he went to

always the delight of the Puritans, who prayed heartily for them, and upon all occasions exerted themselves for the support of the family in their lowest circumstances." Neal, vol. ii. p. 86. Ed. 1822. ^a Matt. xiii. 38.

^b Vol. iii. p. 70; and see Vol. ii. p. 452.

^c The imprimatur is dated in 1649, and signed "Joseph Caryl."

^d Mather's *Hist. New Eng.* bk. iii.

^e Morse and Parish, *Hist. New Eng.* Edit. Lond. 1808. 8vo. p. 75. Steven's *Hist. Scottish Church, Rotterdam, &c.* 1833. 8vo. p. 297.

Rotterdam^a for about one year, and assisted Dr. Ames.^b He returned into England in 1633, but was so quickly sought after, that he could not possibly have preached publicly under the circumstances;^c this Sermon must, therefore, have been delivered to the flock at Chelmsford.

The text is from Jeremiah, chap. xiv. ver. 9, "We are called by thy Name; leave us not." Having considered the context, Hooker raises the doctrine "That God may justly leave off a people, and unchurch a nation." Israel, he says, suspected it, and feared it: it is that they prayed against, that God would not "leave" them. "I do not say that God will cast off his elect eternally; but those that are only in outward covenant with him, he may. 'Hear, O ye heavens. . . I have nursed up children;' ^d that is, the Jews: there is an outward vocation; and for such, God may cast them off. Brethren, cast your thoughts afar off; what is become of those famous churches, Pergamos and Thyatira, and the rest? Who would have thought that Jerusalem should have been made a heap of stones and a vagabond people! ^e 'Plead with your mother,' and call her 'Lo-ammi; ye are not my people, and I will not be your God.' ^f Thus, as I may say, he sues out a bill of divorcement; as it was in the old law, those that had any thing against their wives sued out a bill of divorcement; and so doth God, 'She is not my people, nor my beloved: let her cast away her fornications and idolatry, lest I make her as at first;' ^h that is, in Egypt, poor and miserable. As if he should say to England, 'Plead' with England, my ministers, in the way of my truth, and say unto them, Let them cast away their rebellions, lest I make her as I found her in captivity, in the days of bondage.

"But how doth God depart from a people? When he takes away his love from a people; and as his respect, so his means too. When he takes away his protection, by taking down the walls; that is, these two great means of safety—magistrates and ministers. When instead of counselling comes in bribing; and instead of teaching, daubing: when God either takes away the hedges, or the stakes are rotten, then God is going. When God takes away the benefit of these helps, they are signs of God's departing.

"May God cast off a people, and unchurch a nation? then let it teach us to cast off all security; for miseries are nigh by all proba-

^a Steven is equally at a loss here as above

^b The joint authorship with Dr. Ames, who died before its publication in 1633, is attributed to Hooker, of "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship:" consequently Hooker was its sole editor, and, what now becomes of the correctness of the remark above, about "many rigid Separatists," since in an Addition, at the end of the "Fresh Suit," are these words: "The dislike of Ceremonies is not the chief cause for which Separation is made. But the intolerable abuses which are in Ecclesiastical Courts; by which it cometh to pass that many poor men being troubled at the first for a small thing, afterward are driven to fly the country; and flying with a hatred of such courses, are ready to receive that impression—which is most opposite unto them. The thing itself is plain enough to all indifferent men, that Ecclesiastical corruptions, urged and obtruded, are the proper occasion of Separation?" p. 26.

^c Morton says he arrived in New England, in 1633. p. 91.

^d Isai. i. 2.

^e 2 Kings xxv.

^f Hos. ii. 2.

^g Hos. i. 9.

^h Hos. ii. 2.

bilities. When we observe what God hath done for us, all things are ripe for ruin, and yet we fear it not: we promise safety to ourselves, and consider not that England is like to be harrowed: we cannot entertain a thought that England shall be destroyed; when there are so many professors in it, we cannot be persuaded of it; according to the convictions of our judgments, either it must not be, or not yet; as if God were a cockering father over lewd and stubborn children! God may leave a nation that is but in outward covenant with him; and why not England?

"England's sins have been great, yea and her mercies great. England hath been a mirror of mercy, yet God may leave us and make us a mirror of his justice. Look how he spake to the people that bragged of 'The temple of the Lord;' 'sacrifices and offerings;' and, what? may not God which destroyed 'Shiloh,'^a destroy thee, O England? Go to Bohemia; from thence to the Palatinate; and so to Denmark: imagine you were there, what shall you see? nothing else but, as travellers say, churches made heaps of stones, and those Bethels wherein God's name was called upon are made defiled temples for Satan and superstition to reign in! You cannot go two or three steps but you shall see the heads of dead men; go a little further, and you shall see their hearts picked out by the fowls of the air; whereupon you are ready to conclude that Tilly has been there!^b Those churches are become desolate, and why not England? Go into the cities and towns, and there you shall see many compassed about with the chains of captivity, and every man bemoaning himself. Do but cast your eyes abroad, and there you shall see poor fatherless children sending forth their breaths with fear, crying to their poor helpless mothers. Step but a little further, and you shall see the sad wife bemoaning her husband; and that is her misery, that she cannot die soon enough! And, withal, she makes funeral sermons for her children, within herself, for that the Spaniard may get her little ones, and bring them up in popery and superstition. And then she weeps and considers with herself, 'If my husband be dead, it is well: haply he is upon the rack, or put to some cruel torments:' and then she makes funeral sermons, and dies a hundred times before she can die! Cast your eyes afar off, set your souls in their souls' stead, and imagine it were your own condition; 'why may not England be thus?' 'who knows but it may be my wife?' when he hears of some in torments. Ah,

^a Jer. vii.

^b "The progress of the Austrian arms was attended with rigours and severities exercised against the professors of the Reformed religion." Hume, *Hist. Eng.* chap. xlviii-ix. an. 1621-25.—Tilly signalized himself in Hungary against the Turks. He expelled, afterward, the Duke of Brunswick from the Palatinate; and when the king of Denmark headed the Protestant confederates, in 1625, Tilly defeated him in the year following, but he dictated such severe terms of peace, that the war was protracted till the year 1629. It broke out again when Gustavus Adolphus was at the head of the Protestant league, and in 1631 Tilly besieged Magdeburg, which he stormed with cruelties so excessive as to leave "a foul stain" on his name. Gustavus succeeded, however, in defeating Tilly, who was carried off the field wounded; he recovered, and in another conflict with the Swedish king was mortally wounded, in 1632. See Aikin's *Gen. Biog.* 1814. 4to. vol. ix. *sub voce*.

brethren, 'be not high-minded, but fear;' ^a as we have this bounty on the one side, so may we have this severity on the other: therefore, prank not up yourselves with foolish imaginations, as, 'Who dare come to England? The Spaniards have enough; the French are too weak!' Be not deceived; who thought Jerusalem, the 'lady of kingdoms,' ^b whither the tribes went to worship, ^c should become a heap of stones, a vagabond people; and, why not England? Learn, therefore, to hear and fear. ^d God can be a God, without England. Do not say 'There are many Christians in it;' can God be beholding to you for your religion? No, surely! for rather than he will maintain such as profess his Name and hate him, he will raise up 'of these stones' children unto Abraham. ^e He will rather go to the Turks and say, 'You are my people, and I will be your God!' But will you let God go, England? Why are you so content to let him go? Oh lay hold on him; yea, hang on him, and say, Thou shalt not go! Do you think that Rome will part with her religion and forsake her gods? Nay, a hundred would rather lose their lives. Will you let God go? Oh, England, 'plead' with your God; and let him not depart. Should you only part with your rebellions; he will not part with you. 'Leave us not:' we see the Church is very importunate to keep God with them still; they lay hold on God with words of argument: Thou 'hope of Israel,' do not 'leave us!' ^f They beset God with their prayers, and watch him at the town's end, that he might not go away: No! Thou shalt not go away; thou shalt abide with us still! They are importunate with God not to 'leave' them.

"Hence, note this doctrine, That it is the importunate desire of saints to keep God with them. 'This people,' you see, cared not so much for the 'famine' and 'sword,' so that God 'leaves' them not. Good Lord, 'leave us not!' this was their prayer; and we cannot blame them, all things being considered: for it was their grief that God stood by and would not help, 'Why standest thou as a man astonished?' but Good Lord, 'leave us not!' They cannot abide to hear of that; much less to bear it. Thus they did, and thus the saints of God should do. For the proof, see Exod. xxxiii; there Moses might have gone up upon fair terms, Thou shalt possess the land, and peace and prosperity shall be with thee: but what says Moses? If I might have Canaan and all the delights, yet 'carry us not up hence,' except 'Thy presence' be with us! This is the stay and string that he sticks on, 'Turn us again, O Lord God of hosts, and cause thy face to shine' upon us: ^g as if he should say, Here is prosperity!

"But what is the 'presence' of God? In one word, it is the particular favour of God expressed in his Ordinances, and all the good and sweet that followeth there. The purity of God's Word and Worship, is that which God reveals himself in: it is not gold, wealth, and prosperity, that makes God be our God. There is more gold in the West Indies than in all Christendom besides. But it is God's Ordinances in the virtue of them, that brings God's 'presence.' God 'forsook' Shiloh, where he dwelt, because his Ordinances were not

^a Rom. xi. 20.

^d Deut. xxxi. 12.

^g Psal. lxxx. 7, 19.

^b Isai. xlvii. 5.

^e Matt. iii. 9.

^c Psal. cxxii. 4.

^f Jer. xiv. 8, 9.

there.^a When the Ark left them, God left them : when God's Ordinances were there, in the purity of them, then God was there ; for he is principally there where his Ordinances are in the purity of them ! Hence it was that Cain was cast out of God's 'presence,' because he was cast out of the Church where his Ordinances were.^b If that a people do outwardly worship God, and sincerely mend things that be amiss, they may continue. If Sodom and Gomorrah had but legally repented, they had remained to this day. Hence it is that the saints of God are so urgent for God's services ; and in that most men so slight them ; while it is thus with us, is not England ripe ? Is she not weary of God ? Nay, she is fed fat for the slaughter ! it was not so with the saints and people of God in former times :^c it was David's great and grand desire that he might 'dwell in the house of the Lord ;' his soul panted after God's Ordinances.^d The point teacheth us thus much, That the saints are wondrous importunate to keep God in all his Ordinances.

" But what if a man want Preaching, may he not want it, and yet go to heaven ? The arguments are clear, The saints maintain God in his Ordinances ; the want of which, is under the penalty of death and condemnation. Gold cannot feed a hungry man, but bread he would have, because that he hath need of : so the saints of God are marvellous importunate to keep God in his Ordinances. So that though they wear a ragged coat, or be pinched with hunger, yet every saint wants God more than these, either food or raiment. David, in the 37th Psalm, fretteth at 'the prosperity of the wicked ;' but, at the last, breaks off, and mark what a conclusion he makes and comes to, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee ?' As if he had said, Let them have what they will, I have nothing 'but thee :' why so ? Thou art 'the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.'^e Thou art 'the strength' of the 'heart : ' showing that all things in the world cannot help the heart without God. A man were as good offer iron to a hungry man to refresh him, or air to feed him, as to say, riches, ease, and honour, will help thy diseased soul ! These will never establish a man ; he may hope to have comfort in them, but his soul shall be gravelled and troubled. It must be the God of peace that must speak peace to a troubled soul. It must be the God of salvation, that can comfort a damned [*sic*] soul. That kindness will comfort that is 'the strength' of the 'heart,' and 'portion for ever.' The soul cares not though haply the purse be filled, for it cries and sighs, I am damned. Haply the palate may be pleased, but the poor soul cries, I may go to hell and to the devil. Now God comes and he supplies all, for where he comes there is every good gift : if once a man hath God, he hath all things with him ! God blessed Obed-edom's house for the Ark's sake.^f Now the Ark was a type of Christ ; where he comes, all good things follow : when God comes, we are married unto him.^g As when a wife is married, her husband is hers ; so God, and all is thine ; and what wouldst thou have more ? He speaks to the

^a Psal. lxxviii. ^b Gen. iv. 14. ^c Psal. xxxiv. 4. ^d Psal. xxvii. 4. ; xlii. 1.

^e Here Hooker has confused the 37th and 73d Psalms.

^f 1 Chron. xiii. 14.

^g Hos. ii. 19.

rain and it hears 'the corn and wine,' and they hear Jezreel.^a Hell and death are thy servants! But now you that have outward things, profits, and prosperity, you have them with a curse, unless you have God with them; get God, therefore: if he forsakes a man, all miseries befall him; and then 'woe' be to him. Ah, it is true indeed, 'woe' be to that heart which God is departed from!"^b When God, who is the God of mercy, is gone away from him, who will pity that soul that will not submit to God's peace, consolation, and salvation? When God departeth, all miseries follow on amain. When the banks are broken down, the sea breaks forth; so when God departs, all miseries come. For that man that makes no conscience of out-facing God in his Ordinances, mark what the text saith, 'I will forsake them,' and 'many miseries shall befall them.'^c If God be gone, the floodgates are drawn dry, and in comes all misery. You will say, Are not all these things against us, seeing God is not with us? If we would avoid woe and sorrow, we must avoid killing and slaying one another. Would the women be glad to see their husbands killed before their tender eyes; the men, to see the women taken out of the world by the hands of wicked men? if not, then leave not God, but hold him fast: then all evil will depart; and so, holding God, he will keep us from misery.

"To condemn two sorts of people; first, If the saints be marvellous importunate to have God with them, what shall we think of some that are weary of the Almighty? who say to him, 'Depart from us!'^d But you will say, Such are not chronicled; we have none such among us. Thou that art a servant and rejectest thy master's command, thou rejectest God. Why should a man say that they be so long, and so long, in prayer; and say that man knows not what he says? He speaks this, because that he is weary of the Ordinances, and would be freed from them: and God will do it one day! Alas, poor soul, that thou couldst pity thy condition; thou art weary of God's Ordinances, weary of God's mercies, weary of his patience and presence: thou shalt, one day, be deprived of his presence, and shut up, with the haters of God and goodness, in the black Tophet, 'where the worm never dies, nor the fire ever goes out.'^e Then thy crying will do thee no good, God will be God in thy destruction; he will spurn thousands, and ten thousands, such as thou art, down to hell, where thou shalt be an everlasting object of his never-dying wrath. Though thou couldst scale the heavens with thy tears and shrill voice; though thou couldst be heard to cry out of the dungeon; yet thy help is never the nearer, thy God is gone! I admonish thee what to do: lay thee down and patiently endure his deserved wrath: nay—mark what I say—a hundred hells thou hast deserved, and in those hells to be a hundred years, nay, for ever! Hold thyself contented with thy condition, for thou hast chosen 'death rather than life.'^f God should wrong himself and thee if that he did not give thee thy choosing. Will not these things move you, my brethren, that you may be so happily wise as to choose 'life' rather than 'death?' Lord, grant it! for he delights not

^a Hos. ii. 22.^b Hos. ix. 12.^c Deut. xxxi. 17.^d Job xxi. 14.^e Isai. lxvi. 24.^f Jer. viii. 3.

in your destruction. One word more, to leave impression in your hearts: I desire your soul's health, though my meat seem bitter, yet it is the mind of God it should be so; and, therefore, thou man, or woman, whosoever thou art that canst not abide Preaching, but standest upon thorns to have the sermon done; thou sayest, 'Too much of one thing is good for nothing; thou dost as good as say, What need have we of that? a little of that, and more of pleasure; here is thy delight and desire. Know this, whosoever thou art that hath ill-will to the Ordinances,—Thou wouldst have no such Gospel!—thou shalt have thy desire: when the trumpet shall blow, thy ears shall tingle with that sentence, 'Depart from me!' Thou that art weary of God, get thee down to hell, I say. God will set his teeth at thee, and stamp thee down to hell with thy base lusts: then will God say, I have fed thee on earth this twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, perhaps sixty years, and yet my mild words could not bear rule in thee or prevail with thee, and now get thee to hell, and there remain for ever! Think this with thyself, God will so serve thee, proud captain, king, or monarch: the text^a saith he will make bonfires upon their 'bones' about their ears: thus he will get himself glory by your destruction. But you will say to me, being a king or monarch, I do not fear any such punishment shall befall me. But God will say, Be he a king that rules or reigns, yet as he hath rejected God, so God will reject him! He is a King of kings, and Lord of lords, and therefore such a one as will 'laugh'^b at thy destruction. Take notice of this! and say thus to yourselves, Is he a good child, that cannot abide the presence of his father; is she a good wife, that cannot abide the presence of her husband? So, is he a good creature, that cannot abide the presence of his Creator?

"Secondly: This rebukes God's own people. We see the Gospel going: brethren, I wonder you hear no better, stand up and hear; and God give you grace to understand. I deal plainly with you and tell you, what God hath told me I must tell you, on peril of salvation: will you give ear and believe? I, poor Ambassador of God, am sent to do this message unto you; though I am low, yet my message is from above: he that sent me grant that it may be believed for his sake,—Suppose God hath told me this night, that he will destroy England and lay it waste, what say you, brethren, to it? *It is my message that God bade me do!* He expects your answer. What sayest thou? Oh England! I must return an answer to my Master that sent me, to-night. Why speak you not an answer? I must have one. Do you like well of it? would you have England destroyed? would ye put the old men to trouble, and the young men to the sword? would you have your women widows, and your maids defiled? would you have your children, your dear ones, to be thrown upon the pikes, and dashed against the walls? or would you have them brought up in idolatry, under the necessity [or want] of preaching, which is worst of all? would you see those temples where you worship God burnt, and your own houses? will you see England laid waste,

^a Jer. viii, 1, 2.^b Psal. ii. 4.

without inhabitants? are ye willing to it; are ye content? God bade me ask. Why do you not answer me? I must not stir without it: I must have it. I am an importunate Ambassador, send me not away sad: speak comfortably and cheerfully unto me. Are you willing to have God with you still; you are, are you not? I am glad of it: but you must not only say so, but use the means; 'plead' with God! And though his hand be up, and his sword drawn, yet suffer him not to destroy; but to sheath it in the blood of our enemies.^a God grant it: and I should be glad to see England flourish still; and so are you, are you not? You are! Now, if it come to pass that England be not, but destroyed and laid desolate, thank yourselves, and not God; he delights not in it. We may take up the complaint of the Prophet; No man stirs up himself to lay hold upon God;^b for this is our misery, if that we have quietness and commodity, we are well enough: thus we play mock-holy-day with God. The Gospel, we make it our pack-horse. God is going: his glory is departing: England hath seen her best days; and now evil days are befalling us! God is packing up his Gospel because nobody will buy his wares, nor come to his price. Oh, lay hands on God, and let him not go out of your coasts: he is a going, stop him; and let not thy God depart! Lay siege against him with humble and hearty closing with him. Suffer him not to say; as if that he were going, Farewell, or fare-ill, England. God hath said that he will do this; and because that he hath said it, he will do it: therefore, prepare to meet thy God,^c O England! lest God complain of thee as he did of Jerusalem, 'Lest my soul depart from thee; and I make thee a desolate land, not inhabited.'^d

"Thus we see what the godly have done; and this must be our care: but let it be our copy to clasp about the Lord Jesus as Mary did: they have broken the ice, let us go after them.

"This is our atonement day; we have nothing to do with to-morrow: this is the day of reconciliation; we are at odds with God. And, to end all controversies, let us labour to prevail with God, and never lose his presence. 'I sought, but I found him not,' and when I found him not, I followed and sought him, till that I 'found' him.^e Our God is going; and do you sit still on your beds? would you have and keep the Gospel with these lazy wishes? Arise, arise, and down on your knees and entreat God to leave his Gospel to your posterity. Shall we disinherit our infants of such a blessing? shall we bereave them of the Gospel, which should be the life of our lives, and so have them brought up in superstition? No, Lord! we cannot endure this: give us not health nor wealth, but give us thy Gospel, Lord! that is our plea. And when we have found God, let us bring him more to our families, that as we have made him our God, so let him be the God of ours. In time of affliction, we will cry, 'Lord, have mercy upon us:' then, we shall be glad of him. O beloved, carry God home with you; lay hold on him, let him not go; say, He is our husband: let him not go, for your little ones' sakes; and so let us leave God to be a father unto them.

^a We lament to record this imprecation.

^b Isai. lxiv. 7. ^c Amos iv. 12.

^d Jer. vi. 8. ^e Sol. Song iii. 2—4.

"But, how may we keep the Lord? It is worth the while; it is comfortable; for at his 'right hand are pleasures for evermore!'" If you will come to the price, you shall have him. The means are these:

"First: You must prepare room for him; for he is a King, and a king sends a harbinger before him to prepare room for him against he comes to any place. So must you do, by cleansing yourselves from every evil course; therefore, 'Come out of her,' saith the Lord to his people; 'touch no unclean thing,' and then I will be your God, and ye shall be my people.^b So, brethren, 'come out' of all evil, sinful pleasures and practices, and then you may expect God's coming into your houses. When you sit by the fire, and when you lie upon your beds, think thus with yourselves, What an equal condition doth he propound: doth he require no more but to part with a sin, a lust, a Delilah, which thou mayest spare as well as water out of thy shoes or out of thy bosom? yea, it is so! Will God keep no company in the paths of sin? what! is this his proffer? What! are the terms not harder? what, then, should I do, but bid sin adieu? Would you have God to be your God, and will you not keep out of sin? If not, he will not be your God: but now let every soul forsake his uncleanness, and God will come to that soul; and, therefore, that place is marvellous sweet, You shall call, and God shall say 'Here I am,' if that you will forsake your evil courses.^c

"Secondly: As you must prepare room for God, so you must give him content: let him have his will. Where the king comes, there he will have all according to his mind: so it is with God; if he may have his own Worship, you please him well. You must dress his dish according to his tooth; but when you put poison into his meat, you discontent him; then you do not give him his mind! You must lay aside all superstition and errors; then you please his tooth above all, when your souls submit to his Truth. 'At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow:'^d this is not meant of the word 'Jesus,' to give a bow with the knee, and a stab at the heart. If so, why do we not 'bow' at the name 'Jehovah' as at the word 'Jesus?' But the bowing at the word, the syllable, is idolatry; and here we do not give him his mind: but the meaning of it is, that we should worship him in spirit and truth!

"Thirdly: As we give him his mind, so we must give him welcome also, and entertainment. If you look lowering towards him, and grudge at him and his Truth, no wonder but he go away. This is the sin of England, we bear an ill-will to God and his Word. God hath done much for us of this land. What could he have 'done more' for his 'vineyard'; but it brought forth fruit contrary to his expectation, and therefore mark what he saith, 'I will take away the hedge thereof; it shall be trodden down:'^e so will it be with us! Are we better than the old world? The same sins that were found in them are found in us. Sodom and Gomorrah, on whom God rained fire and brimstone;

^a Psal. xvi. 11.

^b Rev. xviii. 4; 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17.

^c Isai. lviii. 9.

^d Phil. ii. 10.

^e Isai. v. 4, 5.

are not our sins as great? And, are there not as great sins in us as were in Jerusalem that was carried away captive? Are we better than other churches? than our brethren, that have drunk so deeply of the cup of God's wrath? what are we? I will tell you: we are a burden to God; he cannot bear us; he will think his pains well over when he hath destroyed us. You know all men are glad when their pains are over; so it is with God, we are a pain and trouble to him; and why should God go continually in pain and trouble with us who are worthy to be destroyed? If his decree once come forth, then shall England 'seek peace,' and shall not find it; as in Ezek. vii. 25. Ah, brethren, what a heavy curse is it when a merciful God doth show himself unmerciful; when a patient God will be impatient! O beloved, there is a hard time befalling us of England, yet we consider it not: lamentable is our time. God wept over Jerusalem a long time, 'Oh that thou hadst known, in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace! but now they are hid from thy eyes:'^a so may I say to England, The Lord hath wept over it in mercy and patience a long time, but it hath not been taken notice of; God hath 'hid' it from our eyes, what shall we do when his mercy is turned into fury, and his patience into frowning? What shall we do when we have leisure to consider what once we did enjoy? We can never prize God's patience till that we find the great want of it. Thus then, the poor soul will say, There was a time when we might have been at peace with this patient God, but now it is 'hid' from our eyes: I might have had mercy, but now the gate is shut, and not only shut, but locked and barred too. Thus when people refuse mercy he sends the contrary judgment, and then it will grieve and wound our souls to think what once we did enjoy; but that man that will bid God welcome to his heart may go singing to his grave!

"Fourthly: You must be importunate with him to stay and to continue, and count it a great favour that he will yet be intreated: Jacob 'wrestled' with God,^b and thus must we do if we mean to keep him. You that live under the means and will not walk in them, what great condemnation will be to you over them that have not the means! As it is said of Capernaum,^c so say I to England, Thou England, which wast lifted up to heaven with means, shalt be abased, and brought down to hell; 'for if the mighty works which have been done in thee' had been done in India or Turkey, they would have repented ere this! Therefore Capernaum's place is England's place; which is the most insufferable torment of all. And mark what I say, the poor native Turks and infidels shall have a cooler summer-parlour in hell than you; for we stand at a high rate; we were highly exalted, therefore shall our torments be the more to bear.

"The Lord write these things in our hearts with the finger of his own Spirit, for Christ's sake, under whom we are all covered."

Before the year 1630 closed, it was made notorious in the annals of Prelatical and Judicial atrocity, by the infliction of the vindictive sentence passed in the Star Chamber upon Dr. Leighton, whose case is already brought before the reader in this chapter. There is seen, from

^a Luke xix. 42.

^b Gen. xxxii. 24.

^c Matt. xi. 23.

the book itself, what gave rise to this atrocious butchery. "The punishment actually inflicted upon him was horrible! And it was not only an act of inhumanity, but a most egregious indiscretion:" so says even one of Laud's *laudators*, who might have informed himself better, by consulting the book before he hazarded the remark that Leighton was, previously to writing his book, "nearly a maniac;" which, if true, should have moved compassion, if any had been, in the breasts of those who chose rather to make him "a severe example." How "severe," let it be recorded here and elsewhere, in *perpetuum memoriam rei*.^a

^a Leighton survived to write "An Epitome, or Brief Discovery, from the Beginning to the Ending, of the many and great Troubles that Dr. Leighton suffered in his Body, Estate, and Family, for the Space of Twelve Years and upwards: Wherein is laid down the Cause of those Sufferings: namely, That Book called 'Sion's Plea against the Prelacy;' together with the warrantable Call that he had to the Work, and also, the hard and heavy Passage of the Prelates' Proceedings against him in the High Commission and Star Chamber; and lastly, their Invective Speeches in the said Court and Star Chamber; from the Impeachment whereof, and the Accusations charged upon him, he Vindicates Himself by a just Defence.—Philip. i. 29; Rev. vii. 14.—Lond. 1646." 4to. pp. 93. Alluding to Laud, he writes, "This man of tongue, spake what he would without controlment, and made up his conclusion with concurring to that heavy and bitter censure which was hatched and brought out, as his servants and others could tell, before my cause came to trial. But to his conclusion he added an apology for his presence and assistance in this great service, where he confessed that, by canon-law, no ecclesiastical person ought to be present or assist in such a judicature where there is loss of life or member. 'But,' said he, [and the style is evidently Laud's] 'to take away the ear is not the loss of hearing, and so no member lost: neither is the slitting of the nose loss of smelling, and so no member lost: so for burning the face, or whipping, no loss of life or member. And, therefore, he concluded he might assent to the Censure.' I have set down his own words as they were related unto me." p. 65. Well might Leighton call him, in p. 67. 'the μακρόχρηλος, or great and angry Bishop indeed, with a dangerous sting!' In the next page he writes, "I have heard that the Lord Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafford, used many violent and virulent expressions against me; but it was no wonder, for he and his ghostly father, the Prelate, were upon the way of a more dangerous conjunction; the ill effects whereof the three kingdoms have felt, and when they shall have an end, the Lord only knoweth. A man of eminent quality told me that the book, and my sufferings, did occasion their combination; for the Prelate seeing that the book struck at the root and branch of the hierarchy, and Strafford [having] perceived that the support and defence of the hierarchy would make him great, they struck a league, like sun and moon, to govern day and night, Religion and State. And, if others should be terrified by my dreadful sufferings, then they might trample on their estates, their necks, bodies, and souls, and make them the most artificial slaves under the sun—which are worse than natural slaves,—but if any should stand up for the Truth, they meant so exquisitely to torture them, as they did indeed, that all that feared the Lord—though to their great woe and grief—should quit the land, and give [up] all for lost; and this, they had brought to a high pitch, but blessed be the Lord of Hosts, who hath cut their cords [Psal. cxxix. 4] and delivered poor souls from the snare of the hunter." "The Censure was," he writes, p. 77, "to cut my ears, to slit my nose, to brand me in the face, to whip me at a post, to stand in the pillory; ten thousand pounds fine, and perpetual imprisonment. And all these upon a dying man, by appearance.—Instant morientibus ursæ. The Censure thus past, the Prelate off with his cap, and holding up his hands, gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies.—O curva in terris anima!" In his Petition to Parliament, Leighton tells them, *sup.* p. 89, "Nothing

CHAP. XXIX.

THE CLERGY, AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.—BURTON.—CLARENDON.—
 PRYNNE, BASTWICK, AND BURTON.—BOOK OF SPORTS REVIVED.—
 CANNE.

HUME begins his relation of the proceedings of the year 1631 with a paragraph, the first part of which condemns the latter: he says, "In order to gratify the Clergy with a magnificent fabric, subscriptions were set on foot, for repairing and rebuilding St. Paul's;" and, "it

would serve Dr. Laud but the highest Censure that was [then] past in that Court." And he adds, that he was apprehended "on the 17th of February, 1629, gone ten years." The 26th of November, he proceeds, "Your Petitioner's hands being tied to a stake, besides all other torments he received thirty-six stripes with a terrible cord. After which he stood almost two hours on the pillory, in cold, frost, and snow, and suffered the rest, as cutting off the ear, firing the face, and slitting the nose; so that he was made a theatre of misery, to men and angels!" Laud mentions some of these inflictions, drily, in his Diary! "Returning to the gaol, after much harsh and cruel usage for the space of eight years, paying more for a chamber than thrice the worth of it—having not a bit of bread, nor drop of water allowed: . . . divers contrivances were laid for taking away your petitioner's life, as shall manifestly appear. . . . To enumerate the rest of your petitioner's heavy pressures would take up a volume; with which he will not burden your Honours till further opportunity. . . . Eleven years, not suffered to breathe in the open air. To which, give him leave to add his great sufferings in all those particulars some sixteen years ago, for publishing a book called 'The Looking-glass of Holy War.' . . . Now in the 72nd year [of his age.]" P. 90. With the design of extenuating this particular enormity of the "wise and holy" Prelate, who became at length virtually "pontiff-and-prince"—see back, p. 397, Professor Le Bas, his latest biographer, writes, p. 142, "It is a remarkable circumstance, that this enormity was never laid to the charge of Laud, in the days when heaven and earth were ransacked for matter of impeachment against him." Suffice it then, that it is recorded in the Commons' Journal, April 21st, 1641, besides six other articles, "Resolved. 4. That the Archbishop of Cant. then Bishop of London, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. Leighton, for his damages sustained by fifteen weeks' imprisonment in Newgate, upon the said Bishop's Warrant.—8. That Dr. Leighton ought to have good reparation and satisfaction for his great sufferings and damages sustained by the *illegal* sentence in the Star Chamber." And, June 11th it was ordered, "That he be restored to the practice of physic as formerly." His fine was remitted, and the following year he was made keeper of Lambeth House; so even Laud calls it, in his Diary, Nov. 24th, 1642. Edit. 1694. p. 65. We must not pass over the slur annexed to this fact by the Laudean, who penned as follows, "By way of compensation for his sufferings, he was made keeper of Lambeth Palace, then converted into Lambeth jail!" The Professor could not have suffered so complete a lapse of historical recollection, as to have forgotten entirely the notoriety which will ever attach to that "jail" in Lambeth. Witness the Lollard's tower, and the rings, or chains, with other relics of a once indomitable hierarchy! In this "House," Leighton died, but not without leaving on record, in his Epitome, p. 92, "My wrongs were recognized and adjudged, my cause cleared and justified; and that by so noble, judicious, just, and impartial a Committee as any State could afford. The inquiry was exact, the examination punctual, the censure just, the report entirely faithful, the order of the Honourable House answerable to the premises, and the transmission to the Lords very just and equal. Lastly, They caused the Warden of the Fleet, with much ado, to deliver up my bail-[bond]; so that after twelve years' hard imprisonment, I was delivered out of the 'pit' wherein 'there was no water.'"

must be remembered, that the Puritans were extremely averse from the raising of this ornament to the capital." But what, we ask, had Heylyn said upon this matter? Citing the author of a *History of King Charles*,^a to show that he had affirmed, that "many had no fancy to the work" because Laud "promoted it;" this Archbishop's panegyrist affirms that, "on the contrary, it is known that, had not he promoted it, there were not many would have had the fancy to a work of that nature: some men, in hope of favour and preferment from him; others, to hold fair quarter with him; and not a few, for fear of incurring his displeasure; contributing more largely to it than they had done otherwise; if otherwise, they had contributed at all!"^b This should seem to imply that others, esteemed more conformable than Puritans, had also an aversion from Laud's project, though they might not so loudly have "inveighed against it."^c

As we took occasion, in a former chapter,^d to comment upon a treatise subservient to the right understanding of an important incident in the Episcopal Church; and, to show from another production of the same author's the peculiar bent and drift of his mind; which pieces emanated from him whose personal character and conduct are peculiarly involved in the christian cause and denomination we espouse; so, another opportunity being afforded for communicating some further insight into his mind and temperament previously to becoming a vindicator of those Churches on whose best interests we are no less intent than was he, attention is required accordingly to be bestowed upon "*The Law and the Gospel reconciled: Or, The Evangelical Faith, and the Moral Law, How they stand together in the State of Grace. A treatise, Showing the perpetual use of the Moral Law, under the Gospel, to Believers: In answer to a Letter written, by an Antinomian, to a faithful Christian. Also, How the Morality of the Fourth Commandment is continued in the Lord's-day,—proved the Christian Sabbath, by Divine Institution. [With] a brief Catalogue of the Antinomian Doctrines. By Henry Burton. 1 Tim. i. 5. Lond. 1631.*" 4to. pp. 70.

This his "old Servant" tells "The High and Mighty Prince, Charles," in a Dedication couched in terms as respectful and loyal as his Majesty could have desired, that "These lawless Antinomians, enemies to God, to Kings and States, would rob Christian Kings of this blessed Book of God's Law, that so, if they could strip them of the grace and fear of God in their hearts, letting loose the reins of all honesty and conscience, they might usurp a government after the lust of man, not after the love of God; and so precipitate inevitable ruin to princes and commonweals. For, take away God's law, and what law of man can bind the conscience, either in point of obeying or of commanding?"

In the treatise, Burton writes, "The occasion of our taking this task upon us is this, There is a new sprung-up opinion, which, not only in this city, but in some parts of the country, spreading like a cancer or gangrene, hath infected many; poisoning them with such a schismatical spirit; and not only alienating their minds from, but

^a "By H. L." [H. L'Estrange.] ^b P. 221. ^c Ib. p. 222. ^d Chap. xxvii.

opening their mouths against our Congregations and Ministers; so as they scoff, and scandalize even the soundest and sincerest preaching of the Word of God. . . If Ministers preach and press the duties of Sanctification, these Antinomians jeer at them; yea, and rail on them, to their very faces; calling them 'Anabaptists,' and telling them that they preach the 'dead faith,' and that 'such goodly doctrines are good for nothing but to carry men to hell!' And for my part, I should not have believed there had been such mouths of blasphemy in the world, had not my ears been witnesses of them. And for a further proof hereof, to make it evident to others also—besides other writings which the ringleaders of this Antinomian or lawless sect of Belial convey and scatter among their disciples—a Letter, written with the chief Ring-leader's own hand, for *ex ungue leonem*, but consigned or subscribed with the name of one of his prime she-disciples, and sent to one Mr. T., may suffice to manifest their virulent spirits to all the world."^a

"But now," he says, "it being brought to the upshot, whether he or we have 'the true living faith;' he must permit us perforce—we bringing our warrant from God—to make a privy search, and to rifle his cabinet, to see whether he have this pearl of the kingdom; yea, or no. Nor are we engaged to do this, in regard only of our faith towards God, as we are Christians; but also of our fidelity and loyalty to our King, the Lord's anointed, as we are subjects: forasmuch as he challengeth all men, that he that will be a loyal Subject to his Protestant King, ought to embrace this doctrine of faith; which he only, the *A-per-se* Doctor,^b doth teach."^c The mode of the allusion to the King, in this passage, will have attracted the attentive reader's notice. The next paragraph exhibits a fair sample of Burton's orthodoxy, while it shows what was his "adversary's" position regarding it.

"Wherein then," asks Burton, "is the main difference between us, that makes his the only 'true lively justifying faith,' and ours the blind, zealous, dead faith? Surely in this, that his faith is so 'lively,' active, vigorous and potent, perfect and complete, that of itself it produceth all the fruits of Sanctification without having anything to do with the Word of God—especially the moral law—as a rule of our actions, or as a glass of our imperfections! Whenas we, on the other side, acknowledge that our faith, at the best estate during this life, is not so perfect and everyway complete but [that], as a lamp, it needeth the continual supply of the holy oil of God's Spirit of grace, to cause it to flame forth the more in the works of Sanctification; which grace of the Spirit is ministered and applied unto us by the Ministry of the Word of God, as the oil-pipe through which it runneth. And, forasmuch as in the state of grace and faith 'we know but in part, and prophesy in part;' and, consequently, our faith is imperfect, being mingled with much ignorance; therefore we have need of the moral law, whereof both the Old and New Testament are a large commentary, both as a rule whereby to frame our thoughts, words, and works, and also as a glass wherein, looking [at] the face of our souls and

^a P. 3.^b Tobias Crisp, D.D.^c P. 19.

beholding our specks and imperfections, we may get them washed in the fountain of Christ's blood, and may 'make straight paths' unto our 'feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way; but rather that it be healed.'^a This is that 'perfect law of liberty' wherein whoso looketh and continueth therein, 'he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.'^b This is that 'glass' wherein we 'beholding the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.'^c So far are we, from holding a state of 'perfection of faith' in this life; as though our faith could do all things of itself, and did not need a daily supply of grace, which must be procured by the Word of God, either preached or read, or meditated and conferred upon; and that also by the means of prayer,—'Lord, increase our faith.'^d But this our Adversary, shuts out the law quite, as out of date to a true believer; and of no use at all, not so much as to be a rule of life and conversation: his 'lively faith' doth all, and hath no need of the Word of God to direct or assist it!'^e

Concerning the authority of Governors to legislate upon the observation of the Sabbath, or Lord's day, Burton states an objection raised, "That 'the Lord's day, hath no Divine institution; but merely a human and ecclesiastical: for, else, how came it to be instituted by Constantine the Great, who made a law and prescribed limits for the keeping of it? The like, also, did other emperors, princes, and states; councils and synods; in several ages.'" Hereupon, he maintains that it is no good argument, "That because pious princes make laws for the keeping of the Lord's day, therefore it is not of Divine institution. For so, good princes make laws against adultery, &c.: therefore the forbidding of these sins—is it not of Divine institution? King Darius makes a decree, that in every nation of his kingdom 'men tremble before the God of Daniel,' &c.; therefore, is not this law, of Divine institution, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve?' And, because Tiberius Cæsar would have the Roman Senate pass a decree for the deifying of Christ, or ranking him among their gods; therefore, Christ was not God!" But it became Christian princes,—when they saw how subject the Lord's day was to be profaned with all licentiousness, and how prone carnal men were to leap over all the banks and bounds which God had set to keep them in,—to help to make up the breaches again, and to strengthen the Divine ordinance by their human and penal constitutions; as we see our noble Kings of England have done: by name, our pious King Charles, whose reign hath been honoured with a religious law,^f for the better keeping of the Lord's day."^h

While, as we have seen, Burton would uphold what he deemed the just authority of Governors, he finds occasion, elsewhere, to show wherein they may exceed the limits of their jurisdictions. "'But,' say they, 'the Son of God hath commanded all Christians to hear the

^a Heb. xii. 13.

^b Jas. i. 25.

^c 2 Cor. iii. 18.

^d Luke xvii. 5.

^e P. 20.

^f "Ergo, nisi homini placuerit, Deus non erit Deus." *Tert.*

^g 1 Car. I. cap. 1. an. 1625.

^h P. 55.

Church ; not to despise her canons, nor Princes' edicts.' True : but is Christ's command absolute and without limitation ; namely, to obey Superiors *actively*, whatsoever they command ; right or wrong, for or against God ? What ! if the canons of the Church do, by man's traditions, disannul the commandment of God ; as of old, the Jewish synagogue ; and, of later times, the Romish ;—are such canons to be obeyed against God's express commandment ? If the Pharisees and Chief Priests make a canon to punish with excommunication, or suspension, those that shall confess Christ, or profess or preach his truth and faith freely and faithfully ; is it not disobedience to God, herein to obey them ; and, through slavish fear, rather to renounce Christ, than not submit to such wicked canons ? The Jews' 'corban' freed children from honouring their parents : do not they, as well, make void God's commandment, who, in binding servants to obey their masters' commanding, against God's commandment, do thereby free them from God's commandment ? And, for Princes' edicts, we all reverence and willingly embrace and obey them : but, without limitation ? What ! if they command against God ? What ! if they shall forbid, by public edict, the free Preaching of the Word of God in any part of it,—as, such and such points not to be handled ! such and such heresies not to be meddled with by way of confutation !—are we not to answer, in such a case, as the Apostle did, 'Whether it be meet in the sight of God, to obey you rather than God, judge ye : for we cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard ?'^a And Peter tells the Rulers, boldly and plainly, 'We ought rather to obey God than men !'^b What ! because Nebuchadnezzar erected his 'image,' and commanded all to 'worship' it ; and forbad to pray to any God, but to the King only, for 'thirty days ;'^c must this edict therefore be obeyed ? No, surely ! And why ! because it was against God ; and therefore it ought to have been of no force to exact obedience of any. But, 'what !' will you say, 'must we be rebels in disobeying our Superiors ?' No. It is one thing, not to obey ; and another, to be rebellious : Superiors ought not to be obeyed, if they command against God. Yet this is no rebellion—where men are ready to yield *passive obedience* to their unjust cruelty, by not resisting it ; though they detest, and deny active obedience, to their unjust commands. Thus Daniel ; thus the three children did : the one, desirous rather to be cast into the lions' den ; the other, into the hot fiery furnace ; than to dishonour God, by bowing to the King's 'image.' Thus all God's true-bred children have, and will do. They neither dare obey unjust commands, contrary to God's Word and a good conscience ; nor yet rebelliously resist unjust punishments : in both which, they 'obey' God. But enough of this point, at least in this place, where we have, as it were by the way, occasionally, met with it ; not purposely minded thoroughly to handle it, but only as a branch of that morality of the Law of God, the whole bulk and body whereof is hewed at by the Antinomians."^d

Having introduced into our narrative the early sentiments of Burton upon at least one weighty topic ; we turn to remark upon an incident

^a Acts iv. 19, 20.

^b Acts v. 29.

^c Dan. iii. vi.

^d P. 61—63.

which occurred in the year 1632, treacherously increased in importance, from the relator assigning the motive which produced it; and which, moreover, was pregnant with such results that we could not pass it without observation. We are told that Laud "preferred" Dr. Juxon to the Clerkship of the Closet, and "recommended" him to his Majesty for the Deanery of Worcester, "to the end that he might have some trusty friend to be near his Majesty whensoever he was forced, by sickness, or any other necessary occasion, to absent himself: so that Windebank having the King's ear on the one side; and the Clerk of the Closet, on the other: he might presume to have his tale well told between them; and that his Majesty should not easily be possessed with any thing to his disadvantage."^a Thus do we find the unfortunate Charles ever in a pitiable state of thralldom: first, to his favourite, Buckingham; next, to his own excessive uxoriousness; and, now, to these aspiring ecclesiastics and their dependants. Shall we err, if we attribute his misgovernment and his misfortunes mainly to the malign influences of these usurping oligarchs?

We cannot but avail ourselves again of Lord Clarendon's testimony concerning the most potent of the Churchmen that had helped to hurry on the destinies of our country to the crisis so long foreseen by more apparently considerate, and certainly less biassed, observers. The Duke of Buckingham, his lordship remarks, "had observed and discovered that the channel in which the Church promotions had formerly run, had been liable to some corruptions, at least to many reproaches, and therefore had committed the *sole* representation of those affairs, and the recommending to the vacancies which should happen, to Dr. Laud, then bishop of Bath and Wells, and sworn of the privy council. And the king, after the duke's death, continued that trust in the same hands, infinitely to the benefit and honour of the Church, though, it may be, no less to the prejudice of the poor bishop; who, too secure in a good conscience, and most sincere, worthy intention—with which, no man was ever more plentifully replenished—thought he could manage and discharge the place and office of the greatest minister in the Court,—for he was quickly made archbishop of Canterbury,—without the least condescension to the arts and stratagems of the Court, and without any other friendship or support than what the splendour of a pious life, and his unpolished integrity would reconcile to him; which was an unskilful measure, in a licentious age, and may deceive a good man in the best of times that shall succeed, which exposed him to such a torrent of adversity and misery as we shall have too natural an occasion to lament."^b

So much sympathy did Clarendon manifest towards Laud, who, when he had arrived at the ultimatum of his translations from bishoprics to the primacy, and had "prospered at the rate of his own wishes,"^c so quickly asserted the full measure of his authority, that it is no wonder if he were surprised by the fatal consequences! "He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that 'Classis' of men; and as soon as it was in his power he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase

^a Heylyn, p. 227.

^b Clar. vol. i. p. 65.

^c *Id.* p. 90.

of that faction. . . But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the king being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer for, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases which he saw would grow apace. In the end of September of the year 1633, he was invested in the title, power, and jurisdiction of archbishop of Canterbury, and entirely in possession of the revenue thereof; without a rival in Church or State: that is, no man professed to oppose his greatness; and he had never interposed or appeared in matters of State to this time. . . It was now a time of great ease and tranquillity. . . The Church was not repined at, nor [was there] the least inclination to alter the government and discipline thereof, or to change the doctrine. Nor was there, at that time, any considerable number of persons of any valuable condition throughout the kingdom, who did wish either; and the Cause of so prodigious a change, in so few years after, was too visible from the effects. The archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the king's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition, and that he should need no other assistance."^a

"He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and, thereupon, called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or the power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were, every day, cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment. And, as the shame, which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people, was never forgotten, but watched for revenge; so the fines imposed there were the more questioned and repined against because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing of St. Paul's Church, and thought, therefore, to be the more severely imposed and the less compassionately reduced and excused. Which, likewise, made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star-Chamber more felt and murmured against, and sharpened many men's humours against the bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the Church!"^b

Enough has surely been taken from "The History of the Rebellion" to prevent the necessity of resorting to other authorities to produce an exhibition of the progress of events falsely and maliciously ascribed solely to instruments concerned in a different order of results. The interest which belongs, however, specially to the particular purpose for which our labours are bestowed, derived from the following passage,

^a *Ib.* p. 91, 92.

^b *Ib.* p. 94.—Dr. Warner remarks, in his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, 1759, vol. ii. p. 521, that when Laud reached the Primacy, "The breach was drove on by this Prelate with an irresistible fury, till it ended in his own and the destruction of the King, and the Church of England."

will justify its transplantation into these pages: "There were three persons most notorious for their declared malice against the government of the Church by bishops, in their books and writings; which they had published to corrupt the people, with circumstances very scandalous, and in language very scurrilous and impudent, which all men thought deserved very exemplary punishment. They were of the three Professions which had the most influence upon the people; a divine, a common-lawyer, and a doctor of physic; none of them of interest or any esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, having been, formerly, all looked upon under characters of reproach. Yet, when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons,—as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors used to be when they were not able to redeem themselves by any fine for their trespasses, or to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had raised against the good name and reputation of others,—men begun no more to consider their manners, but the men; and each Profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education, and degrees, and quality, would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come."^a

The preceding paragraph, so well calculated to re-incite curiosity, after what has been stated concerning Leighton, and to stimulate investigation, where the particulars are not previously known, supplies the purpose of an introduction to that fuller relation which is commenced at this place. It is only further premised, that the stories of these three "signal rogues" being but as unities combined in producing the complete drama, he who will appear most prominent in our representation does so only from the accident, thus considered, of his being the most entirely our own. He is here, as it were, our theme; the others are auxiliary to its proper illustration. The several acts and scenes will be derived, principally, from a volume compiled by some common friend of the heroes of the piece, bearing this prolix title, "A New Discovery of the Prelates' Tyranny, in their late Persecutions of Mr. William Prynne, an eminent Lawyer; Dr. John Bastwick, a learned Physician; and Mr. Henry Burton, a reverend Divine. Wherein, the separate and joint Proceedings against them, in the High Commission, and Star-Chamber; their Petitions, Speeches, Carriages, at the Hearing and Execution of their last Sentence; and the Orders, Letters for, and Manner of their Removes to, and close Imprisonments in, the Castles of Launceston, Lancaster, Carnarvon, and Isles of Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey: The Proceedings against the Chestermen and others, before the Lords and High Commissioners at York, for visiting Mr. Prynne: The Bishop of Chester's Order for Ministers to preach against Mr. Prynne; and the York Commissioners' Decree to deface and burn his Pictures at Chester High-Cross:—The House of Commons' Order for, and Manner of their Returns from Exile: Their Petitions to the Parliament; the Votes of the Commons-House

^a *Ib.* p. 94.

upon the Report of their Cases, declaring the Proceedings and Censures against them Illegal, Groundless, and against the Subjects' Liberty; with Mr. Prynne's Argument, Proving all the parts of his Censures, with the Proceedings against Him and his Chester Friends, at York, to be against Law;—Are Truly Related, for the Benefit of the Present Age, and of Posterity.—'Qui aliquid statuerit parte inaudita altera, licet rectè statuerit haud æquus est iudex.' Seneca, Medea.—Psal. xciv. 20—23.—Lond. 1641." 4to. pp. 226. With portraits of the sufferers.*

The prefatory matter might be entirely passed over but for the impression it communicates of the sentiments of its writer, and perhaps of other individuals, if not of large bodies, nearest to the time of the transactions of this "tragical history." The "courteous reader" is thus reminded of the "three eminent persons of the three most noble professions in the kingdom; divinity, law, physic; all suffering together on the Pillory—much honoured by them, and they by it,—and losing all their ears at once, to make themselves hear better, and the Prelates worse. 'Qui malè facit, malè audit.' Such 'a spectacle,' both to men and angels,^b no age ever saw before, and posterity is never likely to behold hereafter. To hear of *Lord* Bishops metamorphosed into 'ravenous wolves'^c is no novelty; they have been thus in every age, and will be so while they have continuance. But to see them mounted to such an altitude of authority and tyranny as to crucify divinity, law, and physic on the Pillory, together; and to make Judges, Peers, and Courts of Justice, if not Sovereignty itself, the Executioners of their malice, cruelty, and private revenge,^d by such extravagant and untrodden courses as were unknown to our ancestors, is such a prodigious innovation as neither Africa nor England ever beheld the like; and never had been brought forth into the world, had not a venomous Archprelate proved a father to engender, a mother to foster, a midwife to produce and bring it to its birth! But, alas, poor silly politician! while he sought these Innocents' ruin by those unwarrantable practices, he laid but the foundation of his own overthrow. . . Let all stand admiring God's justice upon him, and his admirable providence and mercy in preserving, delivering, and acquitting them from his unjust censures; and that in the highest Court of Justice, without one negative voice! The manifestation of this . . . was the chief end of publishing this Discovery, whereby to daunt all graceless persecutors, and cheer the souls of all sincere professors."

The first presented for notice, is Prynne. Hume represents him correctly as "a great hero among the Puritans; and it was chiefly with a view of mortifying that sect, that, though of an honourable profession,

* Incorporated in this New Discovery, and with additions, is "A Brief Relation, of Certain Special and most material Passages and Speeches, in the Star Chamber; Occasioned and Delivered the 14th of June, 1637, at the Censure of those Three worthy Gentlemen, Dr. Bastwick, Mr. Burton, and Mr. Prynne, as it was faithfully gathered from their own Mouths,—By one present at the said Censure." First printed in 1637, 4to. pp. 30.

^b 1 Cor. iv. 19.

^c Acts xx. 29. Matt. vii. 15.

^d Fox, Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 526.

he was condemned by the Star-Chamber to so ignominious a punishment."^a What the admirers of Laud and his minions feel under such an admission from such an advocate, we leave them secretly to enjoy; but we cannot withhold Hume's attempted extenuation, where he says, "The severity of the Star-Chamber, which was ascribed to Laud's passionate disposition, was, perhaps, in itself somewhat blamable[!] but will naturally to us 'appear enormous, who enjoy, in the utmost latitude, that liberty of the press which is esteemed so necessary in every monarchy confined by strict legal limitations. But as these limitations were not regularly fixed during the age of Charles, nor at any time before; so was this liberty totally unknown, and was generally deemed, as well as religious toleration, incompatible with all good government. No age or nation, among the moderns, had ever set an example of such an indulgence: and it seems unreasonable to judge of the measures embraced during one period, by the maxims which prevail in another.'"^b

The representation about to be given includes what will bring to the test the philosophy of its being styled "in itself somewhat blamable!" It is not requisite, we accord, that a parallel should be drawn between those times and later; nor to put "the measures of former times," with "the maxims" of ours, into the same crucible, that the alloy of both might be appreciated. The broad and sound principles of reason and equity are pure and incontrovertible; they are the same in every age and under all circumstances, and ever capable of being duly estimated; for the law which enjoins to do as we would be done unto, is coeval with nature herself; and the eternal maxim which prohibits revenge is above times and seasons: "Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgment: thou shalt not respect the person of the poor, nor honour the person of the mighty: but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour."^c The art of printing, and increased intelligence, had, long before this era of Laud and Charles, brought, and was still bringing governments and societies, in all their grades, under conditions which placed chiefs and rulers at a diminished distance from the ruled; incalculably nearer than when cloistered learning arrogated all the credit of wisdom and superiority, and when unlettered prescience could be repressed by mere authority. Who shall, then, be the competent apologist of enormous severities inflicted against the spreading light of reason, and the increased bounties of Providence? "Finis coronat opus!"

Prynne published, "about Christide, 1632,"^d a bulky volume of a thousand and six pages, quarto, intituled "Histrio-Mastix: The Player's Scourge, or the Actor's Tragedy: in two Parts. Wherein it is largely evidenced by divers Arguments, that Popular Stage Plays are sinful, heathenish, lewd, ungodly Spectacles.—Lond. 1633." It had been licensed for the Press, "near two years before," by the domestic chaplain of Archbishop Abbot, but had, as it happened, appeared, scarcely "some six weeks," before her most *Sacred Majesty*^e

^a Chas. I. an. 1633.

^b Ibid. an. 1637.

^c Levit. xix. 15.

^d New Discovery, p. 7.

^e "Candlemas Term brings him, at last unto his trial in the Court of Star

condescended to perform in a Pastoral, at Somerset House. Advantage was endeavoured to be taken of this seeming coincidence to prejudice both their Majesties against the author, who had rendered himself, previously, obnoxious to the new Archbishop by publishing against his Arminianism and some other innovations.^a Passages were carefully selected, and distorted into a direct and personal application to the Queen; but evidence that Prynne's book was approved and licensed by Buckner before her Majesty's "personating of this Pastoral," being incontrovertible, the mischievous attempt did not then take "effect to work his restraint."

Failing in his first effort, another project is stated to have been commenced by Laud, who, remembering what discomfitures he had sustained, on other occasions, through Prynne's "prohibitions," obtained against him in the Court of High Commission, by "the king's temporal Courts at Westminster;" and imagining that a work so large and miscellaneous must contain words and matter equivocal and unguarded, the Archbishop set his own chaplain to make the requisite researches: an occupation Heylyn the more eagerly engaged in from the consideration of being himself attacked and "refuted in that book,"^b in a point concerning Saint George.^c The chaplain lost no time in producing a Collection^d "digested into seven heads, with his own malicious inferences upon them."^e The Prelate "thus furnished by his minion, takes Mr. Prynne's book, and these Collections, and repairth with them, on the second Lord's-day-morning in Candlemas terin, 1632-3, to Lincoln's Inn, to Master Noy, then king's attorney-general." Noy had read the book itself twice, and had even placed a presentation copy from Prynne in the Library of that Inn; and he is said to have protested that he did not see any thing in it "censurable in the Star-Chamber, or any other Court of Judicature:" yet being "commanded, he must obey," and Prynne was summoned into the

Chamber, being first pre-condemned by the gentlemen of his own profession, and afterwards sentenced by that Court. The gentlemen [lawyers] of the Four Societies presented their Majesties with a pompous and magnificent Masque, to let them see that Prynne's leaven had not soured them all. . . . They gave such contentment to his *Sacred Majesty*, that he desired them to make a representation of it to the city of London; which they accordingly performed."—"The Earl of Dorset, being lord-chamberlain to the queen, aggravated his [Prynne's] offence in aspersing [as was alleged] with such foul reproaches a lady of such eminent virtue, and exemplary piety, that her very dreams were more in heaven than most women's prayers!" Heylyn, p. 264.

^a "Anti-Arminianism: or, The Church of England's Old Antithesis to new Arminianism. 1629."—2nd Ed. 1630. 4to.—"God no Impostor nor Deluder: or, An Answer to a Popish and Arminian Cavil, in Defence of Free Will and Universal Grace. 1630." 4to. ^b P. 671—678.

^c "History of that most famous Saint and Soldier of Jesus Christ, Saint George of Cappadocia, &c. By P. Heylyn. 1631." 4to. "who had gained some reputation for his studies in the ancient writers by asserting the history of St. George maliciously impugned by those of the Calvinian party, upon all occasions" *Life of Laud*, p. 296.

^d "Being, for the most part, the words of other approved authors." *New Discov.* p. 11.

^e *Ibid.* p. 8.—And see Heylyn, p. 230, where he writes, "The Collector received a further order to review his notes, and deduct out of them such logical inferences and conclusions as might, and did, naturally arise on those dangerous premises."

Inner-Star-Chamber, and committed to the Tower,* in the custody of four of the king's guards, by a general warrant, without any cause of commitment specified, but forbidding "free access to him;" dated February 1, 1632-3, with ten signatures, Laud's being the sixth.

Prynne was in durance eight years; it was a whole year before he underwent the form of a trial, when judgment was pronounced against him, in the first instance, of such severity as had scarcely had a precedent in any Christian country, for premeditated cruelty. We proceed, in the interim, with other and not inappropriate matter.

This year was revived, or rather, re-enforced, "The King's Majesty's Declaration to his Subjects, Concerning Lawful Sports." 1633, 4to. pp. 17. It is prefaced thus,—“By the King. Our dear Father, of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from Lawful Recreations upon Sundays after Evening-Prayers ended, and upon Holidays: and he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort who labour hard all the week, should have no Recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after his return, he further saw that his loyal subjects in all other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree; and did therefore in his princely wisdom publish a 'Declaration' to all his loving subjects concerning 'Lawful Sports' to be used at such times, which was printed and published by his royal commandment, in the year 1618.”^b

“Now out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose the Truth, and for the ease and comfort, and recreation, of our well-deserving People, We do ratify and publish this our blessed Father's 'Declaration'; the rather, because of late, in some counties of our kingdom we find that, under pretence of taking away abuses, there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly called Wakes. Now our express will and pleasure is, That these Feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that our Justices of the Peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises, be used. And we further command our Justices of Assize in their several circuits, to see that no man do trouble or molest any of our loyal and dutiful People, in or for their Lawful Recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to us and our laws. And of this we command all our Judges, Justices of the Peace, as well within Liberties as without, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other officers, to take notice, and to see observed, as they tender our displeasure. And we further will, That publication of this our command be made by Order from the Bishops, through all the Parish Churches of their several Dioceses respectively.—Given at our Palace at Westminster, 18th of October, in the 9th year of our reign.”

Whether to screen his patron, or being blinded by obtuseness, Heylyn makes this the King's own deed: “He gave order to the Archbishop of Canterbury to cause the same to be reprinted, word

* He had two removals to the Fleet Prison, “for a short space.” See his *Mount Olivet*, p. iv.

^b See back, p. 353.

for word."^a And to make it still less equivocal, he adds, "His Majesty had scarce dried his pen, when he dipped it in ink again,"^b Nov. 3rd, about the removing of the Communion-table in St. Gregory's Church, "from the middle of the chancel to the upper end, and there placed *Altar-wise*."^c These and the like particulars, merit special notice, because they display a determination to implicate the King, the Head of the Church, who should hence seem to be the originator as well as sustainer of such causes of disaffection. Here, however, are exposed the cowardice and ingratitude of the faction; ill contrasted with the chivalrous spirit of Charles, of whom Milton writes, "The worst of misdemeanours committed by the worst of all his favourites in the height of their dominion, whether acts of rigour or remissness, he bath from time to time continued, owned, and taken upon himself by public Declarations, as often as the Clergy, or any other of his instruments, felt themselves overburdened with the people's hatred. And who knows not the superstitious rigour of his Sunday's chapel, and the licentious remissness of his Sunday's theatre; accompanied with that reverend statute for dominical jigs and maypoles, published in his own name, and derived from the example of his father James? Which testifies all that rigour in superstition, all that remissness in religion, to have issued out originally from his own house, and from his own authority. Much rather, then, may those general miscarriages in State, his proper sphere, be imputed to no other person chiefly than to himself. And which of all those oppressive acts, or impositions, did he ever disclaim or disavow, till the fatal awe of this parliament hung ominously over him?"^d

A name comes regularly before us at this place, which has once been mentioned,^e and where it would appear that Robinson knew there was something peculiar attaching to it. Great obscurity hangs about the personal history of Canne; and in what position to place him rightly, is a difficulty. He is reputed to have succeeded Ainsworth, but the connexion, if it existed in the capacity of pastor, was soon dissolved. There were ingredients in his mental composition, which could not be acceptable to a people trained as many of them had been. If his judgment were not so solid as Ainsworth's, his fervour was greater; and since he finished his course among antipædobaptists and fifth-monarchy-men, the changes in his sentiments add to the confusion in the accounts of him. A careful collector has recorded, that "Mr. Canne was a baptist, but did not make adult baptism a necessary prerequisite to church-communion."^f That his connexion with Ainsworth's people was transient, we gather from Cotton, who, alluding to Baillie's assertion, that Ainsworth's company, after "his death, remained long without all officers,"^g says, "There be sundry living that knew the

^a Life of Laud, p. 258.

^b *Ibid.* p. 259.

^c "Few measures were more unpopular than this enforced conformity about the position of the Lord's Table; and when Laud first introduced the alteration in Gloucester Cathedral, on being appointed Dean, his Diocesan, the memorable and learned Miles Smith, never entered the Church afterwards." Life of Bishop Davenant, by Allport; before that Bishop's Exposition of Colossians. Ed. 1831. 8vo. Vol I. p. xl.

^d Iconoclastes, 1649. ch. i.

^e See back, p. 451.

^f Thompson's MS. Collections quoted in Ivimey, vol. ii. p. 523. Crosby doubted, vol. iii. p. 38. See Ivimey, vol. i. p. 157.

^g Dissuasive, 1646. p. 201.

contrary: for when he died, he left two elders over the church, Mr. de la Cluse, and Mr. May."^a Paget gives another turn to things, by representing a schism to have occurred "shortly;" one side to have adhered to Cluse, and the other to Canne:^b whence might arise two distinct congregations; and whether or not, Canne settled in another locality, he assumed to be "pastor of the ancient English church, in Amsterdam."^c There he published a discourse, intituled, "The Way to Peace: or, Good Counsel for it. Preached upon the 15th day of the second Month, 1632[-3], at the Reconciliation of certain Brethren, between whom there had been former Differences." 12mo. We have not seen this piece, but his talents for controversy are manifested in "A Necessity of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Nonconformists' Principles. Specially opposed unto Dr. Ames, his 'Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies,' in the Point of Separation only. Also, Dr. Laiton,^d Mr. Dayrel, and Mr. Bradshaw, are here answered, wherein they have written against us. By John Canne, Pastor of the ancient English Church in Amsterdam. Prov. xxxi. 8, 9. John xiii. 17. 1634." 4to. pp. 264.

It is apparent, in the title, that this treatise is directed against the Puritans, as an *argumentum ad hominem*, and as such, it must be considered eminently successful. The author tells his readers that "perceiving, of late, the general fame which was given forth of Dr. Ames' book,"^e and, namely, his answer to the point between the Nonconformists and us, as that 'it was so learnedly and absolutely done;' that 'it gave all men satisfaction,' the Separatists only excepted; and that 'no man would ever be able to make any sound reply unto it;' I thought it requisite to take a thorough view thereof; which, when I had so done, and saw the slightness of it, to say no worse,—I mean only in the point of 'Separation,' for in other things he hath answered Dr. Burgess fully, and laid him flat on the ground,—I conceived with myself that this common bruit must need arise either from ignorant people, who cannot judge of things which differ, or from such as have men's persons in admiration, and so, like the shadow, will follow them wheresoever they go, be it right or wrong."^f

To bring the two parties to issue, Canne tells the Puritans that they are themselves charged by the "formal Protestants" with maintaining "principles" which are "the direct and plain grounds of separation."^g

^a The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648, pt. i. p. 6.

^b A Defence of Church Government 1641. p. 32.

^c A Necessity, &c., *infra*. Canne copied Johnson in the affix to his name, (see back, p. 309); which would appear to ally him to Johnson's party: and this was, perhaps, the effect of the "Reconciliation," alluded to in "The Way to Peace."

^d Alexander Leighton.

^e "A Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies in God's Worship: or, A Triplication unto Dr. Burgess, his Rejoinder for Dr. Morton's 'Defence' of Three Nocent Ceremonies. 1633." 4to. pp. 751. Pref. p. i.

^f Canne sets down nine authorities; we confine ourselves to the first, Richard Hooker, who asks, "Hath not your longing desire for the practice of your Discipline, brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you—Whether the people and their godly Pastors, that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of Discipline without the license of Civil powers, which license they have sought for, and are not heard?" Eccles. Polity, pref., sect. 8. p. 63. Hanbury's edit.

This, however, he adds, the Puritans have not only denied, "but withal they proclaim themselves the main refuters of the Separatists!" Affirming also, that they "never saw any prelate to confute their opinions any otherwise than by railing words." He declares it to be his purpose "to give here, a sight of most of their weapons, . . . whereby they endeavour to conquer and quell us quite:" these he enumerates under the heads of "vile calumniations, and bitter scoffs; proclaiming us to the world to be Schismatics, Brownists, Donatists, &c." "Raising up many manifest lies and untruths, and gathering together the failings of some particular persons which had walked with us, and casting the same as dung in our faces."^a "Brags and boasts of victory." "Gross contradictions." "Falsifications of our positions; continual begging of questions; large proofs for what was never doubted." "What better," he asks, "should be expected from them, who seek to put out that light again, which hath been, by themselves, chiefly revealed unto many? I know what I say, and have good experience of this thing, for there are not ten of a hundred which separate from the Church of England, but are moved first thereto—I speak of outward means—by the doctrines of the Nonconformists."^b

Canne disclaims, at the end of his Preface, that it is his purpose, here, to "justify their principles;" but rather "our inferences from them;" and, "if any shall deny them to be true," his purpose, he continues, "is to give place to such whom it more nearly concerneth to write in defence thereof."^c

In what he calls a "Manuduction" to his treatise, and again in his first chapter, Canne states the principal point at issue to lie more particularly between Dr. Burgess, who, like many of the Bishops' parasites," he says, "most confidently maintains" that the principles of the "Nonconformists," that is, of the Puritans, lead to "Separation," and that they are consequently acting inconsistently while they "communicate" in the Church of England; and, on the other side, "Dr. Ames," by whom the inference "is utterly denied."

The first of the five chapters composing the entire work, relates to the Ministry generally; and it is made up of four subdivisions or sections, as first, How the "Nonconformists" describe a "true ministry." Here Canne shows from various Puritan authorities, that they maintain five "ordinary offices:" a pastor, or bishop; doctors; governors, or ruling elders; deacons; and widows, or deaconesses. All these offices have powers and limitations, peculiar to themselves, which Canne had also deduced from the like authorities. The second section shows, How far the "ministry of England" differs from the Puritans' description of a "true" ministry. This, too, he draws from "their own testimonies," as that it is "a base ministry, which God never erected in His church; but came wholly from the Pope;"^d and not only is the

^a "The scurrilous libels, published under the names of Lawne, Fowler, Bulward, &c."

^b Pref. p. iii.

^c In the margin, he adds, "yet we believe their principles to be true; and if there be no Nonconformist that will defend them, we will." It will be seen, by and by, that Bull undertook the twofold task of defending the Puritans, and of replying to Canne.

^d Defence of the Godly Ministers against Bridgman, p. 125. And the Admonition to the Parliament, pref., and p. 18, 27, 47.

"calling of the hierarchy, but also 'their dependent offices' are all unlawful and anti-christian."^a Canne admits his accordance with these and similar sentiments, as he had done under the former section, but makes the difference between the Nonconformists and the Separatists to "stand only in practice; for," he says, "they think, as it seems, that a people may communicate lawfully in a 'false' ministry: but our judgment and practice are otherwise;" both which, he undertakes to prove by Scripture, by reasons, and by the testimony of the learned. In the third section, he lays down the inferences and conclusions which he remarks "necessarily follow upon their principles: to wit, that our Separation from their ministry is, by their own grounds, warrantable and holy." To communicate in a "false ministry" is a breach of the second commandment: This is supported by what he calls six "reasons:" and they are followed by what "the Learned generally affirm." He states, early in the fourth section, that he had "good testimony" that Dr. Ames "in his later days would not undertake to justify the standing but only of some ministers in the Land, which were mostly *unconformable*." And near the conclusion, he puts the question, "Have not now the people of the Land good cause to look about them, seeing those who count themselves the 'only men to refute the Separatists' are come to that strait as that they will not justify it to be lawful to join to any ministry in the Land, but to that which a man should not find among them if he sought all their churches 'with candles,' as the prophet speaketh?^b I hope 'God's elect' yet there, will take Solomon's counsel, which is to look 'well' to their going."^c The fifth and last section, the most interesting, perhaps, of the whole, contains replies to eight "objections;" such as "Compassion towards the people, constraineth many preachers to keep their places: for if they should not, alas, what would the people do?"

The second chapter relates, in its first section, to "The outward worship" of the "Assemblies of England." The second section shows what the Puritans represent to be "true divine worship:" the third, how far this divine worship differs, by the Puritans' own confession, from that in the Church of England: in the fourth, Canne argues the lawfulness of Separation, "by the former grounds:" and, in the fifth, he replies to the allegation of Dr. Ames, who, in his controversy with Dr. Burgess, Canne says, was constrained "either to condemn their own chief principles, or to justify Separatists by them; or else to shift off the point and say nothing, or, as the truth is, nothing of it to the purpose."

The subject of the third chapter is Church Government. Here again Canne proceeds by sections: first, he shows how the Nonconformists describe "a right Ecclesiastical Discipline:" to confirm which representation, the Nonconformists, he tells us, allege the testimonies of the Learned, "yea, some of the Prelates' best champions." Dr. Bilson,

^a Sion's Plea. p. 3 And Canne cites Penry's Exhortation to the Government of Wales, p. 42.; but Ball, in his "Answer" to Canne, 1642, p. 136, reminds him that Penry was a "Separatist," and therefore "not to be received for the Nonconformists' principles."

^b Zeph. i. 12.

^c Prov. xiv. 15.

Bishop of Winchester, "saith thus, 'We must not frame what kind of regiment we list for the ministers of Christ's church; but rather observe and mark what manner of external government the Lord hath best liked and allowed in His church from the Beginning.'^a And as this Ecclesiastical power," Canne says, "is common to all churches, and ought to be in all, forasmuch as they are all *independent* bodies, and have privileges alike; so it is confined and bound within the limits only of one particular congregation: and the greatest 'power' ought not to stretch beyond the same, for, in truth, it is a great wickedness for any person or persons to take upon themselves Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over many churches, much more over whole kingdoms and provinces."^b Secondly, he shows how far "the present Ecclesiastical Discipline of England" differs from it. Thirdly, he lays down "responsive conclusions." And, fourthly, he makes answer to Dr. Ames and others.

The fourth chapter concerns "The Church's Visibility." The four sections exhibit, what the "tenets" of the Nonconformists are on this subject: how far they, and the Church of England, differ: "inferences and conclusions;" and, lastly, "objections." In the first section, he laments that the Puritans will not make themselves members of such "true visible churches" as here they have well described. "They pray 'Let thy kingdom come', but how do they think that ever they shall behold the 'beauty' and 'glory' thereof, seeing they resolve not to set their hands unto the raising of it up; but do leave the work wholly to the Magistrate: so that if the arm of flesh will not build a spiritual temple for the Lord, he is likely, for their part, to have none at all. But whether such courses will not prove ill at last, I leave to themselves to think of." Under the second section, Canne writes, Not only are the congregations of the Church of England, said by the Puritans, "to be 'impure, and unholy lumps;' but, which is the depth of misery, they have no means, as they stand, of reformation; for the wholesome remedies appointed by the Lord to keep out unworthy persons, to preserve pure and clean God's ordinances, and to take away offences, are not among them. And here the reader may see what the reason is, that they say 'The walls of Sion lie even with the ground;' and, 'They have not scarce the face of a church:' for if it be as these men report, it is Babel, no Bethel, which they have erected!" His third section, under this chapter, relates to what Canne considers to result from "a strict view of all the churches which the Lord hath constituted since the beginning of the world." He does not doubt but that "in God's sight, the purest congregation on earth might consist, at first, of good and bad; and yet of men, every person to be judged truly faithful and sanctified until any one by his iniquity, outwardly committed, appeared otherwise." He exclaims, "Who dares affirm, that there was one man or woman admitted a member at the constitution of any of these churches,^c which had been known to be

^a Perpet. Government, p. 3.

^b He derives the substance of this passage from "Neces. Discip. p. 7; M. Bates, p. 147; Dioces. Trial, p. 8; Protest. King's Sup. p. 12, 13."

^c "Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, &c." We question if a greater libel were ever written against these apostolic churches than Ball's "Answer" contains, chap. iv. p. 56. "In Corinth, Galatia, and

an ill-liver, and did not first manifest sound repentance thereof?" And he argues the purity of the church, from the type of the "material Temple," in its origin and progress: and infers that "a spiritual house" for the Lord do dwell in, must be composed of "a holy people."^a This he supports first from the reason of the case, and next from the positive inhibitions and incapacities contained in the Scriptures. "The godly and wicked are contraries;^b guided and led by different causes: now two contraries," he remarks, "are not capable of one and the same form."^c Canne winds up this chapter with a series of syllogisms made up of positions derived from "Inconformists and Conformists, where the majors of the latter, and the minors of the former, all conclude for Separation."^d

In entering on Dayrel's "Description of a Visible Church," Canne shows the evils of the laxity practised when admission of members follows on a mere "profession." He writes, "It is very likely this Mr. Dayrel had a great church, seeing he made the door unto it broad and wide." Dayrel having assumed that "If such as both in their life and at their death, served God with the very same worship we do [in England], have, in that worship, been saved; then is the worship we now have, true divine worship;" Canne replies, "If Mr. Bradshaw had found such a reason in Mr. Johnson's writing, he would surely have called him 'idle-head, crack-brained, fool, &c.:' but I leave such terms to men of his intemperate spirit, and do thus answer,—A Papist, Arminian, or Anabaptist, may say as much, and upon as good ground; and who dares deny but many of their religion have found mercy with the Lord; must it therefore follow that their worship is good?" He concludes, "It hath been the constant practice of the godly, to prove their positions by the Scriptures; but it is likely he saw that there was no help for him there, and therefore only makes use of this reasonless reason."^e

Canne grapples with Dayrel's other arguments to prove the Church of England and their parish assemblies "true visible churches;" and he tells Dayrel that "If the Reformed Churches do justify the English, therein they condemn greatly their own practice. For in their constitution, ministry, worship, and government, they are as opposite as light and darkness are to the other: and so much the Nonconformists confess.^f... It is untruly affirmed that 'all the churches of God in the world, do acknowledge the people of England to be a true church:' for there are many which have both professed and proved the contrary."^g

other churches, many were admitted into the society who, in short time, turned aside both in practice and opinion, . . . which is a great presumption they gave no sure testimony of any 'sound' work of grace in their souls when first entertained into fellowship." ^a 1 Pet. ii. 5. ^b Gal. v. 17.

^c Ball meets this, by saying, "and so are hypocrites, and sincere Christians; but they may be linked together in the same outward society." Ans. pt. ii. p. 73. Surely this is an obvious fallacy. He proves it himself indeed, in the next page, where he says, "You know it is a usual distinction, that hypocrites and ungodly men are in the church but not of the church."

^d To these, Ball has no better "Answer" than to show a way to loosen those "knots" by twisting others, *Ib.* p. 81. ^e P. 187, 188.

^f In the First Admonition to the Parliament (1572.)

^g P. 188, 189.—The best answer Ball could give to this, is the qualified admission, that, "In manner of government" the Reformed Churches "differ

"Mr. Dayrel having shown his best skill, wit, and learning, to prove the Jewish assemblies true churches; in his second book," says Canne, "he attempteth to confute the 'Description' which Mr. Barrowe, and the 'Brownists,' as he maliciously names God's people, have laid down 'Of a true Visible church.' And about this point he writes more than a hundred and fifty pages, all the matter whereof, leaving out his battologies and impertinent speeches, might well have been written in six leaves of paper."^b "The thing which we affirm is, that every member of the church ought to be 'holy;' not that they are always so, but should be so, and it is their great fault they are otherwise. And here the reader may observe how greatly he hath mistaken the matter; for whereas Mr. Barrowe, Mr. Ainsworth, and others, do show from the Scriptures, what a 'true church' is, whereof gathered, how every member should walk, and how abuses are to be reformed, &c.; he, either through ignorance, or malice, or both, still inferreth from their writings, that they held 'perfection of churches,' that there can be no 'hypocrite' or 'reprobate' in the church, &c.: things groundlessly collected of [by] him. Of the same nature are the reports which many of them publish daily, in their Sermons and Books; namely, that the main cause of our Separation is because wicked men are suffered in their church. But this is untrue; for howsoever, as I said before, such a Toleration cannot be justified; yet this is not properly the reason, but the Parishes were at first constituted, as now they stand, of the 'members of Antichrist,' to wit, the idolatrous Papists, and all other kind of most notorious sinners. . . This profane multitude, without any profession of faith and repentance, were forced and compelled by human authority in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to be members of their church; and so have continued, they and their seed, ever since. Contrary to the express word of God."^c

"Add hereunto, the knowledge which many of those have that these things are evil. It is the saying of King James, that 'The Puritans are the founders and the fathers of the Brownists; the latter only boldly putting in practice what the former do teach, but dare not perform.'^d For what end he wrote this, I let it pass, but the words, in part, are true. . . Besides, whom do they take for greater enemies than the Separatists? And why? Because, as the King said, these, 'boldly put in practice what they do teach, but dare not perform!' And for this very thing many of us have received most grievous injuries both from their tongues and hands; but the Lord forgive them for it. . . We do not affirm that there can be no 'religious communion but with members of a visible church.' Our profession and practice, daily,

from us; and, they have abolished some rites and ceremonies which we retain as matters 'indifferent,' not as matters of holiness, necessity, or worship,—this is the profession of our [English] church,—but in doctrine, worship, and ministry, for the substance thereof, there is a sweet agreement. And the differences that are betwixt them and us in other matters, they have so learned to tolerate, as neither to condemn their own practice, nor to dis-church us: and the like Christian moderation they receive from us back again." p. 141.

^a See back, p. 28.

^b P. 192.

^c P. 196, 197.

^d Meditation upon the Lord's prayer. p. 15.

are otherwise; yet so that they be such persons, howbeit not in a church-state, yet, to be judged to be 'in the faith' by their gracious and holy walking."^a

The fifth and concluding chapter is "Of Dr. Ames' reference to Bradshaw's Unreasonableness of Separation; and, a Defence of Johnson." This direction of the argument against Ames might have been the result of circumstances arising out of the use made against the Separatists by the "Fresh Suit against Human Ceremonies," written and committed to the press, but not published till after the death of Ames.

Canne felt it incumbent on himself to defend those with whom he was then associated from the censures and misapprehensions of Conformists and Nonconformists. He writes, "I will, according to the measure of knowledge and grace given me, in this chapter make answer unto Mr. Bradshaw's book, that so the godly-minded may judge, whether the Separatists, or he, are most 'unreasonable.'" He propounds, as a principle, "Whosoever means to settle well the conscience, especially in a main point of faith and religion, ought necessarily to bring good 'proofs' from the Scriptures for the thing whereof he speaketh. For otherwise, either men will give no trust unto his words, or if they do, it must be unadvisedly."^b And he fortifies this principle by Dr. Ames, from among other authorities, who says, "We esteem not anything like of a thousand objections fetched from testimonies subject to error, as we would have done of one plain testimony Divine."^c Many of our former pages, containing as they do strictures upon Bradshaw's work, we purposely dispense with much that we might have used from Canne. The first point on which we fix, however, is where he writes, "I marvel why he saith that Mr. Johnson in disdain styleth them [the Puritans] 'forward' preachers;^d for he knew not the other's heart. To my knowledge this is a term commonly given and taken of them acceptably, and in good part."^e In another place Canne writes "He mistakes Mr. Johnson's words; for he doth not say the Prelates are ministers of the 'church assemblies,' but of the 'Church of England.'"^f And he remarks also of Bradshaw, that "Although, in the course of his life, he made show to be a great enemy of the Bishops and their 'traditions;' yet now^g against us, he standeth to maintain the vilest abominations in their churches. Such corruptions as the Nonconformists generally have condemned, he basely here justifieth; and by the same carnal and corrupt reasons which the Prelates use to do; so that his writing is not more against us than against themselves, and therefore it concerneth them as much as us to set forth an answer unto it."^h "It is true, the report goes, that he was not the proper author of it; but another did it, and got him to father it. This may be so; and it is probable enough, notwithstanding Mr. Bradshaw's evil is not the less, if he should suffer any one, as the 'ass' did Balaam, to ride upon him, for to 'curse' the Israel of God."^k

^a P. 205—207.

^b P. 210.

^c Fresh Suit, Pt. ii. p. 351.

^d Bradshaw, p. 1.

^e P. 212.

^f P. 213.

^g Bradshaw had died in 1618.

^h P. 217.

ⁱ Num. xxii. 17.

^k P. 217.—Ball makes no answer to these remarks of Canne, but lets them slip; though, in p. 119, he touches upon their contexts.

"It is reported of a certain Thracian, by name Lycurgus, how, imagining that he was hewing down a vine with his hatchet, he slew his own son and maimed himself.^a Much to this purpose is Mr. Bradshaw's work: for, thinking to refute us, he quite overthrows his Brethren's cause and his own too. And whether this be not 'unreasonable,' let the judicious judge! If Dr. Ames had not boasted of this man's book, I would not have touched it, because I knew the bowels of it could possibly not be opened, but it would cause an ill savour to some, in regard it containeth most vile and unclean matter. But seeing they are neither afraid to publish such stuff to the world, nor ashamed, afterward, to glory of it,^b they must give us leave to return it home to them again, howbeit to their loss and discredit too."^c

"Mr. Bradshaw, in plain terms, casteth his Brethren off;^d and good reason too; for he sees that either he must wholly renounce their 'principles,' or conclude with them that their ministry is unlawful. But he tells us that he is 'not bound to their opinions:' well; neither I think are they to his! And now seeing he and they are thus parted, let us a little consider whose of their 'opinions,' in likelihood, are the truest and best to be embraced. Touching the former, I mean the Nonconformists, to say nothing of their number, zeal, learning, knowledge, sufferings for the truth, &c.; in all which they far exceed him; not only do they affirm their ministry to be false, but, as I have often said, and also showed out of their books, they prove by good arguments the thing to be so. But as for Mr. Bradshaw, he delivers his 'opinion' upon his own word: and if we will not take that, we must have nothing: nay, truly, many times we cannot have his word, for he turns his tale so often, forward and backward, as no man can tell where, when, or how to believe him. For instance, sometime 'all' their ministers are true with him; otherwhile, they which be 'qualified' only, and such as 'duly execute their office.' Thus he is like to one that hath a mad dog by the ear, and knows not whether it be best to hold him or let him go!"^e

Were we to undertake to exhibit all the points in which we find Canne to have successfully discomfited the Puritans, we should not only occupy a greatly disproportionate space, but repeat in substance much that is already stated concerning them. "If," says Canne, "Mr. Bradshaw in judgment came nearest, as it is reported, of all the Nonconformists, to the Separation; surely his soul could have small comfort in this writing, it containing nothing, for the most part, but what is quite contrary to all their sayings elsewhere."^f

Indeed the Puritans were sadly pressed between the Conformists on the one side, and the Separatists on the other. They endured this inconvenience with so ill a grace as to trim between the two parties; but being mostly lured by the national provision, under the sanction of the secular authorities, into those quicksands which deceived them, and against which they struggled, proving themselves incompetent naviga-

^a Apoll. de Orig. Deorum. l. iii.

^b "This is the book which Mr. Paget upbraids us with, in his 'Arrow against Separation,' p. 61." Note in the margin of Canne.

^d "Unreas. of Sep." p. 16, 17.

^e P. 224.

^c P. 223.

^f P. 227.

tors they quitted the helm they had grasped, and finally sunk to rise no more. Their present policy is well described by Canne, in these words :

"There are some merchants who, to put off the false wares which lie upon their hands, will show the buyer a little that is good, and by this means cunningly shift all the rest upon him, and so deceive him. The like subtilty useth Mr. Bradshaw here and after, in his book. That he might persuade the reader to believe that 'all' their ministers and churches are true, he sheweth him some of the best, in hope that under these he shall craftily put all the rest upon him."^a "If," he adds, "they will justify 'all' their ministers and churches, let them say so directly ; if but some few, as in their writings they still intimate, I desire them to speak it out plainly, and not carry the thing so covertly as if they would have the poor people to believe that they meant 'all,' when themselves are persuaded the greatest number are false and antichristian."^b

^a P. 260.

^b In p. 167, we noticed a treatise by W. Bradshaw, dated 1614 : it was reprinted under nearly the same title, but with the addition of the author's name, "deceased," and these words, "Together with a Rejoinder, in defence of the said Answer, against the late Reply of Mr. John Canne, a leader to the company of Brownists in Amsterdam, thereunto : By a Friend of the deceased. 1640." 4to. pp. 149. This Rejoinder is accompanied by a Preface from still another hand, telling us "That as the learned and reverend author of this Rejoinder which follows hath vindicated the worth and honour of his dear friend Master Bradshaw from the weak argumentations and unworthy calumnies of Mr. Canne, so he hath discovered Master Canne to be a mere empty cask, notwithstanding the great sound which he hath made. It is long since, even some years past, that this work hath been ready for the press, and for that end out of the author's hands ; and however for that reason hitherto concealed, yet now thought meet to be published . . . It hath been thought the more seasonable now to print this work in regard of some others, who have lately drawn many good souls into ways of Separation, and are, it seems, looking wistly upon Master Canne's way. It seems he takes it they are of his mind, for whence is it else that he so insults in that book of his called 'A Stay against Straying'—'That now, men are of sounder judgment than to defend either the Church-state, ministry, worship, or government of England, as some professors formerly have done ; the falseness of these being now seen and acknowledged of the honestest and better sort everywhere : so that none now except Formalists, Familists, and men of corrupt minds, who count 'gain godliness,' will appear in the defence hereof.' And, surely, others, besides Mr. Canne, have great cause to suspect that some of those at least, however for a time they hover about, yet their purpose is in the end, to meet with Master Canne in the same centre of Separation. For it is commonly said that some of their leaders keep great correspondency with him in private ; and when they, or their disciples, are occasionally in Amsterdam on the Lord's day, they either altogether, or for the most part, frequent his Assembly. . . . There is indeed a great noise in England at this day, and hath been for these three or four years past, of a New light and a New way ; but where shines this light ? Surely, if anywhere, it is only in some dark lanterns ! . . . Further than by private letters and clancular manuscripts, they hold not forth the light leading them into their way . . . Truly it pities me to think that some now, who are indeed worthy of great honour for their excellent parts and abilities, should yet, by their ways of Separation, wound that good cause of old Nonconformity in England, by confirming many there in that ancient yet common mistake, of Nonconformists, that they are all Brownists in heart. !"

In the course of the analysis just concluded, we have incidently noticed "An Answer to Two Treatises of Mr. John Can[-ne] the Leader of the English Brownists in Amsterdam. The former called 'A Necessity of Separation, &c.' The Other, 'A Stay against Straying:' Wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, he undertakes to prove the Unlawfulness of Hearing the Ministers of the Church of England.—Very seasonable for the present times.—By the late learned, laborious, and faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, John Ball. And now published by Simeon Ash. 1642." 4to. pp. 236.

The names subscribed to The Epistle are Thomas Langley, William Rathband, Simeon Ash, Francis Woodcock, and George Crosse. The publication of the work was committed to Ash. They judged it expedient to abate an "imputation" that the author's sentiments had undergone a modification in favour of "the cause and course of Separation," deduced more particularly from his former work called "A Friendly Trial of the Grounds tending to Separation;" and latterly imputed, that in 1640, "on his death-bed, he did retract and with grief repent what in that kind he had done." But they admit that the Nonconformists generally had suffered, from "the number of them increasing who withdrew themselves from our Church Assemblies, because of the Liturgy there used." In the cause of this admission lies the source of the sensitiveness displayed by the Puritans against those who desired a further Reformation, with freedom from set Forms, than their own temporising policy allowed. We are strengthened in this conclusion by the words of the foregoing divines in their Epistle: "The state of those times," say they, "wherein this piece [the Friendly Trial] was penned, would not brook more plainness in that and such like points. This we could, if it were expedient, abundantly evidence by declaring with what difficulty it passed the Press; what exceptions were taken at some harmless expressions; and what amendments were exacted in some places, which seemed somewhat openly to hint the Author's heart-workings towards that Reformation which in these times is much desired and endeavoured." We are satisfied, hence, that the Separatists had more firmness of principle, and more decision of conduct than they who were aiming at the engrossment of Parochical stipends, and consequently at the power of national coercion by temporal pains and penalties.

The chief "position" which Ball proposed to substantiate, in this work, is "That Separation from the prayers, sacraments, and preaching of the Word of God in the congregations and assemblies of the Church of England, is unlawful by the Scriptures." A postulate this, containing an assumption fully as bold as any ever propounded; but whose accompaniment is scarcely less bold and hazardous; for thus proceeds what the author had called "this position,"—"And that whatsoever complaints, whether just or unjust, the Nonconformists, judicious, learned, and holy, have made of the corruptions in our church-government, ministry, worship, prayers, and ministration of the sacrament; and people received, or permitted as external members; they do not infer, either in their judgments or in truth, a necessity or lawfulness of Separation from our Churches, as no 'true' churches of Christ; our

ministers as 'false and antichristian;' our worship as 'idolatry'.^a Whatever be the general truth concerning all this, facts are so indisputably adduced by Canne, that on every point the Puritans or Nonconformists, are fully convicted of having maintained the contrary; and if a special overt-act be demanded for proof of their own judgments, the creation of the First Presbytery, at Wandsworth, in Surrey, in the year 1572, is an ample vindication of those who approved of another mode of Discipline, in a "true" church of Christ.

We shall not pursue this Answer further than to cite it once for all: "It is true the Conformists and Nonconformists have written on both sides, one against the other, in matters of church-government and ceremonies,—and perhaps with bitterness more than beseebeth,—wherein always the forwardest men have not been of the greatest judgment or best moderation; and therefore everything that is written must not be interpreted as the judgment of all or most, of either side, but as the private opinion of the penman; which falleth out in all controversies amongst all sorts."^b This is certainly an easy method of clearing away difficulties. What those "forwardest men" of his own side, Bates, Cartwright, Chadderton, Fenner, Field, Giffard, Gilby, Humphrey, Parker, Perkins, Powel, Udall, and their associates; not to say "Ames, Leighton, Dayrel, and Bradshaw," the more particular subjects of Canne's animadversions; would have thought of such an advocate as Ball, we can imagine, but we are confident that Canne had fully established what he undertook to prove from the "Nonconformists'" principles.

CHAP. XXX.

PAGET AGAINST BEST AND DAVENPORT.

HAVING perused our nineteenth and some intermediate chapters, the reader is prepared to estimate the relative importance of what is contained in the chapter before him. The insight acquired into Paget's own real situation, since we have witnessed his demeanour towards Ainsworth, first by what purports to be "*Vox Vera*,"^c and from what is here produced, brings an amount of practical evils, irremediable by Paget's boasted Classical government, into actual comparison with the system he so authoritatively oppugned; showing consequently that the more complicated agency is not the better adapted to initiate, carry on, or determine, matters connected with the temporal and spiritual well-being of a true church. Such is our deduction from "*An Answer to the Unjust Complaints of William Best, and of such other as have Subscribed thereunto. Also, An Answer to Mr. John Davenport: touching his Report of some Passages; his Allegations of Scripture against the Baptizing of some kind of Infants; his Protestation about the Publishing of his Writings.*—By John Paget. Amst. 1635." 4to. pp. 156.

^a P. 1.

^b P. 100.

^c See back, p. 473.

" Christian Reader, there came forth of late an injurious pamphlet, intituled 'A Just Complaint, &c.'^a Heinous accusations denounced as with sound of trumpet from a high pinnacle of the Printer's tower, and blown abroad into many countries!... To consider who have been the special actors in this work, may give some light unto the Readers, for the better discerning and judging thereof... The Printer being a 'Brownist,' no marvel if he had a hand therein. Those that framed the Title, who did also make the Conclusion of this book... are by their own confession known to be 'Brownists.'... The principal publisher hereof, that sought help of the 'Brownists,' and caused it to be printed, is found to be Wi. Be., the foreman of the subscribers... Mr. Davenport himself deciphers him as 'an injurious one, a sower of discord, and a busybody in other men's matters.' The first part of the pamphlet was made by Mr. Davenport, containing a threefold writing, partly against the Classis, and partly against me... The two persons of trust, of whom Mr. Davenport speaks in his Protestation, to whom he committed his writings for the satisfaction of others, before they were printed, are unknown to me otherwise than by conjecture. His secret friends that are my secret enemies, do yet walk in the dark. The second part of the pamphlet is subscribed with the names of many persons among us, all of them special friends of Mr. Davenport... Divers of them having formerly been 'Brownists,' and left their Separation to come unto us, do yet show hereby that they still cleave too much unto some of their opinions. And for some others of them, I wish that they had not showed so much affection and respect that way. The person that brought these complaints into such frame and method doth yet lurk in darkness, as becometh such a work... The title of the pamphlet is, as I hear, generally disliked by the subscribers... If the title be a vile title, then is the book also as vile; neither have I so much cause to complain of the 'Brownists' that made the title, as of them that made the book...

" That which some will have to be the 'slavery and bondage' of a church, that I esteem to be the liberty, safety, and preservation of churches. That which they count 'tyrannical government,' that I believe to be a sanctuary against tyranny. That 'single uncompounded policy,' as Mr. Jacob calls it, whereby Particular Congregations are made to be Independent, not standing under any other ecclesiastical authority out of themselves, that I conceive to bring with it manifold disorders, confusion, and dissipation of churches."^b

Paget represents " the title and forefront of this writing," to be " The grievances and complaints of the burthened and oppressed Members of the English Church at Amsterdam. Anno 1634, the 18th of October."

The specific instances of culpatory and exculpatory matters having no direct relation to church-government as such, those statements of

^a "A Letter to the Dutch, containing a Just Complaint against an Unjust Doer: Wherein is declared the miserable Slavery and Bondage that the English Church of Amsterdam is now in, by reason of the Tyrannical Government and Corrupt Doctrine of Mr. John Paget, their present Minister. By John Davenport.—Amst. 1634." 4to.

^b Pref. p. i—v.

exposures and admissions which the Defendant has himself set before us, will alone be adduced, with the sole object of proving by his own representation, that as we have already intimated notwithstanding his warm support, his beloved mode of "presbyterial, classical, and synodical" church-government affords no exemption from as much inconvenience, inefficiency, and misrule as he has ever charged upon and described as having occurred among the 'Brownists,' over whom he affected so much superiority.^a Surely they could not withhold their sympathy when they witnessed his lament against "professors, and members of the church?" "To be opposed and complained of by such," he says truly, "might aggravate the grief, but that the Holy Ghost showeth that the godly have the sons of their mother to be angry against them;^b and not only those without, but even the members of the church, living in her bosom!.. And for the place: that this is done at Amsterdam! where the contentions of the 'Brownists' are already so infamous, both to the common reproach of our own nation here, for breeding and sending forth so many contentious persons unto them, and to the common reproach of this city in England, for nourishing and entertaining the same; this I say, doth also make me the more ashamed, to think what occasion is hereby given unto adversaries to reckon us with those other authors of schism!"^c

The fittest title "for this their writing," he says, "might have been this, 'The cartload of reproaches.'^d They burden themselves also and are guilty of their own oppression, when in this writing they complain of being subjected unto the 'undue power of the Classis:' for were they not under the wings of this authority and power of the Classis, they would be deprived of that help and refuge which the Classis affordeth unto those that are burdened and oppressed in a particular congregation... These twenty-one subscribers are not the Church, but a faction in the church,^e and the greatest part of the Congregation, so far as I hear, do complain of these complainers. These complainants are such a congregation as David mentioneth, 'Do ye indeed speak righteousness, O congregation?'^f He speaks not to the whole congregation of Israel, but to a congregation in the congregation, that is to say, to a faction in the church! The original word, אֵלֶם 'elem' there used, carries in it the signification of a sheaf of corn; for as in a sheaf many stalks are bound together, so in a faction many persons are combined together in an enterprise."^g

"Though some of these inordinate complainants have gone yet further; though others, have gone sometimes to hear the 'Brownists,' and to communicate with them in the public worship of God; though this be a dangerous tempting of God, and offensive divers ways; yet cannot

^a See back, p. 325. ^b Sol. Song. i. 6. ^c P. 2, 3. ^d Amos ii. 13.

^e "After these grievances were given to the Consistory, divers Members more hearing thereof, desired to join in the same, and subscribed their names also.' These unknown adversaries, . . . are like unto the troops of reserve which for the present lurk in secret, and lie in ambuscade ready to break out, . . . as opportunity shall serve." *Inf.* p. 131. ^f Psal. lviii. 1. ^g P. 3, 4.

men certainly conclude a falling away thereupon. The slippery and irregular practices of unsettled persons are so many and diverse, that men cannot build a peremptory asseveration touching the issues of them."^a

"If the Church be deprived of that power which Christ hath given it in the free choice of their Pastor; if the Elders be deprived of their power in government; if the Church be by me subjected unto an undue power of the Classis, as they complain; then is the very estate of our Church an enthralled estate, wanting the liberty and power of Christ."^b

"Whereas these importunate complainants do tell us further in this Writing, that they do 'by these presents testify unto all men, &c.' Though this their Writing be vile and most unworthy to be published unto a few, much less unto all men; yet seeing the matters of these complaints are already for the most part spread far and near before this Writing was made, I am therefore content to join with them therein, desiring that this my Apology or Answer may go as far, for the satisfaction of all men to whom either these their presents shall come, or their other former reproaches have already come. Whereas they add, that they testify this 'principally to the Elders of this Church,' it is no marvel that they should dedicate this their Writing unto them, seeing some of these Elders are parties with them, and that in divers points!"^c

"They do not only accuse me, but the Ministers of these Reformed Churches also, and especially those to whom we are nearest united in this Classis under which we stand, whose order and practice in 'the choice' of Ministers I do for my part labour to follow so near as I can; and therefore through my sides they wound a multitude of others. Yea, the persons themselves are not so much taxed hereby, as the very Government and Order of Discipline established in these Churches. It is untrue which they say, that I deprive the Church of her 'power.' If the church be spoiled of the power that Christ gave, this is not to be imputed unto me, seeing this Order was here in these countries established before my coming unto them; neither is it in my power to alter and change the form of their government."^d

"The Synods of these Reformed Churches, describing the Order to be observed in the Calling of Ministers, do require a choice to be made by the Elders and Deacons; approbation by the Magistrates; allowance of the Classis; and, in the last place, consent of the Congregation, before whom, the names of the persons Called are publicly propounded from the Pulpit divers Lord's days, that they may take knowledge of the matter, and witness their consent and dissent as they shall find occasion. This is the Order of these Churches, and this is

^a P. 8.^b P. 9.

^c P. 17.—"The offence of L. C. being a Deacon of the Church, is also the greater in this regard, not only in leaving the communion whereunto he was bound as a Christian, but also leaving his service and attendance upon the Lord's table, whereunto he was bound as a Deacon." p. 11.

^d P. 18.

our practice, and therefore it is a false accusation of such as affirm the People to be deprived of their 'power' hereby."^a

"Whereas some object from Acts vi. 3, that the People ought to go before, in seeking out Officers for themselves. That is the question to be examined by us. To this end, it is to be considered, first, That the Scripture makes no mention of either Teaching or Ruling Elders ordained at that time when the Deacons were first chosen. If there were at that time no Elders, how could they then go before the rest, as now they may do in those places where they are? Secondly, If there were no Elders then, yet the Apostles that were then present may justly be accounted Presidents going before the People in that action, instead of ordinary Elders. For though 'the multitude of disciples,' being many thousands at that time, be spoken unto for seeking out of Deacons, yet is not the Presidency of the Apostles excluded thereby, and it is partly expressed in that they prescribed both the thing to be done, the number of persons to be elected, and the quality of them. Thirdly, suppose the Apostles had wholly withdrawn themselves from that business of nomination and election of Deacons, yet were there many excellent men, 'full of the Holy Ghost'^b at that time; such as had been the Disciples of Christ before his death; such as had received extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; such as Barsabas, Barnabas, Stephen, and others, who then in all reason were to go before the rest in guiding the action instead of Elders; according to that example in the Scriptures, where that is ascribed unto the Congregation which of necessity was to be performed by some chief person going before the rest with their consent.^c Fourthly, That other place, Acts xiv. 23, where the electing is attributed unto Paul and Barnabas, although the consent of the People be showed thereby, yet doth it not withal imply such an Order that they went before others as leaders therein. That one original word of electing^d applied unto those two persons doth import a double power, of assent in the People, of precedence and presidency in Paul and Barnabas. Fifthly, The titles of guides, of governors, of foregoers, of forestanders, which the Scripture in other places^e giveth unto Ministers and Elders, do likewise show that they were to go before the Church in all the public actions thereof, and consequently in elections. Sixthly, Unless the meaning of that place, Acts vi. 3, be thus explained and determined by conference with other Scriptures, men might hence take occasion to run into such uncouth absurdities as, by the relation of one of these complainants, were committed in his presence at the confirmation of a certain English Minister in these countries, where the Women being required and called upon to that end, did lift up their hands for testimony of their consent in calling him to be their Minister! For it is said, that 'the multitude of disciples' were called together about the election of Deacons, and required to look out fit persons for that office; and women being in the Scripture called 'disciples'^f and reckoned among them, might

^a P. 19.

^b Acts vi. 3.

^c Num. viii. 9, 10.

^d χειροτονήσαντες.

^e Heb. xiii. 17. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Rom. xii. 8. 1 Tim. v. 17

^f Acts vi. 7, with ix. 36.

hereby seem to have a hand allowed them in this work, save that in other places there is a restraint to exclude them from such acts of power, whereby they might oversway the voices of men.^a And as for the title of 'Brethren,'^b that would not easily have cleared the matter, seeing, under that title, the Holy Ghost useth to speak unto women, as well as unto men.^c Thus also might that infamous and scandalous action of T.F. and E.S. in going about to houses getting and writing down the names of such Women and Maids as gave not their consent to the calling of Mr. B.^d obtain some colour of defence to the great disturbance of churches, if those things that are spoken generally and indifferently in one place, did not receive a limitation and determination of Order from other places. Seventhly: If these complainants were each of them apart well examined touching the due order of elections, and touching the ground thereof from these places, Acts vi. and xiv., I do assure myself that very few of them would be found to agree with one another. It is very probable that they neither understand themselves nor one another, but are carried blindly and inconsiderately in these great and important charges. A notable evidence hereof we have had already about the gathering of the names of Women and Maids, to oppose the election of Mr. B., for at that time when many of the chief of these complainants, namely, T. F. and others, came together to the Consistory,^e at that time there was this remarkable dissension and difference among them, in three kinds:—some of them acknowledged that they did not allow women should have voices in the election of ministers; some of them professed they could not tell what to judge thereof; some of them, in defence thereof, alleged the judgment and practice of certain Ministers for the consent of Women. Might not this example have brought them to some feeling of their ignorance and vanity? Lastly: .. If their accusation be true, concerning the enthralled estate of our Church deprived of their power and liberty by me, then see how these blind accusers, not to speak of others among us! do enwrap not only other Elders and fellow Deacons but themselves also in the sacrilegious crime of entering into their callings, not by the right door of a free choice, according to Acts vi. and xiv., but by a back door or postern of unlawful intrusion without free consent of the People, which they say is wanting among us. . . Neither can it help them to say that their accusation is about the choice of a Pastor, seeing Christ hath appointed but one Order for the choice both of Pastor and Deacon."^f

"But let us again hearken what further proof they bring to show that I deprive the Church of that 'power' which Christ gave unto it.—'This we prove by his rejecting and opposing the most worthy servants of God, who came out of England for the same cause he did, whom the Church with one consent desired; as Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport, of later times; and also Mr. Parker, Dr. Ames, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Peters, &c.'"^g

"What wonder is it that I should oppose some of the persons here named, when each of themselves were opposite one to another? Mr. Davenport both by his own confession unto me and in part by testimony of others, is or was opposite to Mr. Hooker touching the admission of

^a 1 Tim. ii. 12.

^d Balmford.

^b Acts vi. 3.

^e June 25, 1633.

^c Rom. xii. 1. 1 Cor. v. 11; vi. 6.

^f P. 20—22.

^g P. 22.

'Brownists' to be Members of our Church, while they persisted in their Separation from the Church of England; touching private men's preaching; touching repentance going before faith, &c. Mr. Forbes was mainly opposite to Mr. Hooker touching the authority and use of Synods and Classes. Mr. Parker and Dr. Ames were opposite to Mr. Forbes touching the authority of Magistrates in Ecclesiastical Causes. Mr. Forbes having printed a book touching adoption going before justification, and touching the active obedience of Christ in the point of justification; Dr. Ames hath in print also, declared himself opposite unto him in both those points of doctrine. Mr. Peters hath by his practice declared his judgment, that it is lawful to communicate with the 'Brownists' in their worship, and by his example hath strengthened divers Members of our Church therein; such as sundry of these complainants are, already too much addicted to resort unto the assembly of schismatics, and to hear them! But Mr. Davenport hitherto hath showed himself opposite to Mr. Peters herein."^a

"If I conceive things to be unjustly carried and swayed against me in the Church or Consistory, and do therefore bring the matter to a higher lawful judicatory, as the Classis or Synod, that they may judge betwixt us, and determine what is most for the edification of the Church; this doth not prove that I deprive 'the Church of that liberty and power which Christ hath given unto it.'"^b

"To come nearer unto the persons mentioned by them, such as were refused were not by my authority put back; but some of them by authority of the Magistrate, as Mr. Parker; or of the Classis, as Mr. Hooker; or of the Consistory, in not consenting and agreeing to call them, as Mr. Forbes and Mr. Peters; or by their own voluntary desistance, as Mr. Davenport, to avoid the violent rejection by the Classis, as he himself speaks. Though the authority of the Magistrate did afterwards further restrain us from seeking again either Mr. Hooker or Mr. Davenport. To come yet more particularly unto the several persons that are here objected by them: first, for Mr. Hooker. His opinions being made known unto the Classis from his own handwriting, that was translated and showed unto them; the Classical Assembly did thereupon judge, 'That he could not with edification be allowed hereafter to preach in the English Church of this city.'^c.. And when the knowledge of this controversy did at length come unto the Synod, the Deputies thereof, together with the Deputies of the Classis, did in like manner judge, 'That a person's standing in such opinions as were in writing showed unto the Classis, could not with any edification be admitted at the Ministry of the English Church at Amsterdam.'^d Had these complainants been wise and considerate persons, they would rather have sought to bury the memory of these things, than by their importunate complaints compel me in mine own defence, to write these things which otherwise I should not have done."^e

"For Mr. Parker: I answer, Though there was some difference in the manner of proceeding about his Call, yet did I not reject him, or oppose his Calling. But this I did, I propounded the matter unto

^a P. 23.^b P. 24.^c Oct. 6. 1631.^d Sep. 7. 1632.^e P. 25.

the Dutch Ministers, who made some difficulty about it. When Mr. Halius and Mr. Plancius, two ancient Ministers, were deputed to deal with us hereabout, I laboured to clear the difficulties objected by them. Some while after a Dutch Minister and an Elder coming to Mr. Thomson, signified from the Burgomasters of this city, that 'They desired to keep friendship with his Majesty of Great Britain, that therefore we should surcease from pursuit of this business !' "a

"For Dr. Ames : I do not remember that ever his name was propounded in the Eldership, so as that voices were asked and gathered ; neither is there any evidence in the Acts of our Consistory that either such a proposition or motion was made for him, much less of any agreement or resolution to Call him. Only this I remember, that one asking me occasionally in discourse of him, I signified so much, that 'I thought him not fit for us, neither could I give my consent for him.' A special reason of my judgment was this, That he denied the Authority of Synods and Classes.^b For howsoever I acknowledge he hath written divers learned and worthy treatises of much good use for the Church of God, and many do justly rejoice and give thanks for his labours ; yet this opinion, and practice according to it, could not choose but procure, in my judgment, great confusion and disturbance of churches. And how then could I, or any that so judgeth, willingly entertain such an occasion of contention and scandal ? Against this opinion of his, I have earnestly contested with him, ever since I was acquainted with him. And howsoever in some of his later writings he hath set down his opinions more obscurely and covertly, yet finding that he *persisted* therein, I had no reason to seek such an assistant in government. And besides this, not to speak of other things, he was generally held to be a man fitter to be a Professor of Divinity in the Schools, and that his gift was rather Doctoral than Pastoral. And when he left his Profession in the University, it was generally disliked of all learned men, so far as I could hear ; throughout these countries, none that approved him therein. Such also as were supposed to be occasion of his removal, were much blamed for it ; and had I done it, I should have borne a blame even for this also—For calling him from the Academy, where the Curators were so unwilling to leave him. "c

"For Mr. Forbes : About some twenty-four years past,^d there was a motion of Calling him to be a Minister among us. One cause of stay was this, he being banished out of Scotland, because of the Declinator or appeal which he and some others made from certain Civil Judges unto the General Assembly or Synod, as only judge competent in such an Ecclesiastical Cause as was in question ; hereupon arose some question betwixt us, I thinking such an Appeal to be unlawful ; and he, on the other side, not only sought to maintain it, but avouched also that the Oath of Supremacy, touching the Prince's power in Ecclesiastical Causes, which the Ministers of England, whether conformists or nonconformists, do all take, was an unlawful Oath. . . Not only I, but all our Elders with one consent, seeing he refused to give us satisfac-

a "Anno 1613." P. 26.

b Puritanismus Anglicanus. cap. ii. art. 3, 6. ed. 1610. See back, p. 167, note.

c P. 27.

d "Anno. 1610."

tion, did also refuse to proceed in the Calling of him. And was this my offence?"^a

"For Mr. Peters: Though at his first coming I gave some way, and opposed not such as sought to have him here; yet after some time of his continuance in this country, when he was called and confirmed for Pastor of the English Church at Rotterdam; when, after this, a new proposition was again made for calling him hither, I acknowledge that I did not consent unto it. And I think it needless to give a reason here, why I gave not my voice for him. But I do yet think it needful to inquire of these complainants these two things—'Who be their Witnesses of my opposing Mr. Peters?' For hereby it seems that some sitting among us, have unlawfully divulged this, which ought to have been concealed; and that this accusation is framed from the suggestions of such as it least becometh! This also would be demanded of them, 'Why their complaint is so partially directed against me alone?' seeing there were others in the Consistory besides me, which did likewise oppose the election of Mr. Peters."^b

"It is a slander, that I 'press others upon the Congregation.' . . It is another vile slander, when they say I 'abuse my interest in the Magistrates and Classis to that purpose.' . . Who would think that W.B. &c., and their fellows, should exalt themselves to such a height of pride in bold slandering? I.S. in special, being a Public Notary; whose work it is to write down the testimony of Witnesses, and ought to know that matters are thereby confirmed; how is it that he sets his hand unto such a slanderous accusation, both of 'Magistrates and Classis' abused by me?"^c

"That which the 'Magistrates' have done is this, After the departure of Mr. Hooker, calling for me and two of the Elders, and exhorting us to proceed without delays unto the choice of such a Minister as should accord with the Classis, they required also that if it were possible, such an one should be Called which could speak Dutch; giving this double reason thereof, That both he might be fit to sit in the Classis where the affairs of the Church are debated in the Dutch tongue; and, That he might be the mouth of the Church unto the Magistrates upon occasion as necessity should require, in those things that were to be treated of with them. And since also they have required that we should choose one out of these countries near unto us, rather than send into England for one; giving likewise this double reason thereof, That both they might better inform themselves touching the state of the Minister that was to be allowed by them; and, Because it would be a greater repulse and trouble unto the Minister, sent for so far out of England, if it should fall out that they did not like him, nor admit of him. Let reasonable men judge whether there be such abuse, and such 'unspeakable injury' as these accusers complain of, upon this Act of the Magistrates!"^d

"Notwithstanding this charge given by the Magistrates, yet when Mr. Davenport was come out of England, although not lawfully sent for, though he could not speak Dutch, yet when there was hope of his accord with us, upon intercession of the Dutch Ministers, who were informed that he agreed with them, the gentleness and equanimity of

^a P. 28.

^b P. 28.

^c P. 30.

^d P. 30.

the Magistrates were such that they were content to dispense with his want of the Dutch language, and for supply of our necessity to allow of him. But finding after, that they were deceived in him, that he did not rest in the advice of *their* Ministers, and that great contention was thereupon raised among us, what wonder if they renewed their charge more strictly than before ?”^a

“The first that preached here by my ‘consent’ in sending for him, though not by my ‘nomination,’ was Mr. Balnford ; and this, after the charge given by the Magistrates. His ‘great unfitness,’ is their great slander that avouch it, unless they could prove it. How some of these complainants fought against his Calling is notorious through the country, to the shame and reproach of our Church !”^b

“I find that most of Mr. Davenport’s complaints are, for the substance of them, the very same that these complainants have framed against me, as if they and he had spoken out of one mouth, or as if the same pen had written both. His Writing is threefold, and each of them hath his name subscribed. The first is his Letter written unto the Classis, translated out of Latin into English : the second, an Instruction given unto some of our Elders : the third, is a new addition unto the former, both against me and the Classis also. Each of these three writings is stained with untruths and matters of reproach, and is fit to kindle contention in our Church, and to harden these complainants in their unjust opposition, not against me only, but against the Classis and the Governors of these Churches ; which is a very evil office, and far unbeseeming a Minister of the Gospel, and such an one as is so eminent and renowned in the Church of England.”^c

“Such as procured the coming of Mr. Davenport out of England, did not, according to good Order, communicate the matter with those whom it specially concerned, who in all such weighty and public affairs of the church, should by their counsel and direction have gone before others therein. . . Though in regard of God’s providence which extendeth itself unto all things good and evil, Mr. Davenport might say he was sent of God in ‘a needful time,’ when I was sick ; yet this is no warrant or excuse at all for that disorder used in sending for him ; for God oftentimes sendeth wicked men and wicked spirits in ‘needful time,’ to accomplish his will, and to serve his providence ! . . .^d Touching his resignation, that ‘I afterwards justified it, when he related unto me the cause thereof, the carrying therein, and the consent of many worthy Divines, and of the Congregation itself thereunto ;’ the truth is, as I remember, that I did approve of divers particular things which he told me that he had done in that business, which I conceived to be so as he related, yet did I not therefore absolutely justify his resignation. . . The grounds whereupon they consented, were needful to be known, with some other things also that belong unto so great and weighty a matter as that was ; especially considering, that ‘worthy Divines’ are sometimes mistaken in such questions, and justly corrected by others !”^e

“When his thoughts of coming to Amsterdam did arise within him, ought not this care to have risen up in his heart together, to consider

^a P. 31.^b P. 32.^c P. 33.^d 1 Sam. xxiii. 27, 28.^e P. 34, 35, 37.

our estate and his own disposition for agreement with us, lest he should add fuel to that flame of contention, the light whereof hath been seen so far off?"^a

"Besides the knowledge which Mr. Davenport had of our estate before his coming, I was willing to manifest the same further unto him after he was come to Amsterdam; and upon conference with him about such things wherein Mr. Hooker differed from us, to the great disturbance of our Church; he seemed unto me to accord with us, and to dislike the opinions of Mr. Hooker generally. The main or only difference which he persisted in for a long time, was about the Baptism of Infants whose Parents were no Members of the Church, nor would submit to any private examination by him, further than their public profession of faith before the whole Church. I showed him what scandal had arisen among the 'Brownists' by denying of Baptism to the Infants of such as made profession of the same faith with us: how they had written and printed books against the Dutch and French churches for this matter as well as others: how they had excommunicated Mr. Slade, for defending the practice of the Dutch herein: how Mr. Johnson, pastor of the 'Brownists,' began at length to see his error, and acknowledge his fault to Mr. Slade, so wronged by them: how unworthy a thing it would be for us to take up the error which some of the 'Brownists' began to lay down: how the other 'Brownists' would now afresh insult against us: how some, among us, that were come from the 'Brownists,' would be hardened in their error: and, in sum, how all the Church generally would take offence to see a double practice, and so different, betwixt us; to see me ordinarily baptizing those whom he should refuse to baptize; to see him make a separation from me in the administration of Baptism, which was wont to be performed jointly by me and my other fellow-minister, the one whose course was to preach, declaring the institution of Baptism from the pulpit, and the other sitting below to baptize the Infant according to the manner of these Churches. I did also propound unto him some places of Scriptures, touching the examination of Parents abovesaid, for the baptism of their children; and showed that when so great multitudes were at once baptized by John Baptist, Matt. iii. Mark i., and by the Apostles, Acts ii., there could not be a strict private examination of every particular person; by conference of other Scriptures, their confession of their sins and profession of faith were rather to be conceived some solemn and public testification of their consent unto the doctrine that was preached unto them, &c.: but by such private conferences I prevailed nothing with him in this point."^b

"In setting down the conference about his Examination of Parents, he neither reports my question nor his own answer rightly and truly. I demanded of him, What measure of knowledge he would require?.. His answer to my question .. was not as he relates; .. for he professed, 'That measure of knowledge required, could not be declared till the time of examining the persons; that then he should judge thereof.'"^c

"When I had in vain privately conferred with Mr. Davenport to persuade him to accord with us, .. I offered further, that if any other

^a P. 38.^b P. 40.^c P. 43.

convenient way of accommodation could be found out, I would willingly hearken unto it. . . Hereupon there came unto me five of the Dutch Ministers, some of them being also requested thereunto by some of our Elders. . . They found it good to set down their advice for accommodation, in writing; the copy whereof, translated out of Latin into English, is as followeth :

“ We, the underwritten, Ministers of the Dutch Church in the city of Amsterdam, being specially and lovingly requested and desired of the Rev. Mr. Paget, a faithful Pastor in the English Church of the same city; as also, of the Rev. Brethren, the Elders and Deacons of the same English Church; that we would not refuse sincerely to declare and show our private judgment about the Calling of the Rev. most famous and learned Mr. Davenport, which seems to be desired of the whole Church aforesaid; and that, in this particular case alone, ‘ Concerning the Baptism of those Infants which are offered to be baptized in the English Church:’ Having well understood and duly weighed the whole matter on both sides: and having thoroughly examined it according to the rule of God’s Word, and the Order received in the Reformed Churches of these Provinces, in which the aforesaid English Church doth profess itself a member, under the Classis of Amsterdam: We do sincerely, and in the presence of God, with good conscience, answer and declare, That we desire nothing more than that the aforesaid Mr. Davenport, whose notable learning and singular piety are very much approved and commended of all the English our Brethren; whom also in this regard, and for his other commendable gifts, we understand to be most dear unto Mr. Paget; may be lawfully promoted unto the Ministry of the English Church aforesaid: We do also greatly approve of his good zeal and care of having some precedent Private Examination of the Parents and Sureties of these Children, in the Christian Religion; yet touching the matter itself, we do so judge, That this foresaid Examination be ordained so far as may stand with the edification of the English Church; but if, haply, the Parents or Sureties shall refuse to come and undergo this Examination, or if for the shortness of time, or for other just causes, it cannot be done, or if those that do come shall not seem for that time to satisfy the judgment of the Brethren, one or more that do examine them, That yet the Infant whose Parents and Sureties are manifest to be Christians, and which publicly before the Church do profess Christian Religion at the reading of the Liturgy of the Sacrament of Baptism, shall not therefore be excluded from Baptism or deprived thereof; but that such ignorant Parents and Sureties be further instructed after the Infant be baptized; to wit, because the Infants of Christians ought not to bear and suffer the punishment of the ignorance, or yet of such disobedience of their Parents or Sureties. If yet any other case fall out whereby it may seem that the Infant presented should not be baptized, That then, the judgment of the whole English Presbytery; or also if need be and if conveniently it may be done, That the judgment of the Classis of Amsterdam, be obtained and heard, and rested in.—So it was done and transacted in the house of Mr. Paget, the twenty-eighth* day of

* It should appear to be the “ eighteenth,” from a comparison with other dates.

January, 1634. Joannes le Maire; Jacobus Triglandus; Rudolphus Petri; Jacobus Laurentius; H. Geldorpheus.^a

"I signified my consent with them, and so yielded unto the accommodation of Mr Davenport as far as they could in conscience desire of me."^b

"Upon the consent of Mr. Davenport, . . it was resolved that some should . . go unto the Burgomasters, to seek their approbation. . . And though I at that time was very weak, and not fully recovered from my sickness, yet above my strength I made divers journeys with our Elders, both unto the Stadthouse, and unto the private houses of divers Burgomasters, to seek their consent for the allowance of Mr. Davenport and to further his Calling. And some of the Dutch Ministers also being informed by some of our Elders, that Mr. Davenport rested in their advice, did thereupon make intercession to the Magistrates for their admission of Mr. Davenport, which at length they granted, with admonition that we should keep correspondence with the Dutch Churches."^c

"Mr. Davenport saith, 'It was so brought about by one of the Dutch Preachers interposing, that the Magistrates gave but a conditional consent unto his Call, and made his conformity to this custom of promiscuous baptizing the condition thereof, so that now matters were in a worse state than before.' As though the Magistrate could not have given 'a conditional consent' but by the interposing of that one preacher! . . If he were further from consenting with us, and resting in the advice of the Ministers, why then was the Classis called in vain? Why was I not advertised thereof, that so the labour and charge of assembling the Ministers both of the city and out of the country also, might have been prevented?"^d

"At the next meeting of our Eldership,^e I propounded something more than the Classis had counselled or yielded unto; namely, That if any at unawares should bring into the Church to be baptized such Infants whose Parents were no Members of the Church, we should desire and counsel them by the Coster,^f without absolute denial, to defer the baptism of them for the present, and to bring their children the next following exercise; that in the mean time there might be conveniency of Examination. . . Hereupon withal was written down in the same Act, a testification of the Eldership, that this being done, 'we are persuaded no occasion will befall to work any scruple unto Mr. Davenport in that which he fears.' Now I confess that herein I yielded unto him more than was meet, and more than I mean to yield unto again; for if infants brought into the Church for baptism, had been carried away unbaptized, suppose it had been done by our entreaty and persuasion only, yet is it like that there would have been much offence taken hereat, with discontentment and murmuring, both in Parents and others; especially if such Infants had *died* before the next meeting in the Church! Howbeit this also would not content Mr. Davenport, unless there might have been an absolute denial of Baptism in such case, if entreaty would not serve."^g

^a P. 44.

^b Feb. 11.

^c P. 46.

^d Or keeper of our church.

^e P. 51.

^f P. 53, 54.

^g P. 55.

"When the Classis understood that Mr. Davenport did withdraw his consent, and would not rest in the advice of the five Ministers, . . yet did they not suddenly break off with him; but deputed divers Ministers to go unto him, and to persuade him to accept the Calling we had given unto him. . . And yet again . . they did not yet cease to deal with him, but by another deputation of Ministers, sent again unto him. . . The Classis having had so much patience, and used so much labour in vain . . rested in his refusal of this Calling."^a

"Yet did he not cease to preach in a private house, where a *great part* of the Church with *most* of the Elders and *some* of the Deacons did meet together to hear him! . . More than a hundred persons have been there sometimes gathered together; an ordinary time having been kept upon the Lord's day in the evening, when the Sermon in our Church was ended. . . The Classis appointed two Ministers to go both unto Mr. Davenport and to Mr. Wh. in whose house they met, to admonish them of this their meeting; and to show unto them in the name of the Classis, the inconveniency and the dangers of such assemblies, to the end that they might desist. And upon this admonition it was left off."^b

"As one extremity sometimes follows another, so was it with some of these complainants. . . When the time of administering the Lord's Supper among us drew near; about two or three days before, Mr. Davenport takes a journey out of the city; some Members of the Church, as I heard, did go with him, and leave the Communion. A company of the rest, of his special friends, withdrew themselves from the Lord's table, and so gave great occasion of strife and other offence to the Church, by this their course tending to Schism! . . Now however, Mr. Davenport, as I hear, doth dislike and speak against separation and schism, and reproves the same. . . After the scandalous schism, followed the slanderous Writing of the complainants against me; and after that, came forth the injurious writing of Mr. Davenport, not only against me, but against the Classis also. The title of that writing is unjustly called 'A True Report of Passages.'"^c

"These complainants . . would manifest that I do not behave myself as a Pastor in the government of the Church. . . The decision and determination of matters in our Eldership hath always been by most voices; if these Elders judged one way, though both the Ministers were contrary minded, yet plurality of voices did still prevail. . . Though I have often and upon occasion still do oppose the counsel and opinions of some Elders, sometimes more and sometimes less, it follows not that I therefore 'deprive them of their power in government.' . . Yea, is there any Senate either civil or ecclesiastical, wherein this refusal and rejecting of opinions doth not fall out? And therefore most unreasonable are these complaints that argue and infer a deprivation of 'power' thereby."^d

"Moreover, these complainants do here accuse me for bringing mat-

^a Feb. 27, 28. Apr. 3. May 1, 1634. P. 57.

^c P. 59.

^d P. 61, 62.

^b P. 58.

ters to the Classis by violence, without consent of the Eldership. The Elders themselves have made like complaint heretofore.”^a

“As for the ‘insufficiency’ of our Elders, not to speak of that common insufficiency that is in all men, in regard of spiritual and holy administrations and services, of which the apostle saith, ‘Who is sufficient for these things?’^b I have just cause to except against their insufficiency in some special cases, and namely, in such particulars whatsoever as have been already judged and determined in the Classis, but principally in such a weighty and important business as is this present controversy. . . For not the Classis itself, nor yet a Provincial Synod, hath power to determine and appoint such a state and form of government as this Writing of my accusers pleads for: seeing, no inferior judicatory can reverse that which is judged and decreed by a superior; and therefore can no Classis or Provincial Synod abrogate and disannul that which is concluded by a National Synod. Much less then, is the Consistory of one particular Church sufficient to do it; least of all, may a piece of the Consistory do it, and such a piece as consists only of some Elders disjoined from their Ministers.”^c

“If I should not protest against the concordant judgment of Elders, and bring the matter to further trial, when I conceive their resolutions to be unlawful and hurtful to the Church, I should sin against God. . . We maintain against the Romish Church, that Synods and Councils are subject unto error sometimes. . . Now, as obedience to superiors ought to be ‘in the Lord’;^d so all agreement and consent to Elders ought to be in the Lord, and no further.”^e

“It is untrue that ‘the Elders agreed Mr. Davenport should have a year’s time’ granted; . . but, without limitation, they agreed he should have a convenient time: so is it testified in the records of this Act. It is here to be observed, how the affairs of the Eldership which ought to have been kept secret are unlawfully divulged. . . So was it in the former instance, about the Order taken for Examination of Parents.”^f

“If the power of the Classis be ‘an undue power,’ as they say; then would I fain know of them, What that due power is by which they would have the church to be governed, unto which they would willingly be subjected? For my part, I could never yet come to the knowledge thereof by any of them! Is it that ‘power’ of Popular government exercised among the ‘Brownists,’ so as Mr. Ainsworth maintained it? Or, is it that ‘power’ of an Eldership, which Mr. Johnson taught, without any Classis? Or, is it that kind of single uncompounded policy, which Mr. Jacob required? Or, is it any new unknown form of government, which they have found out?”^g

“Whereas they say of Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport, that they were such as ‘abhor’ all Schism: it appears to the contrary, that they did not abhor ‘Schism’ as was meet.—Not Mr. Hooker; while he maintained that such of the ‘Brownists’ as persisted in the Schism or Separation from the Church of England might lawfully be received of us for Members of our church: while he would not disallow such of

^a P. 64.^b 2 Cor. ii. 16.^c P. 64.^d Eph. vi. 1. Acts iv. 19.^e P. 65, 66.^f P. 68.^g P. 72.

our church as went to hear the 'Brownists' in their schismatical assembly: while he maintained that Private men might preach and expound the Scriptures at set times and places where the members of sundry families met together, and this without allowance of the church: while he maintained that churches combined together in the Classis, might choose a Minister either without or against the consent of the Classis under which they stood. So to practise in these Reformed Churches, is no other than a plain act of Schism; a rending of the Classis, and a breaking off from their communion in the government of the church!—Not Mr. Davenport; while he gathered unto himself a great and solemn assembly apart, by preaching unto them at set times in a private house without allowance of the church: while he approved the Act of our Elders in admitting him to preach as an Assistant without consent of the Classis, in such manner as is before noted: while he maintained the power of every Particular Church to be chief in its own particular matters; and applieth this, to the admission of Ministers to preach as Assistant, &c. though these Churches be united in Synod and Classis.—In all these things they did not 'abhor' Schism as they ought to have done!"^a

"Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Robinson, were all 'eminent' men, professing godliness; and for learning, not inferior to Mr. Davenport; and yet withal maintained such opinions and practices, some of them more, and some less, as tended to the ruin and desolation of churches: so that they could not safely have been called to the ministry of the Gospel in any of these Reformed Churches."^b

"As for that their parenthesis, wherein they note that I 'would have had other that to this day hold the same opinion;' this, Mr. Davenport himself allegeth more plainly; .. 'He pressed earnestly to have Mr. Balmford of the Hague.'.. If it be demanded, why I did not more particularly and strictly inquire into the opinion of Mr. Balmford?.. I found not such ambiguity in the answer of Mr. Balmford unto the other questions which I had propounded unto him, as I did in the answer of Mr. Davenport, especially concerning the authority of Synods and Classes, about which he made some difficulty, and was hardly drawn to consent. .. It seems that he did in some manner hide his meaning, as appeareth by that which he hath written since unto the Classis touching the power of Particular Churches, as being chief in their own particular matters. .. The other instance to prove that I desired him not, Mr. Davenport sets down in these words, 'And since he hath nominated Mr. Roe of Flushing, though he .. professed himself to be of my judgment. .. That nomination .. was not a giving of my voice for his Calling, but only a mentioning of his name among many other Ministers in these Countries.'"^c

"The matter of this accusation, about destroying the 'power' of the Church and taking away the 'liberty' thereof for bringing matters to the Classis without consent of the Elders, is very like and of the same nature with that Act and Law of the Elders made heretofore upon occasion of the controversy about Mr. Hooker. Now seeing that Act of the Elders is disannulled by the Classis, .. this might have been a

^a P. 74.^b P. 74.^c P. 75, 77.

warning unto them not to set their hands again unto a new Writing, in opposition unto the Classis. . . Had they but duly esteemed of the 'counsel' of the Classis, though they would not have submitted unto it as a sentence, yet the reverence and respect of it as a wholesome 'advice,' might have been a means to restrain them from the offensive courses that have been taken by them. The truth is, that this pretended reverence is no more than that which Mr. Jacob and his company did give to Classes and Synods, 'for counsel and advice!' Yea, the 'Brownists' themselves do seem to give as much when they confess that Particular Churches are "by all means convenient to have the help of one another in all needful affairs of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith, under Christ their only Head!"^a

"Since my first coming, which was at the first erecting of this Church, I was admitted to be a member of their Classis with ordinary subscription and promise of union with them. Both I and the Elders ever since, as deputed thereunto by the Consistory, have . . . appeared in the Classis in the same manner that others did. . . The many 'Brownists' that have come unto us, leaving their Separation, were never received nor admitted to come with any protest against this power of the Classis and subjection thereunto. Th. Fa. of old, when he was received of the Dutch Church, and since of us, and Th. Ad. with St. Of., Ed. Ph., and Ed. Sc., of later times, which now with other subscribers do complain of the 'undue power of the Classis,' had as much reason to have protested against this 'power,' at their first admission to the Church!"^b

"One of these my accusers, who though, forgetting himself, he hath subscribed unto this protest against the 'power' and 'authority' of the Classis, yet hath he of late given great approbation thereof. Ste. Ofw. in his book against the 'Brownists,' having said that 'it is far from the true church to admit of disorders,'^c though that be not always true, seeing many 'true' churches are oft defiled with much disorder, and may not therefore be accounted false churches; yet that which follows is both true and directly against this accusation which himself and others have made. . . Who would think *he* should be so carried away with the whirlwind as to subscribe to the contrary with these complainants, and to reproach me for subjecting this Church to such a power which had been so lately commended of himself? Their insolency in accusing, is so much greater, in that they do still leave the proofs behind them. They say, touching the power of the Classical assemblies, that it is 'such as the Scriptures do not in any place give to such a company of Ministers:' but they do not allege any one place of Scripture to condemn the same. Though I, for my part, have in my sermons divers times alleged sundry evidences and grounds of holy Scripture for proof and maintenance of such 'authority' as is exercised by Synods and Classes."^d

"But these complainants might yet have seen themselves contradicted by their forenamed fellow-complainant, St. Ofw. who brings a

^a P. 84, and see back, p. 97.

^c "Heady and rash Censures," p. 29.

^b P. 86, 87.

^d P. 87, 88.

remarkable place of Scripture to warrant the exercise of that 'power' which here they deny. He allegeth that 'when a controversy arose at Antioch, they sent to Jerusalem for to bring the church there unto unity and order; which the apostles performed.'^a.. Now, if the churches here, do practise and exercise a 'power' so as was done at Antioch and Jerusalem, and by apostolical direction, then is not their 'power' an undue power, nor the churches unjustly subjected thereunto!.. It is also false and absurd which they say touching the 'authority' of the Classis, that it is such as doth not become 'any,' except the apostles that could not err, to have.'.. We acknowledge there is no judicatory on earth, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, either of Consistory, or Classis, or Synod, but they are subject to error. When that error is showed by the Word of God, it ought to be corrected: this also is their practice, one Synod *often* reforming that which hath been decreed by another!'^b

"My desire and endeavour from my first Calling unto this place hath been and is, that the vigour of Discipline may be maintained in our Church. And according to my power I have laboured that 'the Censures' might be 'executed' in due manner;.. as well against the richer as the poorer sort, without acception of persons. When care and zeal are showed in the administration of discipline, commonly the persons reprov'd and censured are displeased and discontented. They and their friends do oft murmur and complain; and by themselves, and by their instruments, great troubles are raised up in the Church. And it comes to pass sometimes, that the Ministers of Christ are never more reproached for unrighteous dealing, than when they have done most righteously and zealously in the censure of offenders."^c

"William Best, the foreman of the Subscribers and publisher of that scandalous pamphlet of complaints against me, hath given great offence... Tho. Flet., another of these complainants, hath heretofore caused great disturbance in our Church... And not he only, but other of these complainants .. coming to the Consistory, the evening before the Lord's Supper, werẽ urgent to have a present end, without further delay, though Th. Fl. would not acknowledge his fault; signifying that otherwise they were not willing, for this time, to come to the communion. This was such an act of violent dealing in hindering the just censure of offenders and disordered persons, as I do not remember the like since the Church was first erected. They were so earnest in the business by threatening a kind of Schism, that it was thought good by the Eldership, together with the Deacons, to give place unto the importunity of these brethren, and for the time to let pass that which was past; having first showed what their duty was in such cases."^d

"For the visitation of the Members of the Church before the Lord's Supper, I have not had so much encouragement thereunto of later time as formerly I have had.^e For seeing our manner and order are, that Ministers and Elders go together about this work; and seeing some of the Elders have declared, both by word and practice, that they are

^a Acts xv.^b P. 88, 89.^c P. 90.^d P. 92.^e "Where communions are not so frequent, I acknowledge that there is profitable use thereof." p 96.

of Mr. Davenport's mind touching some of these controversies that have been so offensive among us ; if any of these Elders going with me, in this visitation, we should find some Members of the Church which signify unto us that they are also of Mr. Davenport's judgment, and say that they are troubled in conscience about these things, and require resolution of their doubts,—what is now to be done ? I labour to show him, Mr. Davenport's error : the Elder with me, if he deal in conscience according to his profession, labours to maintain Mr. Davenport's opinion, and to resist me in this visitation. If, on the contrary, we meet with such of our people as dislike the judgment and practice of Mr. Davenport, and tell how they are offended with such as do oppugn the Discipline and Order of these Reformed Churches, and require the Elder to show warrant of his opinion wherein he takes part with Mr. Davenport : if hereupon, this Elder begin to plead for Mr. Davenport,—what could I do in conscience but plead against him, and witness the truth whereof I am persuaded, and so oppose the Elder going with me ?"^a

"Whereas they speak of some persons whom they call those of my 'side ;' thereby they give to understand the evil whereof they be authors, in making two sides, or factions, in the Church. . . For my part I abhor this siding. . . They that stand for innovation, and seek to shake off the government by the Classis and deny the 'authority' thereof, are guilty of this offensive siding among us. . . If 'those ways of godliness' wherein they 'desire and endeavour to walk' ; be those different practices wherein some of them have walked ; as namely, to leave our exercises and the worship of God with us, and to go unto the exercise of the 'Brownists' and to hear them ; and beside this, to have a new exercise of Prophecy among themselves, in worse manner than the 'Brownists' themselves, who allow no such meetings of their people apart from the Church ;—if these, or the like practices, be the 'ways of godliness' whereof they boast, then have they no just cause to complain though many of the Church do oppose and dislike their course !"^b

"Their accusation not only of my doctrine, but of the very text itself for my sake, is not unlike to the accusation made against a certain

^a P. 98.—"It is not enough, sometimes to visit the houses of the poor, unless the poor be allowed to visit us ; unless by a loving and kind invitation they be called unto us : if there be not, as the Holy Ghost speaks, 'a pouring out of the soul unto them' in familiar conference and conversation. Isai. lviii. 10. This duty, I have endeavoured according to my power to perform, and that with cheerfulness and singleness of heart, . . and that to this end, that we might rejoice together in the Lord, and that we might communicate together in the gifts of God, for our mutual comfort, both theirs and mine." p. 99.

^b P. 104, 105.—"On Friday the 16th of October, 1551, Bolsec taking advantage of an *allowed custom at Geneva*, after a lecture on John viii. 47, stood up and declaimed against Predestination. When he had finished, Calvin, whom Bolsec had not perceived, came forward, and, in Beza's words, 'with so many testimonies from the Word of God, so many quotations from Augustine in particular, and indeed so many weighty arguments as well, disproved, overthrew, and confounded' Bolsec, that all but himself were evidently ashamed on his account." *The Life of Calvin*, [By B. Hanbury] p. 323 ; in "Biog. Series, of The Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge. 1832." 12mo.

Minister in England, lately related unto me by a friend. This Minister was complained of in a Bishop's Court, concerning the doctrine which he had preached, and to aggravate the complaint, it was said, 'My Lord, the very text which he chose is Puritanical!' "^a

"As for 'insultations' .. did ever the 'Brownists,' or had they ever such colour of insultation as now they have, when they see these Members of our Church so complaining of our government and discipline, and of the undue 'power' of the Classis? The title of these their complaints, printed and prefixed by the 'Brownists;' and the conclusion, affixed by a 'Brownist;' what are they, but notable insultations over the pretended 'miserable slavery and bondage' of our Church? What can their talk be otherwise?"^b

"When they say, I 'reproached Mr. Davenport in my pulpit;' .. it was in the place whereunto I was lawfully called... It was the greater insolency in that person, who, whenas I had in this place in the forenoon taught against the preaching of Private men, that he in the afternoon of the same day, in the same place, should oppugn this doctrine they speak of, to the offence of many."^c

"For his 'almost six months' assistance,' if it had been better, yet had Mr. Davenport no cause to upbraid me with it, and to boast of it before others, seeing for his labour in that time he received a larger recompense by the collection that was made for him, than some other godly Ministers have elsewhere received for twice six months' assistance."^d

"As for the 'heavenly means of edification,' whereof they speak, they are the doctrine of Salvation, the publishing of the Covenant, and the seals thereof; and seeing these have been and may be found in such as Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Jacob, and the like, as well as in Mr. Davenport, who yet in regard of other errors, concerning discipline and government of the church, were unfit and unworthy to be called or admitted for Pastors in a well-established church; why, then, may not the same be observed for Mr. Davenport also in some measure?"^e

"When they can demonstrate from the Scriptures that New Discipline whereby every Particular Congregation is prescribed to be 'Independent, and not subject to any other Ecclesiastical power out of itself, &c.' then, may they have some colour of condemning every Minister of these Reformed Churches, and me with them, but not before!"^f

"The Administration of the Sacraments is a duty of the Ministry, to be performed by a Pastor to more than the Members of his particular congregation; and this, not only by admission of the particular members of another church to receive the Lord's Supper with them in their church upon occasion, which the 'Brownists' themselves do allow;^g but also, when need requires, to administer the sacraments both of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in neighbour churches that are destitute, being required thereunto. This, I have heretofore

^a P. 106.^b P. 110.^c P. 113^d P. 118.^e P. 121.^f P. 126.^g "Arrow against Idolatry." p. 96, 97.

already proved against Mr. Ainsworth;^a and it is the error of those Separatists, to deprive themselves of such help. Hereupon it followed, that after the death of Mr. Ainsworth, for many years together, they were without Sacraments, and had neither Lord's Supper nor Baptism administered in their Church, their children, for many years, remaining unbaptized, and sundry *dying* unbaptized; for which neglect and delay of Baptism, they had just cause to fear the Lord might have met with them as he did with Moses in the Inn, for neglecting to circumcise his son.^b And it is observable how Mr. Davenport stumbleth at the same stone, and misallegeth the very same place of Scripture, as Mr. Ainsworth had done before to the same purpose,^c to restrain Pastors from executing any duty or act of their ministry towards such as are no Members of their own particular congregation."^d

"Mr. Davenport allegeth for himself, the consent of Divines of the Dutch Churches in their 'Confessions,' and of all Reformed Churches in the 'Harmony' of their 'Confessions,' and further he saith, 'to conclude, all Divines agree in this.' Now, although there be a great deal of vain confidence and mistaking in him to apply the testimonies of learned men to the justification of his opinion wherein he dissenteth from us, yet is not my purpose, for this present, to enter into a dispute about the divers judgments of learned men concerning this question. . . He tells in his preamble, how 'little he hath said in comparison of that which he hath to say,' and I do believe it to be so. Yet as occasion shall require . . . my purpose also is to add something more, according to my weakness, for the clearing of this point; hoping that some other more able will be stirred up hereby, to make a more full defence of the truth."^e

"To conclude; this printed 'Protestation' of Mr. Davenport containeth in it . . . that 'he hath written nothing in that declaration but the truth.' . . This new asseveration . . . I esteem as a new challenge binding me to answer that declaration, and to show the untruth and injustice of those reports spread abroad against me therein."^f

CHAP. XXXI.

BURTON'S APPEAL.

TILL Burton shall have become a practical Independent, and a defender of their principles, and from the peculiarity of his history, we must pursue his remarkable career, further set forth in "For God and the King: The Sum of Two Sermons preached on the Fifth of November last, in St. Matthew's, Friday Street; 1636. By Henry Burton, Minister of God's Word there and then.—1 Pet. ii. 17. 2 Tim iv. 1—3.—1636 4to. pp. 166.

^a "Arrow against Idolatry," p. 17, 18, 109-114.

^c Acts xx. 28. See back p. 344.

^b Exod. iv. 24.

^d P. 134.

^e P. 146.

^f P. 147.

For these pulpit exercises, the Preacher was summoned, about a month after they had been delivered, to appear,—as he states in his Dedication to Charles,—before Dr. Duck, one of the High Commission. Articles being exhibited against Burton, and a book tendered to swear to answer to them, he tells Charles that his reply to the Doctor was, “Sir,—I humbly appeal to the King’s Majesty my Sovereign and Patron, as my Judge in this Cause; and before whom I shall be both a Defendant and Complainant. For I hold it not fit, that they who are my Adversaries should be my Judges.” A copy of what he had preached being required “unjustly, and against the law,” he resolved,—that the Commissioners might not, “at their pleasure, take advantages” by “perverting” his words,—to print what he had discoursed upon, “with many additions and enlargements,” that so his Majesty might “take a full account of the whole matter;” and, that “loving and loyal Subjects,” might make good use of it!”

He takes care herein to remind the King of a “golden sentence” in his Majesty’s Declaration of 1628, “We call God to record, before whom we stand, that it is, and always hath been our heart’s desire to be found worthy of that title, which we account the most glorious in all our crown, ‘Defender of the Faith;’ neither shall we ever give way to the authorising of anything whereby any Innovation may steal or creep into the Church.” He then, with a boldness which some would call rashness, but as became a patriot, denounced those whom he considered enemies of “God, and the King,” in these remarkable terms, “How audacious, yea, how impious, are our Innovators; how fearless of your Majesty; how regardless of your Royal Honour; that, in their Innovations, make such havoc, commit such outrages, and that upon the open theatre! New Rites and Ceremonies do now not ‘steal’ and ‘creep into the Church,’ but *nudo capite* are violently and furiously obtruded upon ministers and people.” He deprecates his Majesty suffering himself “to be abused, through credulity of their blandishing flatteries and baneful suggestions;” and prays that he will “be pleased upon others’ true reports,—true reports,” Burton repeats, “for who dare report falsely of them [of] whom so few dare speak the truth, . . . they be so potent and vindictive!—to make a full scrutiny and inquiry into their exorbitant and extravagant courses; and thereupon, to acquit your honour in executing Justice upon the delinquents. I do not charge any one particular person: that honour is reserved to your Majesty.” After this invocation of “Justice,” no considerate mind will blame Burton for appealing, hereupon, to his Majesty, “as the poor sheep” to the “Shepherd,” for clemency and protection against “the power of the Wolf!” Being to encounter with adversaries “to both” his Majesty and himself, Burton says, “I shall the more willingly undergo their Censure, so as they may have their condign punishment, according to law, for their most perilous Innovations. In fine,” he continues, “my last comfort is, and will be, that in case they shall, for the present, bear me down, together with so noble a Cause as this is—which yet I know will in time beat all its adversaries down, since it is Christ’s own cause,—I have been a true Witness of Christ, and a faithful Subject of your Majesty, in thus freeing my own soul, . . . whatever become of my

body, which is every day threatened by Pursuivants to be haled to prison, if your Majesty's justice, and good laws, do not all the better safeguard me. But prison, or not prison, I heartily thank my Lord Jesus Christ, who hath accounted me faithful, and called me forth to stand for his Cause, and to witness it, before all the world, by publishing my said Sermons in print: that thereby also I might clear both the Cause and my credit, which they have publicly, before hearing, branded with sedition."

We are now approaching the "Sum" of the Two Sermons, founded upon Proverbs xxiv. 21, 22. "My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change: For their calamity shall rise suddenly; and who knoweth the ruin of them both?" After his exordium, in which he touches on the memorable deliverance from the Popish Plot, Burton deduces from his text "an exhortation; an admonition; and a reason of the admonition." Among "points of instruction, arising from this text," he instances "holy fear," and affirms that in it we are bound to perform all obedience to God, by virtue of the Word of God as the rule, and of the Covenant God hath made with us in his Word, and we with Him.^a A "use" of this point is, he says, "for reproof and conviction of the whole Roman Synagogue; as being altogether devoid of the true 'fear' of God; and, consequently, is no true Church of Christ: none 'of the King's daughter';^b none of his spouse. Why? for all her fear towards God, is taught by the precept of men; her service of God, is a mass of idolatry and superstition; will-worship, of man's invention; and therefore, though they 'draw near' to God with their 'lips,' yet their 'hearts' are far from him."^c Another "use," he describes thus: "Here are justly reprov'd those men as wanting the true 'fear' of God, who, in these days, show themselves Antichrist's Factors, in teaching, practising, and pressing new forms of Worship, *Secundum usum Sarum*; and setting them up again in Churches; as, altar-worship, Jesu-worship,^d image-worship, cross-worship, and the like: a plain evidence, that these men,—whatever they most hypocritically pretend, and would be accounted as a new kind of saints dropped down out of the clouds, as most holy and devout persons,—have no true 'fear' of God in them. . . Therefore soasmuch as they set up and teach a false 'fear' and worship of God in the churches, 'I,' saith the Lord, 'will proceed to do a marvellous work among the people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be 'hid:' and, 'Surely your turning of things upside-down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay.'^e

"Come we now," continues Burton, "to the next point, which is the 'fear of the King'.^f . . The doctrine is propounded in the duty enjoined, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.'^g The precept is universal, to every creature, not Pope, nor Cardinal, nor Prelate excepted: all living under the King's dominion, must be 'sub-

^a P. 14.

^b Psal. xlv. 13.

^c Isai. xxix. 13.

^d "The sound and syllables of 'Jesus.'"

^e Isai. xxix. 14, 16—P. 14, 15.

^f P. 35.

^g Rom. xiii. 1.

ject,' to the King. . . There is a necessity of this subjection ; 'Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake ;^a so as if fear of 'wrath' be not bond strong enough, yet 'conscience' is, which will dispense with no man.^b . . Our subjection unto the King is to be regulated, as by God's law, the rule of universal obedience to God and man, so, by the good laws of the King. And note the completeness of this correspondence : it stays not here, but holds also in that mutual stipulation in covenant which the King and his subjects make at his coronation. . . To this purpose it is that his excellent Majesty, in the Petition of Right which he subscribed with his own royal hand, hath these words,—worthy to be written in golden characters,—'The King willeth, that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm ; and that the statutes be put in due execution, and his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties : to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative.' And, after that, in full Parliament, he concluded with these words, 'Soit droit fait comme il est désiré.'^c And then, in his Majesty's speech following, 'And I assure you my maxim is, That the People's liberty strengthens the King's prerogative ; that the King's prerogative, is to defend the People's liberties.' O blessed King, ever mayest thou live crowned with all blessings in thy royal self and posterity, being knit unto thy People in this indissoluble bond !

"And herein his Sacred Majesty showed himself a peerless son to his peerless father, who, in his speech to the Parliament, 1609, besides sundry other rare passages to the same purpose, hath these words, 'The King binds himself, by a double oath, to the observation of the fundamental laws of the kingdom ; tacitly, as being a King, and so bound as well to protect the People as the Laws of his kingdom'; and expressly, by his oath at his coronation ; so as every just King, in a settled kingdom, is bound to observe that paction made to his People by his laws, in framing his government agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with Noah after the deluge &c.^d And therefore a king governing in a settled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a Tyrant, as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his laws.' And a little after, 'Therefore all Kings that are not Tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of their laws : and they that persuade them to the contrary, are vipers and pests both against them and the Commonwealth :'^e which words, becoming a just King, I have here set down as an honourable testimony of such a Father, of such a Son ; and all to be for the stronger reason to all Subjects to perform all due obedience to their Sovereign."^f

"O pious, holy, reverend, grave, gracious Prelates ! whose academical entertainment of pious and religious kings and princes,—instead of learned and scholastical disputations, or exercises suitable to the

^a Rom. xiii. 5.

^b P. 37.

^c "Let right be done as is desired." See Rushworth, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 613.

^d Gen. ix.

^e Works : Speech at Whitehall.

^f P. 35—40.

condition of a learned Academy is a scurrilous Interlude ; and this in disgrace of that which is the greatest beauty of our religion, to wit, true piety and virtue. O blush at this, ye Prelates ! and, in your shrift, confess how unseemly this was for *you*, that pretend to succeed the apostles ! Either for shame mend your manners, or never more imprison any man for denying that title of succession which you so belie by your unapostolical practice ! . . I am ashamed of you, that ever it should be said I have lived a Minister under such Prelacy. Nay, as if this had not been sufficient, this is done in the very heart and height of God's tragedy still in acting in the Imperial city ; when we were all mourning, yea, and every moment as dying men. Was this a time, then, of entertaining the Court, and poisoning their ears with Interludes, and thereby provoking the Lord further to plague the King's good people, when you should rather have moved his Majesty, whom you and we all know to be forward enough to hearken to such a motion, to have called a true Fast, with prayer and preaching, over the land ?

"And, was that a time of Interludes ? Why did you not cause some plague to grow in such a mighty assembly ? When, notwithstanding preaching is made dangerous by you for fear of the plague ; which should be a means, as it hath been formerly, to drive away the plague by bringing the people to true humiliation and reformation. Whereas your gelded Fast-book,—contrary to the Reformation,—I am sure brought us, for a handsel, a double increase of the plague that week, to any week since the plague began. . . But by the way, take this with you, as when the Lord calls to fasting, you fall a-feasting, so there is a handwriting over you on the wall ; the prophet Essay will tell you, from the Lord, ' Surely this iniquity shall never be purged away from you till ye die, saith the Lord.'"^a

"But now do not exclaim, as if I spake against such entertainment of our gracious Sovereign and his noble Court, as is indeed honourable, grave, and suitable to such a majesty and train, for whom I am ready to sacrifice my dearest blood, if need were. Let not malice suck poison out of the sweet flower of candid sincerity. But this is by the way."^b

"The Prelates . . do so interpret and press the King's acts . . as if he prohibited the ministers to preach of the saving doctrines of Grace and Salvation ; without which, the very Gospel is destroyed. For example : I myself was convented by a pursuivant to London-house, and there, by his Lordship, charged for preaching of the golden chain of salvation, Rom. viii. 29, 30, as it lay in my course. . . It was objected to me, that therein I did contrary to the King's Declaration.^c To which I answered, that ' I never take the King's Declaration to be intended, by him, for the suppressing of any part of God's Truth.' . . I was suspended from my ministry. Thus, when they would ensnare or oppress us, they lay all the burden upon the King ; which, how injurious and dishonourable it is to his Majesty, I refer to them that are best able to judge of matters of such moment.

^a Isai. xxii. 12—14.

^b P. 49, 50.

^c "Of the Cause which moved him to dissolve the last Parliament : " 1628.

"Another time, namely then, when I was brought to the High Commission-board at London house, about that Book of mine,^a . . . though they had nothing at all against me, but railing and reviling, and charging me with sedition, which I retorted upon themselves, whereby I put them to silence for the time; yet they recovering breath, one of them said, 'I must to prison.' If I must, said I, I desire to put in bail, in regard of my ministerial charge; being within three days of Easter. 'No,' quoth my Lord of London, that then was,^b 'The King hath given express charge for *you*, that no bail shall be taken for you.' 'No! my Lord? Then I desire to know by what law or statute of the Land you do imprison me. . . I do here claim the right and privilege of a subject, according to the Petition of Right.' Well, for all this, to prison I must; and if I found myself aggrieved, I must bring a writ of false imprisonment. To the Fleet I went; where I was a prisoner twelve days: and when they sent me forth, to make me amends, they put me into the High Commission: 'out of the frying-pan, into the fire!' But, blessed be God, and my King, by the benefit of whose good laws I obtained a Prohibition against their illegal proceedings; which fetcht me off those shelves where, else, with the threatened storm of their Censure, I must have suffered shipwreck. But now, I refer it to the sad consideration of the sagest, whether that which he fathered upon the King, was not a most dangerous and seditious speech, tending to possess both me and the many bystanders, and consequently all the people in the land, with a sinister opinion of the King's justice and constancy in the keeping his solemn covenant with his people, as in that Petition of Right. . .

"Take yet another instance, and that also at the High Commission Court, where I was attending as a poor client, or rather an innocent, at the bar, waiting for my Censure. There, a Rule for a Prohibition for Master Prynne being tendered in Court, according to the course of the King's laws in that behalf, presently my Lord of London, the President of the Court, stands up and flies in the face of Master Prynne and his Prohibition with great heat of passion, even almost unto fury; and, after many threatenings to him, he uttered these words, that 'Whosoever should dare to bring the next Prohibition, he would set him fast by the heels!' This was spoken aloud, in open Court.^c Now, as I conceive, this did not a little reflect and trench upon the King's honour, the laws of the Land, and the liberty of the subject. . . Whereupon, then, did this man dare to utter such an insolent speech? Not from the King, I am sure. We have his royal word and hand to the contrary. And yet some, perhaps, might surmise that he durst not speak thus, in open Court, had he not some better ground for it than his own desperate boldness. Or, the best apology he can make is, that his tongue did run before his wit; and that, in the flames of his passion, he sacrificed his best reason and loyalty."^d

^a "Babel no Bethel: The Church of Rome no true Visible Church of Christ." 1628.

^b Laud.

^c See book. n. 477.

^d P. 50—54.

"To these instances, we will add two or three more, very remarkable, and whereof we all at this very time are eye-witnesses; for they are still in acting. The first is that most outrageous practice of the Prelates, in making havoc of the church and religion, by suspending, excommunicating, ousting of Ministers from their freehold, and the like; because they cannot, dare not read the Book of Sports on the Lord's day. . . The reading of this Book, by the ministers, is to bring in—and that not creepingly and by stealth, but by the head and shoulders, as it were by a floodgate set open—a mighty Innovation of the unity in doctrine concerning the Sabbath which hath been ever since the Reformation; and so from the reign of queen Elizabeth, of famous memory; constantly, universally, and unanimously maintained in the Church of England, until this late faction of Anti-Sabbatarians started up to cry down all sanctification, all power and purity of religion. And, indeed, the Innovation of the Doctrine of the Sabbath hath brought in with it a universal innovation of all religion, as experience is an eye-witness. . . It was never read, nor yet pressed upon any minister to be read, during King James's reign, which lasted six years after the publishing of the said Book in print: it was not ratified under the King's Broad Seal: . . it was never, in his reign, used as a snare and an engine to oust good ministers out of their ministry and living, as it is now used by the Prelates. . . By whose means it was raked out of the ashes, I know not; but this I am sure of, that the re-publishing of it, with some addition, was the first remarkable work which was done presently after the Lord of Canterbury took possession of his Graceship! . . And though the Prelates, with their learned Doctors and heirs-apparent, have puzzled their wits, broken their brains and sleep, spent many hours, and days, and months, in compiling and setting forth Treatises, Histories, Sermons, and suchlike; and all to overturn the Fourth Commandment, with the sanctification of the Sabbath-day, and so bring in Libertinism and all profaneness into the Church, thereby exposing our religion to the reproach and scorn of the Papists themselves; . . yet all their sophistry, decurtations of authorities, wranglings, windings, contradictions, vain distinctions, and bold asseverations, will never be able to abide the test.* . .

"The last instance wherein the Prelates do endanger a division between the King and his good Subjects, whom the Lord preserve in a perpetual bond of unity, is their most impetuous and violent obtruding of new Rites and Ceremonies, which they have begun through some whole Dioceses; and exacting a new conformity in all ministers thereunto. This is another snare wherewith they may catch more ministers, either to oust them of their ministry and living, or else to captivate them for ever as vassals for whatsoever base uses their good masters will put them unto. And herein they have made a fair progress already; as, for example, in two whole counties, Norfolk and Suffolk, where, in a very short space, they have made the foulest havoc of good ministers and their flocks, now left desolate, and exposed to the wolves as sheep without their shepherd, as our eyes have never seen; for,

* P. 55—60.

there are, already, threescore Ministers in that one Diocese suspended, and between three and fourscore more have time given them now till Christide, by which time either they must bid their good conscience farewell, or else their precious ministry and necessary means. Neither, I think, can it be showed, that in all Queen Mary's time, there was so great havoc made, in so short a time, of the faithful ministers of God in any part of, yea, or in the whole land. And now do these counties and countries groan under this intolerable burden; remediless, if God and the King do not relieve them. And our neighbour's house being thus on fire, doth it not concern us all, to look to it? For they say, that this shall be a precedent for all England! . . . Our New Reformers are tooth and nail for setting up Popery again: witness their hoisting up Altars in most places, as also of Images; crucifixes, with adorations; putting down of the means of knowledge, as preaching, and bringing in of ignorance; also preaching for sundry points of Popery, as auricular confession, praying to saints, yea, printing of such sermons; prayer for the dead,^a and many other. . . . They must needs mightily shake and unsettle the peace of the state by these their dangerous and desperate attempts, and fill the people's minds with musings what the issue will be, and how the King will digest these things at the Prelates' hands!^b

"The next instance is, their arrogating of their episcopal title and office of superiority from Christ and his Apostles! This they did lately, in the High Commission Court, and that upon occasion of Dr. Bastwick's cause, then before them; where he was accused, and severely censured, for writing a book, intituled 'Flagellum Pontificis, et Episcoporum Latialium.'^c In which book, he whipped that usurped authority of the Roman hierarchy; through whose sides, by reason of their near affinity, or, rather, consanguinity, they being sensible of the smart of his whip, took it all upon themselves; and so, as judges in their own cause, passed their episcopal censure upon him: yea, although he not only in his book, but openly before the whole Court, professed and protested that he meddled not with those Prelates who received and acknowledged their episcopal jurisdiction from kings and princes. . . . Notwithstanding, they alleged for themselves, that they had their episcopal authority from Christ; and if they could not prove it, they would cast away their rochets. So they may cast their caps too for any such proof they can bring for it? . . . Our Prelates have no other claim for their hierarchy, than the Popes of Rome have, and do make; which all our Divines, since the Reformation, till but yesterday, have disclaimed; and our prelates cannot otherwise, but by making themselves the very limbs of the Pope, and so our Church a member of that synagogue of Rome.^d The constant practice of our Prelates proveth this; for they neither have at any time, nor have sought to have, any of the King's Letters Patent, under the Great Seal of England, for their keeping Courts and Visitations, &c.; but do all in their own

^a That this is "no violation of any of the Articles," and a doctrine *not condemned* by the Church of England, has been judicially argued and affirmed in the Arches Court, London, in the cause "Breeks against Woolfrey," Dec. 12th, 1838.

^b Pp. 64—67.

^c 1635. 12mo.

^d "Dr. Pocklington's 'Sunday no Sabbath,' p. 48."

names, and under their own seals, contrary to the law in that behalf. . . They labour, by all means possible, to maintain this their absolute and independent jurisdiction : . . nay, they have grown so formidable of late, as if they were a new generation of giants ! that the very motion of a Prohibition makes the Courts of Justice startle ! So, as good causes are lost, and innocents condemned, because none dare plead and judge their cause according to the King's laws, whereby we ought all to be governed. For example, the ministers of Surrey, who are suspended from their ministry, and outed of their means and freeholds, against all law or conscience, yet are so disheartened and overawed, that they dare not contend in law against the Prelates, for fear of further vexations. . . But some will say, that they defend and maintain all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be from the King.^a . . Will Matthew, [Wren,] Lord Bishop of Norwich, say that he hath any warrant from the King, special or general, for making such havocs and hurlyburlies in those two great counties of Norfolk and Suffolk ? . . If he have not any warrant, but doth it of his own head, or by the instigation of any other Arch-Prelate, then let him look to it, lest he come to suffer as a usurper. . . If he say, he hath warrant for it, let him show it ; but I hope he will not father his desperate courses upon the King.^b . . I should be the first that should address my humble complaint to his Majesty of such dishonour done unto him, and humbly petition his Majesty to vindicate his honour from the least suspicion of his giving way to, or countenancing the Prelates, in such their practices as cry up to Heaven for vengeance upon their heads. . . This claim, which the Prelates make of their prelation and jurisdiction over Christ's Ministers, 'jure divino,' being repugnant not only to clear Scripture, forbidding all such domination as they practise,^c . . but also to the King's crown, to the laws of

^a "The Visitation Articles for Norwich, an. 1636, ch. i. art. 2."

^b "There was one Wren, Bishop of Norwich, born in London, a fellow, whose father sold babies, and such pedlary-wares, in Cheapside. This fellow very peremptorily, one day, as he sat in judicature in the High Commission Court, said openly, 'He hoped to live to see the time when a Master of Arts, or a Minister, should be as good a man as any Jack Gentleman in England ? And, verily, the pride of this saucy citizen's son hath been one main cause of the ruin of the clergy. Concerning this Wren, I know Canterbury preferred him, and brought him to those ecclesiastical advancements, in court and church, which he enjoyed. I do also know, and have heard it from some who waited on Canterbury in his chamber, that he would oft say that the rash actions . . of this Wren would undo the clergy ; but in regard he hath been the sole means of his advancement, he could not well do any act prejudicial against him, but it would redound to the dishonour of himself and the clergy in general ; also, he had many reluctancies in himself for preferring so unworthy a scornful fellow, who proved the scandal and scorn of churchmen, and an extraordinary plague to the whole nation. For upon his plaguing and punishing many godly clothiers in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, they were forced to leave their native country, and betake themselves and families into the United Provinces, where they have taught the Dutch the art and manufacture of clothing, even to the utter impoverishment of this whole nation !" Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles I. By W. Lilly. 1651. 4to. Reprinted, with a Life of Lilly, 1774. 8vo. p. 219. In p. 180, he remarks of the King, that "he erred extremely in this one business,—when divers godly Christians in Norfolk delivered him a petition against the tyrant Wren, their bishop, he sent for Wren, and bade him answer it !"

^c Matt. xx. 25—28. Mark x. 42—45. 1 Pet. v. 1, &c.

the land, and, consequently, to the liberties of the subjects; I know not with what warrant or conscience, any minister of Christ can submit to the practices of these men!^a

“And here, Beloved, let me, in the name of the Lord, admonish you, that whatsoever passages, or outrages, you see to be done by the Prelates, although they do never so boldly pretend the King's name for it, yet believe them not. Let never any sinister opinion concerning his Sacred Majesty, creep into the closet of your breasts, and as a snake, either sting or poison your true and loyal hearts towards him. And, therefore, beware of all those Factors for Antichrist; whose practice it is to divide kings from their subjects, and subjects from their king; that so, between both, they may fairly erect Antichrist's throne again. . . Stick close to your King; and if any danger come near his sacred person, step between, and let the loss of your own precious life rescue and secure his. . . If Princes shall command anything against God and his law, then we must remember that we are God's Servants too; and, therefore, must obey man in nothing that stands not with our obedience first to God: for this cause, the same Word of God is a rule both for the King, how to carry himself in governing, and for every Subject, how to carry himself to the King; and first^b unto God.^c

“Yea, and herein have we cause to comfort ourselves, and to bless the name of our God, who hath not left himself without witness, but hath raised up many zealous and courageous champions of his truth: I mean, faithful Ministers of his Word, who choose rather to lose all they have, than to submit and prostitute themselves to the wicked, unjust, and base commands of usurping Antichristian Mushrooms. . . Yea, their very not yielding in this battle, is a present victory!^d

“‘A Bishop ought not to be subject to Princes, but to rule over them:’^e and this, they have sufficiently proved by their late practices!^f

“What one Protestant can they bring that ever committed treason against his King; or lifted up a hand against his sacred person? But we can fill large volumes of examples, if need were, of Jesuits, Priests, and Prelates, that have been notorious traitors to their emperors and kings, and some of them that have laid violent hands upon the Lord's anointed. And howsoever they cry ‘thief’ first, and their cry being loudest prevails most, especially being ushered in with the very name of ‘Puritan,’—as, of old, the very name of Christians^g was crime enough,—yet they which thus abuse the ears of pious princes, . . these, will be found to be the greatest ‘thieves.’^h

“Were it a law in England,—as it was once amongst the Locrians, that whosoever would propound a new law, should come with a halter about his neck, that if it pleased not the Senate, the hangman was ready to do his office,—and the opportunity served, I should come with a halter about my neck, with this proposition, That it would please the great Senate of this Land to take into—their sad consideration,

^a P. 67—74.

^b 1 Pet. ii. 17.

^c P. 75, 76.

^d P. 83.

^e Decret. de Major. et Obed. Tit. xxxiii. Innoc. iii. Constant.

^f P. 88.

^g “Non scelus aliquod in causa esse, sed nomen.”—TERT. Apol. adv. Gentes.

^h P. 91.

Whether, upon such woful experience, it were not more honourable to the King and more safe for his kingdom, and more conducing to God's glory, and more consisting with Christian liberty, and more to the advancement of Christ's Kingly office which, by usurping Prelates, is trodden down; that the Lordly Prelacy were turned into such a godly government as might suit better with God's Word and Christ's sweet yoke.^a

"They have laboured to bring in a 'change' in Doctrine; as appeareth by these instances: by procuring an Order from king James, of famous memory, to the Universities, That young students should not read our modern learned writers, as Calvin, Beza, and others of the Reformed Churches, but the Fathers and Schoolmen. . . Did not king James write to the States against Arminius, calling him, 'That enemy of God?' How then, can any man be so injurious to the memory of that orthodox king, as to think he ever intended to inhibit young students the reading of those excellent, judicious, learned, illustrious lights of the Church, and to restrain them to the ancient Fathers and Schoolmen? . . .^b Again, we know what a learned champion king James was against Popery: . . . therefore, how can we imagine that any such Order was the King's, but rather that it proceeded from some of the Prelates about him; thereby the more easily to make way for the accomplishing of their plot, so long a hammering for the reintroducing of Popery. And to this purpose, they procure another Order in king James's name, For the inhibition of young ministers to preach of the doctrines of election and predestination; and, That none but Bishops and Deans should handle those points. And, after that, there is set forth a Declaration before the Articles of Religion, in king Charles's name, . . . so as neither Prelates nor Presbyters must meddle with them! Thus the doctrines of the Gospel must be for ever hushed and laid asleep. . . Thus the ministry of the Gospel is at once overthrown, and nothing but orations of morality must be taught the people. And herein do our Prelates follow the rule of Contzen, the Jesuit, in his 'Politics;' who prescribes this rule, of silencing Controversies, as an excellent way for restoring their Roman Catholic religion in the Reformed Churches.^c

"The mystery of God, touching his Grace, may not be opened, as it ought: and to this purpose, Mountagu's 'Appeal,'—the first part allowing altogether of Arminianism, the second of Popery,—was published; and that by the special approbation and allowance of the Prelates: but it pleased our gracious Sovereign to call it in. Also, the 'Historical Narration;' being a notorious pack and plot of knavery, for the concluding of the Arminian tenets to be the doctrines of the Church of England; was by them published, being allowed in London-house: although the Archbishop that then was,^d called it in. Also Dr. Jackson's books were to maintain Arminianism. So, that book of a nameless author, called 'God's Love to Mankind,' although it hath no express privilege, yet it goes abroad by connivance, being printed, as they say, in London. Also Cosen's 'Private Devotions,' which did maintain prayer for the dead, till, after the outcry, being

^a P. 109,

^c P. 113.

^b P. 111, 112.

^d Dr. Abbot.

questioned in Parliament, that point was purged out; but yet the whole book is Popish, and wears the Jesuits' badge in the front of it.* Also a Sermon of one Browne, preached at Oxford, in the prayer whereof, printed before the Sermon, is an express prayer for the dead; and it passeth for current, uncensored. Also the book of Franciscus à St. Clara, which hath been now thrice printed, and that in London, as they say, and much applauded of our Universities, and most boldly dedicated to the King's Majesty; and, they say, presented to the King by a Prelate. . . In the Commencement at Cambridge; not

* "A Trial of 'Private Devotions:' Or, A Dial for 'The Hours of Prayer.' By H. B. Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street.—Matt. vi. 7.—Lond. 1628." 4to. pp. 93, but not paged. He says, in the Dedication, to the Reader, "I hear, 'Alas, poor Burton, he is crackt! Discontentment, or hope of preferment, have embarkt him in this perilous adventure!' Such be the censures of the wise world. What shall I say? Am I crackt? wherewith? not, I am sure, either with too much 'learning,' as Festus charged Paul, or too much Living! And if I am mad, I am not the first: even the Prophets of old were so accounted. . . Yes, Christ, the Prince of Prophets, escaped not this doom. . . But, am I discontented? for what? what need I, when, blessed be my God, I have enough; no less than I desire, and much more than I deserve. . . I have Agar's wish, 'nor poverty nor riches,' Prov. xxx. 8.—both dangerous: and having enough, what need I for 'hope of preferment'! . . And yet, . . 'hope' hath had a special hand in all that I have undertaken: . . a 'hope' to glorify God; to do faithful service, and bring some profit to His Church, to my Sovereign, to my Country; and if this should fail in the success, 'hope' yet for God's mercy in the recompense of reward. In this cause, I have, with Moses, chosen 'rather to suffer affliction with God's people,' than to enjoy worldly preferments. . . As I uttered with a clear conscience, in the ears of the Lord Bishop of London, at my first examination, about 'Israel's Fast,' I have done nothing but with a true intent and desire for God's glory; . . and for which I am ready, if need were, to lay down my life. So little do I esteem the serpents' hissing, or the dogs' barking. Not to stay thee too long in the threshold, here take a full view of my answer to a Popish book bearing, in the front, 'A Collection of Private Devotions: Or, The Hours of Prayer.' If I have not fully unfolded the 'mystery of iniquity' wrapped therein, let thy charity pardon my imperfections, and thy sharper judgment supply my defects." To this work, Burton prefixed an Epistle, "To The Most Blessed and Beloved Spouse of Jesus Christ, the Church of England, my dear Mother!" His next piece is intitled "Truth's Triumph over Trent: Or, the Great Gulf between Sion and Babylon. That is, The unreconcilable Opposition between the Apostolic Church of Christ, and the Apostate Synagogue of Antichrist, in the Main and Fundamental Doctrine of Justification; for which the Church of England, Christ's Spouse, hath justly, through God's Mercy, for these many years, according to Christ's Voice, separated herself from Babylon, with whom, from henceforth, she must hold no Communion. By H. B. Rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street.—2 Cor. vi. 14—16. ['What fellowship, &c., with idols.?'] 1629." 4to. pp. 373. The Dedication affords another of those specimens against which our reverence for the Divine Name compels us to protest, though it be in the form of a prayer "To the High and Excellent, who inhabiteth eternity, Jesus Christ, &c." The purport of this treatise may be gathered from the second page of the dedication, where this passage occurs, "Thou numberest and weighest antichristian advocates, and Babel's pleaders, and Babylon's reconcilers, as if they would, in despite of Thee and thy blessed Word, re-erect Babel's tower within the borders of thy Sion." And in the page following are these words, "The truth is, O Lord, we must needs confess, to our great shame, that, with the church of Ephesus, we have declined from our first love." At the end of the Preface, Burton writes, "This poor work hath lain by me, licensed for the press, a pretty space. It was borrowed from the inte:-

long ago, was openly maintained Justification by Works; and Shelford's book will prove Justification by Charity.^a . . . And Shelford's second Treatise is to beat down true preaching and pulpits; for, saith he, he 'cannot find a pulpit in all the Scripture.' How? did the old priest never read the eighth of Nehemiah, appointed to be read for the 27th of May; wherein he might find both a pulpit, ver. 4, and preaching, ver. 8? . . . And yet this book was licensed by the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge that then was, Dr. Beale, and published at the very Commencement, whereat myself then was, that so it might poison all England. Add we hereunto another book, intituled the 'Female Glory,' by Anthony Stafford, printed by Authority, 1635; wherein he mightily deifies the Virgin Mary, calling her 'The grand white immaculate Abbess of the Snowy Nunneries!' . . . And in his Epistle to the Masculine Reader, 'Truly I believe that the undervaluing of one so great and dear in Christ's esteem, as his Mother, cannot but be displeasing to him; and that the more we ascribe to her, setting Invocation apart, the more gracious we appear in His sight;' and he concludes it thus, 'I will only add this, . . . I have read a book of the now Bishop of Chichester,'^b intituled 'Apparatus, &c.,' and I am glad to find that I have not digressed from him in any one particular.' So he: Lo, therefore what a metamorphosis of our religion is here! . . . Well, thus much of the first and grand 'Change,' to wit, in Doctrine; which our Prelates, especially of late days, have been a hammering!^c

"The next 'Change' is, Innovation in Discipline. . . I will not speak of their Domestical Discipline, but for the present, and for brevity' sake, pass it over: 'but from the beginning it was not so.'^d Jerome saith,^e 'A negotiating Clerk; and of poor, rich; of ignoble, glorious; flee from, as from a kind of plague.'^f

rupted successive hours of my Court-attendance. If it displease many, I pass not so much, if it may profit some." In the seventeenth, or last chapter, reference is made, p. 341, to an "allegation out of St. Augustine," which "the author," Mountagu, "of the 'New Gag for the Old Goose,' [see back, p. 472.] for haste, as charity may deem, rather than either of malice or ignorance,—not easily incident to a man of such rare and extraordinary learning,—hath, perhaps, casually, in such a swift flowing current of discourse, dropped from his goose-quill." As Burton has remarked on his style, we take occasion to give an instance of it from the dedication to Mountagu's "Distributæ upon the First Part of the Late History [by Selden] of Tithes," 1621. 4to. "Your Majesty, if ever were any of the royal rank, is he, in whom that ancient prophecy is accomplished, 'Kings shall be their nursing fathers,' forespoken to the church of the Redeemed, when yet the Synagogue was standing. It is your Majesty's glory, and our assured comfort, that you are 'Defender of the Faith' not only by title of most just inheritance, but by disposition also of most constant will, and by real performance many ways. Inasmuch that we of the Clergy may truly say—Under and by the protection of your most sacred Majesty, next unto the great God of heaven and earth, 'We live, and move, and have our being.' And as it was once the shout of Israel, in the days of Midian, 'By the sword of God, and Gideon,' so it is 'The sound of joy and gladness, in the dwellings of the righteous,—By the help of God Almighty, and his servant king James, We are not made a prey unto the destroyer, but stand in despite of the prince of darkness!'"

^a Sermon, Of Charity.—Burton, p. 150.

^d Matt. xix. 8.

^b Mountagu.

^e Ad Nepot.

^c P. 91—127.

^f P. 127.

"The third 'Change' is, in the Worship of God; which they go about to turn inside outward; as placing the true Worship, which is 'in Spirit and truth,' in a will-worship of man's devising, consisting in some external compliments and gesticulations.^a

"The fourth 'Change' is, in the Civil Government; which they labour to reduce and transfer to Ecclesiastical; while they seek to trample upon the laws of the Land, and step between the King and his People; .. used rather as vassals and slaves to the Prelates, than as the free Subjects of the King.^b

"The fifth Innovation is, in the altering of Prayer-books set forth by public Authority.^c

"The sixth Innovation is, about the Means of the Knowledge of God and of the Mystery of our Salvation.^d

"The seventh Innovation is, in the Rule of Faith.^e

"The eighth Innovation or 'Change' is, in the Rule of Manners.^f

"But what speak we of 'Changes?' Our Changers do plead that they bring in no 'Changes,' but revive those things which ancient canons have allowed and prescribed.^g .. These men have one special Sanctuary to flee unto, and that is, their Cathedral churches, where they may lay hold upon 'the horns' of their altars! These be their old 'high places, not removed:' these, as they are commonly used, be the ancient dens of these old foxes, to which they flee, being thus pursued: .. these, be those nests and nurseries of superstition and idolatry wherein the old Beldame of Rome hath nuzzled up her brood of Popelings, and so preserved her 'usum Sarum' in life to this day. .. What 'prescription' can that cathedral [collegiate] church at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, plead for her goodly, costly, new Altar, with the Dedication thereof, within these two or three years last past; in which dedication all the Roman rites were observed, as censings, washings, bowings, copes—though but borrowed from Litchfield,—chantings, abusing of Scripture—as John x. 22—to prove 'dedication' of altars! and the like? Or what 'custom' can the same Church plead, for erecting their new Altar, and throwing out of their ancient and painful preacher, Mr. Lee?^h

"How shall we bind these all-shape-turning Monsters to good behaviour? May not this whole State say, as that good king Jehoshaphatⁱ in the straits of Jerusalem, 'We know not what to do: but our eyes are towards thee, O Lord.'^j

"Here an end for this time; and thus far of this text, which as I began so I will conclude withal, 'My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King: and meddle not with them that are given to CHANGE: For their calamity shall rise suddenly; and who knoweth the ruin of them both?'^k

The thorns and briers among which Burton was now entangled with the certainty of not being extricated before he should have "endured a great fight of afflictions,"^l induced him to use vigorous efforts, and

^a P. 128. ^b P. 129. ^c P. 130. ^d P. 149. ^e P. 151.

^f P. 156. ^g P. 158. ^h P. 159—161.

ⁱ "Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?" ^k 2 Chron. xx. 12:

^j P. 164. ^l P. 163. ^m Heb. x. 32.

to implore the aid of the Secular Authorities: in what way, is seen in "An Apology of an 'Appeal.' Also, An Epistle to the True Hearted Nobility. By Henry Burton, Pastor of St. Matthew's, Friday-street. —'No man may deliver me unto them. I APPEAL unto Cæsar,' Acts xxv. 11.—1636." 4to. pp. 32.

In the prefatory Epistle, the Suiter informs the King of the difficulties which obstructed his approach to the Court, and "the conveying" of his "said Apology" to his Majesty: "I am at length," he says, "compelled to give forth copies, in hope at least, that some well-minded man, or noble spark, may, upon sight thereof . . be inflamed with so much zeal to your Majesty, as, overcoming all cowardly fear, to dare to do you so much service, in bringing a copy to your Majesty's hand, that so you may therein read the many and great disasters whereinto this your Kingdom is in a precipitancy of being engulfed! . . Can they, with any reason, blame me for divulging their practices, which they shame not to pester your Kingdom and oppress your good people withal?"

He writes, in the "Appeal" itself, "I except against the competency^a of those judges, who plainly appear to be both parties in the cause and adversaries to my person for the cause's sake; and, therefore, by the Common, Civil, and Canon Law, yea by the very Laws of God and Nature, which prohibit any man to be a judge in his own cause; especially when the party is an enemy to him that is to be judged by him."^b

"The Statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 1, uniting all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction whatsoever unto the imperial crown of this realm, enacteth the Oath of Supremacy . . *eo nomine*, to that very end and purpose; . . notwithstanding, these men, against whom I except, as aforesaid, . . do continually exercise their Episcopal Jurisdiction—without any such Letters Patents of your Majesty, or your Progenitors,—in their own names and rights only; and not in your Majesty's name and right. . . And, therefore, under your Majesty's royal favour, I account all such my adversaries, and so incompetent judges of my cause aforesaid."^c

He objects against his 'adversaries,' the administration of the "Oath *ex officio*;" the denial of a copy of the Articles of Impeachment, and of the advice of counsel; the recourse to "additional," and "additional upon additional," whereby his Majesty's Subjects are "intolerably grieved and oppressed, their causes protracted, expenses multiplied, and so never given over or dismissed the Court till they have brought them into their lurch."^d He objects, moreover, the illegality of the proceedings against himself, in particular: "Sedition," he remarks, is "no Ecclesiastical," but only a "Civil offence." "Since, therefore," he states, "they are so unjust as to question and article against me for 'Sedition,' of which they have no cognizance, I conceive it to be a *gravamen*, and so a just cause of Appeal from them."^e He objects also, their proceeding against him, as "very exorbitant, illegal, and extraordinary;" which he illustrates in several particulars:

^a "Incompetency," in the Original.
^d P. 11—13.

^b P. 6.

^c P. 8.

^e P. 14.

the last and ninth, being, "in denying me a Copy of the Articles exhibited against me, to perfect this my Appeal to your Majesty, and to annex them thereunto; and, refusing to give me a Copy of the acts of the Court and proceedings against me."^a

Burton next addresses "All the true-hearted Nobility of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council." His Epistle to them opens thus, "Expect not here from me the Court language or dialect; it will not suit my person, much less the Cause: . . . a Cause so important as, all circumstances and consequences well weighed, I dare say the like hath not come upon the stage for these many years."^b He tells them, that he had not "inconsiderately or rashly rushed upon this business;" that his "Great Lord and Master," Christ, had called him forth to be "a public Witness of this great Cause:" which the same "King of kings, and Lord of lords," he reminds them, calls upon their Honours, "to lay to heart." And he puts it to them, in plain but forcible terms, "What! shall we see Religion overturned; the Laws outlawed; our Liberties captived; Christ's kingdom, and the King's throne, together undermined; and Antichrist's throne exalted over us; and that, by a faction of Jesuited Poly-pragmatics; and we, like heartless doves, sit trembling while the Hagards do outdare us, as if we were made for nothing else but for them to prey upon?"^c "It cannot be without horror conceived," he exclaims, "into what drowning gulfs they must needs precipitate this otherwise godly State, if with God's good help, the King and State, jointly and speedily, put not to their main strength to stay it. All the world seeth in what a distracted estate things do stand; and what a cloud of Divine displeasure hangs over us: how ill we thrive in our affairs; how heavily the chariots are driven! And can we wonder, that God should blast all our beauty and glory, if men of Belial—if that lawless one!—be suffered to make havoc of Christ's Kingdom; to destroy the true Religion; and to set up again Popish superstition and idolatry over the Land?"^d "Whatever the present necessities be," he says, in conclusion, "this I am persuaded of, That never could a fairer opportunity be taken, if well followed, to vindicate his Majesty's honour; and to make him the most happy and glorious king in Christendom!"^e

Not content with appealing to the King and his Council, Burton addresses himself also, "To the Reverend and Learned Judges:" reminding them of their engagement to do justice "to all, impartially;" and, having asserted that the cause for which he was appealing to them, is "For God and the King," he puts it to their consideration, "Are you, then, for Christ? Then you must be for His Ministers, to do them justice in their just cause! If so, then '*what meaneth* this bleating of the sheep,'^f the grievous complaint of God's Ministry in many places of this Land, who are unjustly oppressed, suspended, excommunicated, outed of their Livings, and so themselves and families undone in their worldly estate? You will say, 'Why do

^a P. 17.^b P. 18.^c P. 20.^d P. 24.^e P. 25. Mrs. Burton "presenting" some of her husband's Sermons to these Lords, "was committed by the Lords for her pains." A New Discovery, p. 14.^f 1 Sam. xv. 14.

they not complain to us ?' If they do not, it is because some of them have done so, and found little or cold relief ; and because the common rumour goeth, That, the course of justice is stopt in such cases, so as none dare plead their cause, or open their mouths against the Prelates ! But I hope better : and if none be found to plead this cause of God, I hope your Worships will give me leave, according to the right of Law, to plead it, and yourselves will give true judgment. . . Do not your Wisdoms see a new generation of Innovators risen up in this Land, who, usurping and practising a Papal and Antichristian power and jurisdiction, exempted from the King's Laws, and not depending—as they pretend and profess—on the King's sole prerogative and authority, do thereby begin to overtop the Royal Throne, and trample the laws, liberties, and just rights of the King's Subjects under their feet ? *What meaneth* that difficulty of obtaining of Prohibitions now-a-days ; whereby the King's innocent subjects should be relieved against their unjust molestations and oppressions, in the Ecclesiastical Court and High Commissions ? *What meaneth* that consternation of spirit among Lawyers, that few, or none, can be found to plead a cause, be it ever so just, against an oppressing Prelate ; and are either menaced or imprisoned, if they do it ? *What meaneth* that timidity in Ministers and People, who choose rather to sit down with loss of all, even the cause of Religion itself, than go to Law against a Prelate ? *What meaneth* that lawless insolency and boldness of many Prelates ? . . *What meaneth* that Antichristian' pride, and lawless power, in vexing and conventing the King's good Subjects, for observing the King's Laws ? . . I beseech your Lordships well to examine the original root and cause of all these insolent irregularities and illegalities ; which not only tend to, but hasten on inevitable ruin both to the Church and State, if not speedily prevented. . . For God's sake, therefore, since his Majesty hath committed to you the sword of Justice, draw it forth to defend the laws against such Innovators who, as much as in them lieth, divide between the King and his People ! . . Your Worships' daily Oracle at the Throne of Grace, Henry Burton.*

CHAP. XXXII.

BURTON, BASTWICK, AND PRYNNE.

THE foregoing statement, compressed as it is, still is ample enough towards the forming of a just estimate of the subjects of complaint ; and of Burton's exposure of the aggressors to the contemplation of all the aggrieved, whereby to deter, if he could not correct, ~~through~~ the operation of public opinion. Ere that opinion had scarcely begun to be resounded, the vengeance of enraged power fell upon Burton's own person ; and though fury wrought judicial blindness and insensibility for the present, it roused resentment not to be lulled nor despised.

* P. 26—32.

"Just that night," says Burton, recording his Life, "when I had received some dozen copies bound up," of his Sermons and Appeal, "and the books for the King and Council were a binding up, and, not sooner nor later, having nearly concluded the family duties for that night, came the Serjeant-at-arms with his Mace, in the Bishop of London's name; accompanied with divers Pursuivants and other officers, yea with the Sheriff of London, with swords and halberds: and, with pickaxes, fall a breaking up my doors, which, being strong, and I making no resistance, held them work till eleven of the clock. They break in, surprise my person, ransack my study, carry away what books they pleased, and carry me away prisoner to a Constable's house for that night."^a

The copy of the warrant for Burton's forcible apprehension, under the hands of "W. Cant.," of "Guil. London," and four others, dated "Star Chamber, the first of Feb. 1636-7," is preserved in the book of 1641.^b No charge is alleged in the warrant, and its execution by forcible entry was determined, afterward, to have been against law. Burton was transferred the next day, by another warrant, to the Fleet prison, without having been brought before the Lords, which the first warrant required to be done "forthwith;" and this other warrant was also signed in the first place by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London, besides five Lay-lords. His "close" imprisonment was an excess of rigour which, it is remarked, "Canterbury himself," though accused of high treason, did not endure: but so closely shut up was Burton sundry weeks, that "neither his wife nor friends could have free access unto him."^c After having held a consultation upon certain publications "without any author's name," and "wherewith the Prelates were much vexed and perplexed," their "malice" was vented also against Bastwick and Prynne; and information was exhibited accordingly in the Star-Chamber, March 11th. On the 15th, the three prisoners were allowed, by another warrant, "to speak and confer" each with his own counsel, but, though joint defendants, not with any "other persons:" they met, however, at Lincoln's Inn, and at Gray's Inn, and held a mutual conference with their counsel; for which, the keepers were sharply checked by the Archbishop.

Prynne availed himself of his legal profession, and drew up a cross-bill against the Archbishop and others, charging them with "usurping upon his Majesty's prerogative royal;" with "innovations in religion; licensing of Popish and Arminian books;" and other particulars; to which, besides his own, he procured the signatures of Burton and Bastwick. The Archbishop demanded the opinion of the Judges whether for this proceeding, the complainants "might not be punished as libellers;" all but one resolved against his Grace "because the Bill was

^a P. 12, in "A Narrative of the Life of Mr. Henry Burton: Wherein is set forth the various and remarkable passages thereof; his sufferings, supports, comforts, and deliverances. Now published for the benefit of all those that either do or may suffer for the Cause of Christ; according to a Copy written with his own hand.—Phil. i. 21.—Dum patior pro Christo, potior Christo. Lond. 1643." 4to. pp. 51.

^b "A New Discovery," *ut supra*, p. 14.

^c *Ib.* p. 16.

tendered in a legal way ;" the Prelates contrived, however, to have it suppressed : and so immense was their power, that the prisoners' counsel were deterred from signing the Answers respectively ; upon which, Holt, " out of fear to displease the Prelates," erased his signature from Burton's Answer, but procured an order, May 10th, to " new sign it ;" Prynne's and Bastwick's remaining unsigned, they were summarily dealt with *pro confesso*.

The Archbishop succeeded in procuring a Certificate, June 1st., from eleven of the Judges, that it was " not necessary" that " the Ecclesiastical Court" issue their proceedings " in the King's name, or with the style of the King, or under the King's seal ; or that their seals of office have in them the King's arms : and that the statute 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2, which enacted the contrary, is not now in force."

Burton's Answer, signed by Holt, was, on the suggestion of the Attorney General, Sir John Banks, that it was " scandalous," referred to the Chief Justices, Bramston and Finch. They " rattled and reviled" Holt exceedingly, though he was the oldest practitioner in the Court of King's Bench, telling him that " he deserved to have his gown pulled over his ears for drawing it : " they expunged " the body and substance of it," and left the Answer so as that it made Burton to deny what he had " confessed and justified ;" and thus brought him into the same predicament with that of his co-defendants, the Information being taken *pro confesso* !

The hearing at the Bar of the Star Chamber Court was fixed for June 14th, and the prisoners were allowed " the day before," to attend their counsel ; though their sentences were predetermined.^a On that day, when they had all made their defence, Burton desiring " but one word more," said, " My Lords,—I perceive how I am brought into a great strait, either to desert my cause and my conscience, or to expose my person to the censure of this honourable Court : and seeing the necessity of the one of these two, I have and do, without any further deliberation, resolve rather to expose my person to the censure of this honourable Court than to desert my cause and my conscience." Having ended this speech, " a great hum was made in the room by many of the hearers, as an expression of their joy ; being much affected with this his Christian resolution." Silence being commanded, " the Lords proceeded to Censure," which was delivered by Lord Cottington, in these emphatically pregnant words :

" I condemn these three men to lose their ears in the Palace Yard at Westminster : to be fined five thousand pounds a man, to his Majesty : and to perpetual imprisonment in three remote places of the kingdom, namely the Castles of Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Lancaster." Lord Finch added, " Mr. Prynne to be stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters, S and L, for a Seditious Libeller." To which " most of^b all the Lords agreed."

Prynne, " to leave them inexcusable," delivered to the Lieutenant of the Tower, a petition to the Lords of the Star Chamber ; which was presented, the morning before he suffered, to the then Lord Keeper Coventry, in the Inner Star Chamber, who desired the Archbishop " to

^a Brief Relation, p. 24.

^b Added in the Table of *Errata*.

cast his eye thereon." Laud replied, "That he had no hand at all in the Censure; which was the Temporal Lords' act, not his: therefore he would have no hand in receiving any petitions concerning it; the rather, because their Lordships knew well, it was his Majesty's express pleasure and command it should be executed." By which answer, says the compiler of the Brief Relation, the Archbishop would seem to shift off both the Censure and execution of it, from himself; and lay the whole blame and odium of them on the King and Temporal Lords, who did nothing but by the Prelates' original instigation." The Sentence being once past, says the same authority, "the Prelates took care to make it irrevocable." The execution of it, he adds, "was dispatched before the Decree was entered," or before the Defendants' Attornies "could get any sight thereof, to except against it."^a

At the execution of the sentence, June 30th, the assemblage was so vast, and their affections so tender, "to behold these three renowned soldiers and servants of Jesus Christ, who came with most undaunted and magnanimous courage thereunto; having their way strewed with sweet herbs from the house, out of which they came to the pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them. Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Burton first meeting, they did close one in the other's arms, three times, with so much expression of love as might be; rejoicing that they had met in such a place, upon such an occasion, and that God had so highly honoured them as to call them forth to suffer for His glorious Truth. Then, immediately after Mr. Prynne came, the Doctor and he saluted each other, as Mr. Burton^b and he did before."

Bastwick's wife having come upon the scaffold, and having "saluted each ear with a kiss," so wrought on the populace, that they gave "a marvellous great shout:" he then spake aloud, in these words, "The first occasion of my trouble was by the Prelates, for writing a book against the Pope; and the Pope of Canterbury said I wrote against him! . . . If the presses were as open to us as formerly have been, we would shatter his kingdom about his ears: but be ye not deterred by their power; neither be affrighted at our sufferings. Let none determine to turn from the ways of the Lord, but go on, fight courageously against Gog and Magog. I know there be many here who have set many days apart for our behalf,—let the Prelates take notice of it,—and have sent up strong prayers to Heaven for us; we feel the strength and benefit of them at this time. I would have you take notice of it, we have felt the strength and benefit of your prayers all along this Cause. . . . Be not daunted at their power. Ever labouring to preserve innocency and keep peace within, go on in the strength of your God, and he will never fail you in such a day as this. As I said before, so I say again, Had I as many lives as I have hairs on my head, or drops of blood in my veins, I would give them up all for this Cause. . . . We owe no malice to the persons of any of the Prelates, but would lay

^a Brief Relation, p. 71.

^b Copies of the Warrants for Burton's Degradation from his Orders, and for the execution of the Star Chamber decree, are preserved in p. 61 of the Brief Relation.

our necks under their feet, to do them good as they are men; but against the usurpation of their power as they are Bishops, we do profess ourselves enemies till doomsday."

Prynne advanced and said, "For my own part, rather than I will have my case a leading case to deprive the Subjects of their liberty, which I seek to maintain, I will joyfully expose my person to be a leading example to bear this punishment. . . We were condemned, and the Information taken *pro confesso*; without either verdict, confession, or so much as one witness produced against us. . . The Prelates find themselves exceedingly vexed and aggrieved with us, that we affirm their Episcopal Jurisdiction, and superintendency over other ministers, *not to be jure divino*! I make no doubt but there are some of the Bishops' intelligencers or abettors within the hearing: whom I would have well to know, and take notice of, what I now say. . . If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the Hall gate." Whereupon, the people gave a great shout. . . "Now I make a second challenge, against all the Lawyers in the kingdom, in a fair dispute: . . I speak it again, I here challenge all the whole Society of the Law, upon a fair dispute, to maintain, That the sending forth of Writs and Process in the Prelates' own names, and under their own seals, to be against Law; and to intrench on the King's Prerogative royal, and the Subjects' liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingest death they can devise! We praise the Lord, we fear none but God, and the King. Had we respected our liberties, we had not stood here, at this time; . . for did you know how deeply they have intrenched on your Liberties, in point of Law; and upon our established Religion, in point of Popery;—if you knew but into what times you are cast,—it would make you look about you! And, if you did but see what changes and revolutions, of laws, religions, and ceremonies, have been made, of late, by *one man*; you would more narrowly look into your privileges. . . You all, at this present, see there be no degrees, or professions of men, exempted from suffering, under the Prelates' malice: here is a reverend Divine for the soul; a Physician, for the body; and a Lawyer, for the estate. I had thought they would have let alone those of their own rochet; and not have meddled with any of their own 'Sacred Order:' and yet the next, for ought I know, that is to follow us, and receive a Censure in Star-Chamber, is like to be a Bishop!^a . . Gentlemen,—look to yourselves; you know not whose turn it may be next. . . I beseech you all stand firm; and be zealous for the Cause of God and his true Religion, to the shedding of your dearest blood; otherwise, you will bring yourselves and your posterities into perpetual bondage and slavery to these Romish Innovators and tyrannizing Prelates." The Archprelate of Canterbury "being informed, by some of his spies, what Mr. Prynne spake; as he was sitting in the Star-Chamber; moved the Lords, that Mr. Prynne might be gagged, and have some further Censure laid and presently executed upon him. . . To which, the Lord Keeper answered, That his Grace should do well not to take notice of what men spake

^a Williams: see Brief Relation, p. 23.

when they were in pain on the pillory; their very standing on it, being sufficient to discredit all they uttered!"

Burton's pillory stood alone, next the Star-Chamber, and about half a stone's cast from the other, double, pillory, .. so as all their faces looked southward; the bright sun all the while, for the space of two hours, shining upon them. Being ready to be put into the pillory, .. he hasted off his band, and called for a handkerchief; saying, *What*, shall I be last? Shall I be ashamed of a pillory, for Christ, who *was* not ashamed of a cross for me? Then being put in, he said, "Good people,—I am brought hither to be 'a spectacle to the world; to angels, and to men.'" And howsoever I stand here to undergo the punishment of a rogue, yet except to be a faithful Servant to Christ, and a loyal Subject to the King, be the property of a rogue, I am no rogue! .. That Book, intituled 'An Apology, &c.' charged against me in the Information, I have, and do acknowledge." .. Having a nose-gay in his hand, a bee came upon it; when he said, "Do ye not see this poor bee? She hath found out this very place to suck sweetness from these flowers: and cannot I suck sweetness, in this very place, from Christ?" .. One asked him, How he did? He said, "Never better, I bless God, who hath accounted me worthy thus to suffer." .. Some asked him, If the pillory were not uneasy for his neck and shoulders? He answered, "How can Christ's yoke be uneasy? This is Christ's yoke; and he bears the heavier end of it, and I the lighter: and if mine were too heavy, He would bear that too!" .. The keeper going about to ease the pillory, Mr. Burton said, Trouble not yourself. .. He said, with a most cheerful and grave countenance, "I was never in such a Pulpit before; but little do ye know what fruits God is able to produce from this dry tree! .. remember it well; for this day will never be forgotten: and through these holes, God can bring light to his Church." .. He looked towards the other pillory, and, making a sign with his hand, cheerfully called to Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Prynne, asking them, "How they did?" who answered, "Very well!" A woman said, Sir, every Christian is not worthy this honour which the Lord hath cast upon you this day. "Alas," said he, "if it go by worthiness, who is worthy of the least mercy?" .. Another said, There are hundreds which, by God's assistance, would willingly suffer for the Cause you suffer for this day. To whom he said, "Christ exalts all of us that are ready to suffer afflictions for his Name, with meekness and patience: but Christ's *military* discipline, in the use of his spiritual warfare in point of suffering, is quite forgotten: and we have, in a manner, lost the power of religion, in not denying ourselves, and following Christ, as well in suffering as in doing." .. A cheerful message being brought from his wife, he blessed God for her, and said, "She is but a young soldier of Christ, but she hath already endured many a sharp brunt; but the Lord will strengthen her unto the end." And having on a pair of new gloves, he said, "My wife, yesterday, of her own accord, brought me these wedding gloves; for this is my wedding day!" .. To a friend he said, "I am jealous of God's honour; and the Lord keep us, that we may do nothing that may dishonour him,

* 1 Cor. iv. 9.

either in doing or suffering : God can bring light out of darkness, and glory out of shame ! And what shall I say more ? I am like a bottle which is so full of liquor that it cannot run out freely : so, I am so full of joy, that I am not able to express it !”

Some one told him of the approach of the executioner, and prayed God to strengthen him : he said, “ I trust he will.” . . He cut off one ear deep and close to the head, in an extraordinary cruel manner, yet this Champion of Christ never once moved or stirred for it, though the executioner had cut the artery so as the blood ran streaming down upon the scaffold ; which, divers persons seeing dipped their handkerchiefs in as a thing most precious ; the people giving a mournful shout, and crying for the surgeon, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept off, so that he could not come to stop the blood : this patient all the while held up his hands and said, “ Be content ; it is well ; blessed be God, it cannot be better bestowed.” The other ear being cut no less deep, and streaming out ; . . he then was, after a while, freed from the pillory . . . His head being bound up, two friends lead him away to a house provided for him in King-street ; where being set down, and bid to speak little, yet he said, after a pause, “ This is too hot to hold long. . . I speak not this of myself, for that which I have suffered is nothing to that my Saviour suffered for me !” . . He was often heard to speak these words, “ The Lord keep us, that we do not dishonour Him in any thing.”

“ Dr. Bastwick having been let out of the pillory, and while standing on the scaffold, took the sponge, all bloody, from his ear ; and, waving it over his head, with an audible voice, lifting his eyes to Heaven, uttered these words, ‘ Blessed be my God, who hath counted me worthy, and of his mighty power hath enabled me, to suffer any thing for His sake ! And as I have now lost some of my blood, so I am ready and willing to spill every drop that is in my veins in this Cause, for which I now have suffered ; which is, For maintaining the Truth of God, and the Honour of my King, against Popish usurpations. Let God be glorified ; and let the King live for ever !’ . . Two gentlemen of eminent place and rank, took him by each arm, and led him into a house in Palace Yard ; . . where his wife met him, and his two surgeons. . . Some few hours after, his Keepers conveyed him back again unto the Gatehouse in Westminster, where he had been kept a prisoner above two years before they brought him forth unto this public suffering.”

“ Last of all, . . the bloody executioner performed the execution upon Mr. Prynne with extraordinary cruelty ; heating his irons very hot, and burning his cheeks twice. After which, he cut off one of his ears so close that he cut off a piece of his cheek too, . . and then hacking the other ear almost off, he left it hanging, . . till the surgeon called him . . and made him cut it off quite. . . He uttered, as soon as the executioner had done, this heavenly sentence, ‘ The more I am beat down, the more am I lift up !’ As soon as he came off the pillory he said, ‘ Now, blessed be God, I have conquered and triumphed over the Prelates’ malice ; and feel myself so strong that I could encounter them altogether at this very present !’ . . He was carried to a chamber ; . .

where resting . . about two hours' space, or more, he then visited Dr. Bastwick, and took his farewell of him. And so returning . . in a boat, to the Tower, made, as I hear, these two verses by the way, on the two characters branded on his cheeks,

' *S-tigmata* maxillis referens^a insignia *L-audis*,
Exultans remeo, victima grata Deo.'^b

The sufferers severally awaited, in their temporary prisons, the further execution of the portentous "Censure," in prospect of which, we are told that the Archbishop "out of his superabundant 'Grace,'" procured instructions from the Chancellor of that Duchy; to be sent to the Jailor of Lancaster Castle; and "a true copy" of the "original Letter, under the said lord's hand and seal" is preserved in these words, "You will very shortly receive a prisoner into the Castle of Lancaster, one Mr. Burton, committed thither by the sentence of the Star Chamber; and I am, by direction from the Lords of the Council, to give you notice and charge, that you take especial care to see that the said Sentence and Decree be strictly and precisely observed in all points touching his imprisonment; for there will be a very strict Account taken of you for it. And so this being for no other cause, I rest, Your Loving Friend, E. Newburgh.—Duchy House, 3 July, 1637."

On the 15th, the warrant for their removal was issued to the Warden of the Fleet, and the arrangements being completed, so far, Dr. Bastwick was conveyed, on the 26th, towards Launceston; Prynne was the next day, conducted towards Carnarvon, the streets, "till beyond Highgate, were full of people;" and the day following, Mr. Burton was conveyed towards Lancaster, multitudes "appearing in the streets," and, "his wife, daughter, and other of his friends followed him to Lancaster." The officers took with them Warrants of Assistance dated July 20th, for their safe conveyance; besides the Warrants, under the Lord Keeper's hand, to the Jailors of the three Castles, that for Burton being in these terms, "These are to require you, That you receive from the Warden of the Fleet, or his Servants, the Body of Henry Burton—who, by the Decree of the Most Honourable Court of Star Chamber, dated the 14th of June last, at the Suit of his Majesty's Attorney General, is to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the Castle of Lancaster, and none to have Access unto him there, but by special Licence of his Majesty, or the Lords of his Highness' Privy Council; and that you keep him in the said Castle according to the direction of the said Decree, and that you take care that he be not admitted, at any time during his said imprisonment, to have any use of pen, ink, or paper, nor of any other books but the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and such other books of Devotion as you will be answerable

^a "Bajulans," in edit. 1637, of the Brief Relation," p. 22.

^b "Bearing *Laud's Stamps* on my cheeks, I retire

Triumphing; God's sweet sacrifice through fire."

Brief Relation, p. 66; and Prynne's "Comfortable Cordials," 1641. p. 15.

for, that they are consonant to the Doctrine of the Church of England.—Thos. Coventry.”

While on their way,^a says the compiler of the “New Discovery” to these their designed remote prisons, “the Archbishop procures the King

^a Bastwick reached his destination on the 1st of August; Prynne, on the 5th; and Burton, on the 7th. To show further, the personal interference and ill-omened hostility of the Bishops, the following particulars relating to Prynne cannot be suppressed here. “Mr. Prynne, in his passage from London to Carnarvon, rested at the city of Coventry on the Lord’s day, where he went twice to church: his Conductors having no order to restrain him from church; nor to prohibit any of his friends to resort to him, some of his acquaintance of that city came and visited him at his chamber in the Inn, out of which he stirred not but only to church. [The Archbishop of] Canterbury being informed hereof, sends a Messenger thither, in post haste, for the Mayor, whose wife had visited Mr. Prynne, not himself, to bring them up, and six more of the city, to the Council Table; and gives Order to the King’s Attorney General, to bring a *Quo warranto* against the town, to seize their liberties! They being thus brought up, attended the Lords above a fortnight; and, petitioning to be discharged, the Lords referred them to the Archbishop, who caused them to be sent for. He turns them over—being attended by them—to Mr. Attorney, who examines them concerning their visiting of Mr. Prynne at his Inn in Coventry, and his going to church there; and, at last, finding nothing against them,—the most of them having not so much as spoken to him in their lives,—they were, with a check, and the expense of two or three hundred pounds *vis et modis*, dismissed.

“Mr. Prynne going forwards in his journey towards Chester; within two miles thereof, one Calvin Bruen of that city, casually overtaking his Conductors and entering into parley with them as they rode together, asked who Mr. Prynne was: they informing him, demanded of him, ‘which was the best Inn in Chester, where they might be best accommodated with lodging?’ He acquainting them . . . demanded of them, ‘whether he might visit Mr. Prynne at his Inn without offence?’ They replied, ‘yea.’ . . . Whereupon, Mr. Bruen, and some other of Mr. Prynne’s acquaintance of Chester, came to see him at his Inn; and the next day went with him into the city; . . . and when he departed out of Chester, none of his Conductors knowing the way, some three or four of his friends conducted them over the washes, which are dangerous; and bringing them onwards in their way, about four or five miles, bestowed a cup of wine and some cold meat upon his Conductors, and returned. The Bishop of Chester hereupon informs against these Chestermen, for visiting Mr. Prynne; and sends up their names to [the Archbishop of] Canterbury, who, having some notice of it before [!] was angry with the Bishop because he received not the first information from him; which the Bishop excused by his absence from Chester at that time. And, to ingratiate himself the more with the Archbishop, . . . to manifest his zeal to his Grace’s service, and his detestation against Mr. Prynne, for the Archbishop’s sake, he, in the first place, makes an Order, entered into his Register, which he caused to be published in all the churches of Chester; wherein, he slanders Mr. Prynne, his friends that visited him, with his fellow-sufferers; enjoins all the Ministers and Lecturers in the city publicly to preach against them: turning the pulpit into a Pasquill. A copy of which good Order, for the strangeness of it I have here inserted.—‘WHEREAS divers persons, notorious and factious Schismatics, have been lately Sentenced, &c., in conveying some of them to prison some schismatical persons of this City of Chester, to the affront of Authority factiously countenancing them, have most audaciously testified their approbation of the Offenders and their Offences; not only in words, but by entertaining the Offenders in such sort as if they had wrongfully and unjustly been sentenced: . . . Therefore, the Lord Bishop of this Diocese having,—not without violent presumptions, but with a great deal of sorrow,—just cause to suspect some of the Clergy of this City as either openly or privately approving or encouraging

and Lords, sitting in Council, to make a new Warrant, one of which, being all one but in the names, I shall here present, to show the unsatiableness of the Archbishop's malice."—"At the Court at Oatlands, the 30th of July, 1637. Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty; Lord Archbishop of Cant.; Lord Keeper;"—and twelve others.—"Whereas Henry Burton is, by the late Sentence of Star-Chamber, to be committed to the Gaol, in the Castle of Lancaster, and there to be kept close Prisoner, Their Lordships conceiving that the said Burton cannot be, in a common Gaol, kept so close a Prisoner as by the said Sentence is intended: upon consideration thereof, do, Hereby, will and require the Constable or other Chief Officers of the said Castle of Lancaster, and his Deputy or either of them, to suffer the Sheriff of the County of Lancaster, or the Keeper of the said Gaol under him the said Sheriff for the time being, still to use such Room or Chamber without the said Gaol and within the said Castle, as shall

the like Schism or Faction; in discharge of his duty hath thought good, in his Triennial Visitation, to Order, and doth, hereby Order and Decree, That every Lecturer in any Parish Church of this City, before every his Lecture or Sermon, shall henceforth, in his surplice, read Prayers distinctly, reverently, and fully, according as it is prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; and shall not Preach but in his Surplice: And, That as well all such Lecturers as all other persons, Vicars and other Preachers, shall, in their next Lectures and Sermons, after timely notice of this Order, make Public expression of their Hearty Detestation of the offences for which the said Offenders were Censured, as tending notoriously to Schism and Sedition:.. All which his Lordship doth require of them, upon their Canonical Obedience, and upon pain of Suspension of the parties offending or subterfuging... Dated the 24th of Aug. 1637.—John Cestrien."

"After this, the Bishop and his Chancellor sending for Calvin Bruen with others of Chester, and getting all the names of those who visited Mr. Prynne there, sent a Catalogue of them to the High Commissioners at York, by [the Archbishop of] Canterbury's direction; who, forthwith, sent out their Pursuivants with Warrants, to apprehend and bring them up to York. Which the Pursuivants did accordingly; carrying them away in the beginning of their greatest Fair, to spite and prejudice them the more. The Pursuivants took four pounds a man of every one of them, for their fees. When they came there, an oath *Ex officio*, Articles upon Articles, are administered to them, concerning their visiting of Mr. Prynne at Chester; which they confessing, they were, for this sole offence, without any examination of witness, fined, some £500, some 300, some 250; imprisoned; and forced to enter Bond in £300 apiece, to stand to the further Order of the Court; and, to make a public acknowledgment of this Great Crime, both in the Cathedral Church at Chester, .. and likewise in the Town Hall."

Bruen was thus compelled by the Commissioners, to stand on a stool before the pulpit, in Chester Cathedral, "and say and recite after the Minister" a Declaration and Acknowledgment of his said "Offences;" and that he might "find mercy," to repeat the Lord's Prayer! And Dr. Snell, the Archdeacon, in his Sermon, on Matt. xviii. 17, took occasion to show "the great mercy of the King in sparing the lives" of "those seditious persons," as also the danger "which these countenancers and offenders had run into, being by the Law, liable to the like punishments, if mercy had not converted them before the Church!"

Such a terror was Prynne to the Bishops, that the Commissioners bearing there were "pictures" of him in Chester, "persecuted the poor painter, whom they oft examined upon oath, for drawing them; and then made two Orders in Court, first to deface, and then to burn them publicly at the Cross in Chester; copies of which Orders are contained in p. 103—107 of this "New Discovery."

be most fit and convenient for the said Sheriff for the time being, or his Gaoler, to keep the said Burton a close Prisoner there: And that none of the other prisoners, or any other person or persons, be permitted to come into the said Castle, to confer or any way to converse with the said Burton, such only excepted as are to take care of his safety or to attend the said Burton to give him daily sustenance and relief: And the said Burton is not to be permitted to have the use of any pen, ink, or paper, or of any book or books save only the Bible, the Book of Common Prayer, and such other Canonical books as he shall desire for his comfort and devotion, and which are consonant to the Religion professed in the Church of England: In regard of which close Imprisonment his Majesty will give allowance for his diet; for all which, this Order shall be a sufficient Warrant to the said Constable or other Chief Officer of the said Castle of Lancaster and to his Deputy and the Gaoler aforesaid.—*Exam. Will. Becher.*"

Burton arrived at his destination August 7th, and was shut up, accordingly; and "in an upper chamber, without bed or furniture, and so ill floored that his feet and legs might easily slip through at every step, if he looked not the better to it. Soon after his coming thither, there were a company of Witches purposely imprisoned in the chamber under him; and a rank Papist set to bring him his meat, and to be his chamber-fellow; neither his wife, daughter, nor maid, being once permitted to come near him, no, not when he was ill and like to die."

"Some weeks after, the omnipotent malicious Arch-Prelate, to add double affliction to the afflicted, and to deprive them of all possibility of comfort or relief from their wives, children, kindred, or friends, procures an Order for their exiles and close imprisonment in the Castles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly; a true copy whereof you may here behold: 'At the Court at Oatlands, the 27th of August, 1637. Present the King's Most Excellent Majesty; Lord Archbishop of Cant.:'—and eleven others,—'Whereas by Sentence. &c.,.. His Majesty having been since informed how inconvenient the said Castles are for the custody and guard of those Prisoners, did this day Order, with the advice of the Board, That the said Bastwick should be removed to the Castle or Fort of the Isles of the Scillies; Burton, to the Castle of the Isle of Guernsey; and Prynne, to one of the two Castles of the Isle of Jersey;.. And that to prevent the danger of spreading their Schismatical and Seditious Opinions, .. none be admitted to have conference with them or to have access unto them but only such as, being faithful and discreet persons, shall be appointed, by the Governor or Captains of those Castles or their Deputies, for attendance upon them, to give them their daily sustenance, &c.; .. And that no Letters or Writings be permitted to be brought unto the said Prisoners, nor from them to be sent to any person or place whatsoever:.. And moreover, that the Wives of the said Bastwick and Burton, who, as his Majesty hath been informed, have made some attempts to procure access unto their said Husbands and to convey Letters unto them, and, as is conceived, will be evil instruments to disperse and scatter abroad those dangerous Opinions and Designs which their said Husbands shall desire to spread, contrary to the true intent of the Sentence and Decree

of the said Court, therefore they shall not be permitted to land nor abide in any of the said Islands : . . And it is further Ordered, That those persons who shall be employed for removing the said Persons as above said, either by Sea or Land, do carry or convey them with all privacy and secrecy, to prevent all concourse of people in their passage ; and, that they suffer no person whatsoever, but themselves only who have the charge and care of conveying them, to speak with them in their passage.—*Exam. Dudley Carleton.*”

Warrants conformable to this change were dispatched to the respective Governors, to prepare for the reception of the prisoners. And it is remarked, that the “Machiavelian policy” of the Prelates should be observed, “for though their hands appear in the Warrant and Council-Table Order, yet they cause the Temporal Lords only to subscribe the Letter for the execution of it !”^a So we see the Order to the Sheriff of Lancaster for Burton’s removal, dated “From the Court at Hampton Court, the 17th of Sep. 1637,” is signed by William Cant. and others ; and another to the Keeper, at the same time, is signed by William Cant., and Guil. London, and others. And here we are told to observe, that “Canterbury, in his Oration in the Star-Chamber, and his Epistles Dedicatory prefixed to his Answer to Fisher, like a notorious hypocrite, desires ‘God to forgive them,’ and forbears to Censure them ; as if he bore no malice towards them, whenas all their troubles streamed principally from his enmity.”^b

Upon the receipt of the Orders and Warrants the several prisoners were taken from their late abodes, where, according to a passage in the Order of July 30th, that “in regard” of their “close imprisonment, his Majesty will give allowance for diet,” they found “this charity was only inserted to blind the people, and prejudice them. For the Prelates being his majesty’s Purse-bearers, and having his Treasury keys at their devotion, there was not so much as one penny given or allowed to any for their diet ; and had not their friends and keepers been more charitable than the Prelates, they might have starved many a hundred times, notwithstanding this pretended, indefinite, allowance.”^c

“Mr. Burton, on the 1st of October, was, by the High Sheriff of Lancaster’s substitutes, very early in the morning, with all privacy removed from Lancaster Castle,—his wife and children being not permitted to speak with him, but only to behold him afar off,—unto Liverpool, and there shipped for Guernsey ; where, after a long and dangerous passage through the Irish seas, he arrived safely at Castle Cornet in Guernsey, the 15th of December ; and was shut up close prisoner, in a low narrow chamber, having a palisade of boards set up before the window, that so none might come near to see or speak with him. Out of which chamber he was not permitted to stir for a long time till he was like to be smothered for want of air, and removed by degrees to a more convenient lodging.”^d Bastwick was removed on the 10th of Oct. and “landed at the Islands of Scillies the 16th of the same October.” Prynn was embarked also on the 10th of Oct., but

^a Brief Rel. p. 90.

^b *Ib.* p. 85.

^b *Ib.* p. [sheet between p. 90—91.]

^d Extra sheet, *ut supra*.

the vessel was so leaky, and the weather so foul, that "they were enforced to put in both at Falmouth and Plymouth; so as they arrived not at Jersey till the 15th of January following."^a

^a Extra sheet, *ut supra*.—Before Bastwick shall appear as an opponent of "one of his quondam fellow-sufferers," it will give some insight into his present occupation to notice what Heylyn describes, in the *Life of Laud*, p. 326, as "so silly and contemptible, that nothing but sin and malice appeared in every line thereof." During his former imprisonment he had occupied himself in drawing up a series of tracts, at the end of the first of which it is said "there are seven parts more of it to come out." The first of five of them lying before us, has the appearance of having been printed abroad, and is in small type, double columns, quarto, with this title, "The Letany [*sic*] of John Bastwick, Doctor of Physic; being now full of Devotion, as well in respect of the common calamities of Plague and Pestilence, as also of his own particular Misery: Lying at this instant in *Limbo Patrum*. Set down in two Letters to Mr. Aquila Wykes, Keeper of the Gatehouse, his good Angel; in which, there is a universal Challenge to the whole World, to prove the Parity of Ministers to be *Jure Divino*. Also, A full Demonstration, That the Bishops are neither Christ's nor the Apostles' Successors, but Enemies of Christ and his Kingdom; and of the King's most excellent majesty's Prerogative Royal. All which he undertaketh to make good before King and Council, with the Hazard of otherwise being made a prey to their insatiable Indignation. A Book very useful and profitable for all good Christians to read, for the stirring up of Devotion in them likewise.—Prov. xxv. 2.—Printed by the special Procurement, and for the special Use of our English Prelates, in the year of Remembrance, 1637." Pp. 21. From the Dedication, headed, "John, the Physician, To the Virtuous and Elect Lady, the Lady Walgrave, at her House in Worminford in Essex," we copy as follows. "You well know, Madam, I was made a prey to mine enemies, a scorn to all the profane, and sons of Belial: forsaken of all, from the King that sits upon the throne to the peasant on the dunghill. No sooner was I struck with the tail of the Scorpion, but all the gentry in the country abandoned me immediately, as if I had been then wounded with the contagion, so that I was a spectacle of misery, and abhorred of my very familiars. The rural courtiers likewise, were all afraid of me: and for the nobility, I was made abominable to them, though unknown; insomuch as if any had chanced to name me among them, they would forthwith reply, 'Where is that rascal?' And to all this misery of desertion, and the spoiling of my goods, Satan cast me into prison, where I have now continued, in strait durance, almost these two years. All which things would drive any man to his prayers and devotions, especially the epidemical calamity also adhering so close unto him. And little do you think, Madam, for what I and mine suffer this misery. I desire you may not [*sic*] ever be a stranger to it. My wife and all my small children are deprived of all comforts, for my maintaining the Religion established by public Authority, and the King's most excellent majesty's prerogative royal, and no other cause. . . At my arraignment, at Lambeth, they condemned me only for writing a book against the Pope and Italian bishops, and such as vindicate authority over all kings and princes, and their fellow-brethren, *Jure Divino*: from the number of which, I excluded ours and all such bishops as acknowledge their authority from kings and emperors. . . Notwithstanding all this, they averred the authority that they now exercised, in England, over their brethren was *Jure Divino*; and that Jesus Christ made them bishops, and the Holy Ghost consecrated them; and that they were princes and had their thrones, and were before Christian kings, and held the crowns of princes upon their heads: and that all that were of a contrary mind, as Calvin, were base fellows, and enemies of monarchical government, and went about to overthrow kingdoms; for 'no bishop, no king!' Whereupon, after infinite expenses, they adjudged me to pay the costs of suit: to imprisonment till recantation—and that is till doomsday in the afternoon!—to the loss of my practice; and censured my book to the fire: and after they had . . . railed at me in the open sessions, and said I 'ought to be knocked down with club-law'—though

I provoked them not in the least thing,—then they fined me a thousand pounds, and gave me over to the Devil! A good and godly Censure it was; of which I may say as a poor silly old countryman spake, coming once to London, in the time of a great plague, and seeing a superscription over a door, not being acquainted with such things in the country, and reading it—'Lord have mercy upon us';—'I promise you,' saith he, 'a good and a godly saying; I would every house in the town had as much on it!' Meaning no ill, poor man. So I say, their Sentence was a good and a godly Sentence: I would every Prelate in England were under the same!"—"Now I beseech you, look upon the pride and ingratitude of these men. What is it that this world can yield unto mortal creatures, that they possess not? Great and mighty are their privileges; and yet they are neither thankful to God nor the King for the same; nor content, but would have more. They have the keys of heaven, to shut out whom they will: they have the keys of hell, to thrust in whom they please: they have the keys also of our purses, to pick them at their pleasure,—and this is purgatory. I pray, look to your purses there in the country!—They have the keys, likewise, of all the prisons in the kingdom, to infetter any at their beck. And are not these, sovereign and imperial prerogatives and privileges? Yet this is but a part of their dignity! All the Judges, all the Sheriffs, all the Mayors, all the Bailiffs, all the Justices of the Peace and Quorum, all the Constables, and all other officers, are their lackies to run and go, though it be with the neglect of the King's peculiar service, upon any of their trivial and unnecessary errands and occasions, to aid their Pursuivants, or upon their special commands; to the molestation and vexation of the King's best subjects and most officious. All these, I say, are their footmen; and to speak as it is, the Noblemen and Peers of the kingdom, they are their Gentlemen to wait, when they command an orient cloud of them together, to attend them on horses."—"The Lord's Grace of Canterbury, . . . his Holiness, . . . he hath a long time been nibbling at my ears: I marvel what he will say or do to them now, for this work. The best is, Madam, I am so hardened in goodness as I fear neither post nor pillory; conceiving always that I hold my ears by a better tenure than he holds his nose; being a loyaller subject to my Prince than he hath grace to be, and better able to do him service than he hath ability to judge of. But if he should, by his might and power, and the iniquity of the times, advance me to that desk, I doubt not, by the grace of God, I shall make there the funeral sermons for all the Prelates in England! I hope I shall have the honour of that good work, and withal shall bring forth such things to light as all Europe, and the whole Church of God, shall be the better for it to the world's end, and the memory of them grateful to all posterity. Remember, I pray you, Madam, what I say. Calves you know, in old time were good for sacrifices, and well accepted of; and I doubt not but they may yet be well-pleasing. Now, I am an 'Essex calf,' and the Prelates have made me one, and pent me up in a coop a-fattening. If they shall in fine, and after all this, sacrifice me upon the altar of the Pillory, I will so bleat out their Episcopal knaveries, as the odour and sweet-smelling savour of that oblation, I hope shall make such a propitiation for the good of this land and kingdom, as the King himself and all loyal subjects shall fare the better for it!"—In his "third part," or "The Vanity and Mischief of the Old Letany," pp. 25, Bastwick writes, p. 6, 7, "Shall we think that the Service of Antichrist . . . only taken out of the language of the 'Beast,' and put into English, and in French, or any other tongue, is acceptable unto God? . . . And, that our Service,—the whole Prayer-book,—is taken out of the Mass-book and other popish pamphlets, I myself . . . being in Italy, compared them together. . . And for our Litany, if I do not now forget myself, it is translated, word for word, out of the Litany to 'our Lady,' as they call it: 'Lady' being turned into 'Lord!' As in the Lady's Psalter, Lord and God is turned into Lady. . . And for the other pieces of the Common Prayer-book, they are raked out of the same kennel, and have their platform from thence, and not from the Spirit of God; as is well known unto the learned. . . And I have been credibly informed . . . that if Queen Elizabeth would have gratified my Lord's Grace of Rome . . . in something that he would have had, that then he would, by a special Bull, have made it authentic! . . . Now, I beseech you, laying aside all prejudice

and affection, show me any man that was ever yet converted unto God by the Service-book,—for I never either heard of, or saw one ;—or show me any that was ever built up in the knowledge of God by it, or of those duties that concern himself or his neighbour ; or that by the hearing or reading of it every day, did increase in the knowledge, I say, or practice, of Christianity ; or in love to God or to the brethren ? I desire to see but one of those men that have been the most diligent service-mongers forty years together, that hath learned any other thing but ‘We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord!’” Be it remembered, this is Bastwick’s language, not ours ; yet what can be said against him after the condemnation passed by an affectionate son of the United Church of England and Ireland, the Rev. H. J. Bailey, Perpetual Curate of Drighlington, near Leeds, in “The Liturgy compared with the Bible ; &c.” 2nd Edit. 1835. 8vo. Vol. 2. Pref., that “It is too apparent that these Services are seldom regarded as acts of Divine Worship ; or that the celebration of them is attended with a view of reaping spiritual advantage from their use ?”

CHAP. XXXIII.

LAUD’S SPEECH.—ANSWER TO IT.

WE purposely deferred to this place, noticing at large “A Speech delivered in the Star Chamber, on Wednesday the 14th of June, 1637 ; at the Censure of John Bastwick, Henry Burton, and William Prynne ; concerning pretended Innovations in the Church.—By the most Reverend Father in God, William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace. 1637.” 4to. pp. 77.^a

In the Dedication “To His Most Sacred Majesty,” Laud writes, “I had no purpose to come in print, but your Majesty commands it, and I obey. Most sorry am I for the occasion that induced me to speak, and that since hath moved you to command me to print. . . I humbly desire Your Sacred Majesty to protect me and it from the undeserved Calumny of those men whose mouths are spears and arrows, and their tongues a sharp sword :^b though, as the Wise-man speaks, Their foolish mouths have already called for their own stripes, and their lips and pens—been a snare for their souls.^c The occasion which led me to this speech is known. There have, of late, been divers Libels spread against the Prelates of this Church : and they have not been more bitter, which is the shame of these ‘raging waves,’^d than they are utterly false, which is our happiness. But I must humbly beseech Your Majesty to consider that it is not *we* only,—that is, the Bishops, that are struck at ; but, through our sides, Your Majesty,—Your

^a “Only twenty copies printed.” Bibliographer’s Manual, &c. By W. T. Lowndes. 1834. 8vo. vol. iii. p. 1100. Twenty-five copies were printed in French, 4to. *Ibid.*

^b Psal. lvii. 4.

^c Prov. xviii. 6, 7. “Whensoever it shall please his Grace to consider the words immediately going before those which he citeth, namely, that ‘It is not good to accept the person of the wicked, to cause the righteous to fall in judgment,’ ver. 5 ; his conscience may haply tell him that he wresteth the sense of the words cited by applying them to the words or writs of the poor men that he hath caused to suffer.” Divine and Politic Observations, p. 1, *ubi infra*.

^d Jude 13.

Honour, Your Safety, Your Religion,—is impeached. For, what 'safety' can you expect, if you lose the hearts of your People? And how can you retain their hearts, if you change their 'Religion' into Superstition? And what 'honour' can you hope for, either present, or derivative to posterity, if you attend your Government no better than to suffer Your Prelates to put this '*change*' upon You? And, what 'majesty' can any Prince retain, if he lose his 'honour' and his People?^a

"God be thanked, it is in all points otherwise with You: for God hath blessed you with a religious heart, and not subject to 'change.' And he hath filled you with Honour in the eyes of Your People: and by their Love and Dutifulness, He hath made you safe. So that Your Majesty is upheld, and your Crown flourishing, in the eyes of Christendom. And, God forbid, any Libellous blast at home, from the tongues or pens of a few, should shrivel up any growth of these.^b

"We have received, and daily do receive, from God, many and great blessings by you. And I hope they are not many that are unthankful to you, or to God for you.^c And that there should be none, in a populous Nation, even enemies to their own Happiness, cannot be expected. Yet I shall desire even these, to call themselves to an account; and to remember, that *blasphemy* against God, and *slandering* 'the footsteps of his Anointed,' are joined together...^d

* "The mention-making, yea, the reproaching and condemning those actions of Bishops, which argue a probability of their intention to labour Innovation in religion, is no striking of the King, through 'the Bishops' sides.' As the Christian religion hath been brought into the Dominions of many Princes, so alterations have been made in it sometimes against their wills, and sometimes without their knowledge, by artifice and cunning of Churchmen! . . . If Prelates, teaching, by their writings, the Popish doctrine mentioned by Sancta Clara, be no impeaching of his Majesty's 'safety, honour, and religion,' . . . what Prelates dare do or have done, other subjects may say they do or have done, without being obnoxious to the imputation of striking through their 'sides' at the King, or of impeaching his 'honour, majesty, safety, and religion'! Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 2, 3.—"The book of Sancta Clara the Popish priest, in Defence of Bishops; which came out, piping hot, much about the same time that one of our own Prelates, out of an ominous fear, had writ on the same argument; as if they had joined their forces, like good confederates, to support one falling Babel." Milton, *Of Reformation in England*, 1641. Edit. Works 1833. roy. 8vo. p. 2. *Apologia Episcoporum seu Sacra Magistratus Propugnatio*. —Colon. 8vo. The author, under the name of Franciscus a St. Clara, "was a brother of John Davenport, of New England." Dodd's Church History, chiefly with regard to Catholics. 1742. fo. vol. iii. p. 103. See back p. 557.

^b "The 'love and dutifulness' whereby his Majesty is 'safe,' is not that which is professed unto him, and expressed in the smooth and fair words of such as, by sundry artifices, have got much benefit, or some fat Benefices, from him; or of such Sycophants and Parasites of [the] Court, as still hunt after them: but only that, which is bred in *religious hearts* by the zeal of that religion which, as well the late Parliament, as many of his Majesty's best Subjects, show a fear of innovation of." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 3.

^c "Of Bishops, and such as have had great benefits, or Benefices, from his Majesty, there are many more 'unthankful' to him, than amongst all those that had never one groat of benefit, or place of power, from him, in the rule of either Church or State!" Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 4.

^d Psal. lxxxix. 50., *Com. Prayer*.—"In the place cited by his Grace, blasphemy against God, and slandering the Lord's Anointed, are not joined together; for the words, both according to the original, and as they are translated, in the translation commanded by King James, can be and are but these,

"But then, as I desire them to remember, so I do most humbly beseech your Majesty to account with Yourself too; and not to measure your People's love by the unworthiness of those few. For a loyal and obedient People you have, and such as will spare nor Livelihood nor Life to do You service; and are joyed at the heart to see the Moderation of your Government, and your constancy to maintain Religion, and your piety in exempling it.

"And as I thus beseech You for your People in general, so do I particularly for the Three Professions which have a little suffered in these Three most notorious Libellers' Persons.^a

"And first, for my own Profession, I humbly beg of your Majesty to think Mr. Burton hath not, in this, many followers; and am heartily sorry he would needs lead: the best is, your Majesty knows what made his Rancour swell! I'll say no more. And, for the Law, I truly honour it with my heart, and believe Mr. Prynne may seek all the Inns of Court—and with a candle too, if he will—and scarce find such a Malevolent as himself against State and Church. And because he hath so frequently thrust mistaken Law into these Pamphlets, to wrong the Governors of the Church, and abuse your good and well-minded People; and makes Burton and Bastwick utter Law which, God knows, they understand not,—for I doubt his pen is in all the pamphlets,—I do humbly, in the Church's name, desire of your Majesty, That it may be resolved by all the Reverend Judges of England, and then published by your Majesty, That our Keeping Courts, and issuing Process in our own Names, and the like Exceptions formerly taken, and now renewed, are not against the Laws of the Realm,—as it is most certain they are not [!].—That so, the Church Governors may go on cheerfully in their duty, and the People's minds be quieted by this assurance, That neither the Law, nor their Liberty, as Subjects, is thereby infringed.^b

'Wherewith thine enemies have reproached, O Lord; wherewith they have reproached the footsteps of thine anointed.' ver. 51. It is true, that in the Book of Common Prayer, the word 'thee' is foisted in; whereunto, if his Grace do rather cleave than to the Bible, certainly he so blotteth, blemisheth and *slandereth* the Bible; while he seeketh a text in Scripture for giving lustre and grace to the imputation he casteth upon those men whom he accuseth of *slandering*." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 4.

^a "It cannot be made appear, that any of 'the Three Professions' have 'suffered' by any act of the Defendants done against the King's honour, benefit, or power; but by practice of his Grace." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 5.

^b "Counsel, of the command, which he adviseth his Majesty to lay upon 'the Reverend Judges'; not only law and reason, but the King's honour likewise would mightily suffer [by]. . . To prescribe them, what to resolve, is not compatible with his Majesty's wisdom and honour: . . . seeing, upon the 12th of June, it was ordered by his Majesty's High Court of Star Chamber, that the opinion of the Judges should be taken in the particulars, which he desireth his Majesty to cause them [to] resolve and publish; it seemeth strange, that in this Epistle Dedicatory of his Grace's most reverend Speech pronounced two days thereafter, his Grace willeth his Majesty to cause them resolve what is here craved; for as it seemeth not to be pertinent to crave that his Majesty command the Judges to deliberate, or consider the matter, after he hath done it; so the matter, being referred to their consideration, it seemeth not pertinent to 'desire' his Majesty to command what he will have them to resolve." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 5.

"And for Physic, the Profession is honourable and safe; and I know the Professors of it will remember, that '*corpus humanum*,' man's body, is that about which their art is conversant, not '*corpus Ecclesiasticum*' or '*Politicum*,' the body of the Church, State, or Commonwealth. Bastwick only hath been bold that way. But the proverb in the Gospel is all I'll say to him, 'Physician, heal thyself.'^a And yet let me tell your Majesty, I believe he hath gained more by making the Church a Patient, than by all the Patients he ever had beside!^b

"Sir;—both myself and my Brethren have been very coarsely used by the tongues and pens of these men, yet shall I never give your Majesty any sour counsel: I shall rather magnify your Clemency, that proceeded with these Offenders in a Court of Mercy [!], as well as Justice: since, as the Reverend Judges then declared, You might have justly called the Offenders into another Court, and put them to it in a way that might have exacted their Lives [!], for the stirring, as much as in them lay, of mutiny and sedition.^c Yet this I shall be bold to say, and your Majesty may consider of it in your Wisdom, That one way of Government is not always fit or safe, when the humours of the People are in a continual change.^d Especially, when such men as these shall work upon your People, and labour to infuse into them such malig-

^a Luke iv. 23.—"As '*man's body*' is that about which the '*art*' of Physic is '*conversant*'; so the Gospel, and man's spiritual good by the preaching of it, not *corpus physicum* aut *politicum*, is that about which the '*art*' and calling of Churchmen ought to be conversant. For albeit I can hardly agree to Erasmus, where he writeth, that as '*Crocodilus anceps animal, nunc in terris, nunc in aquis degit, in terra ponit ova, in aqua prædatur et insidiatur, ita qui et aulici sunt et Ecclesiastici, utrobique pestilentes*;' yet I dare not but reverence the judgment of so learned a man where he writeth, '*Quemadmodum mulus ex equo et asino conflatus, nec equus est nec asinus, ita quidam dum aulici esse volunt et Ecclesiastici, neutrum sunt*,'" Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 7.

^b "There is no Bishop that hath not '*gained more*' by conversing in matters political, and plying the ways of Courts; and by working upon the trust they get sometimes with good Princes, sometimes with weak Subjects; than any of them hath ever got by labouring '*in the Word and Doctrine*;' for which, the Apostle saith, '*double honour*' is due to Churchmen, whom he designeth by the name of '*Presbyteri*;' 1 Tim. v. 17." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 7.

^c "If they had had any such end, they could have employed their tongues and pens in such way as Bishops and Prelates used for '*stirring of sedition and mutiny*' against such of his Majesty's predecessors, kings of England, as they made the People believe to be either neglecters of Parliaments, or maintainers of the malversation of their officers. Where his Grace saith that the Defendants '*might*' have been called '*unto another Court*,' and '*their lives exacted*,' he says very true; for, as our Saviour told his disciples, Matt. x. 17. that men would '*deliver them up*' to the '*Councils*,' and '*scourge*' them '*in their Synagogues*,' without saying that they should convince them of any crime; so, doubtless, his Grace could have caused the Defendants to be called into another Court, and scourged and put to death! Though it is not in the power of any man to make appear, either by law or reason, that the deeds for which he hath got them to be censured are, in their own nature, either crimes or faults." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 7.

^d "The maxim is good: and the Defendants wish that his Majesty would '*change*' the course of his Clemency against such as labour for any '*change*,' either in Religion or State, that may prejudice him either in the opinion and affection of his Subjects, or in respect amongst Foreigners." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 8.

nant principles, to introduce a Parity in the Church or Commonwealth. 'Et, si non satis suâ sponte insaniant instigare,' and, to spur on such among them as are too sharply set already :^a and, by this means, make and prepare all advantages for the Roman party to scorn Us, and pervert them.^b I pray God bless Your Majesty. . . " W. CANT."

What Heylyn, Laud's Chaplain, calls "a base and libellous Answer" to the pretended copy of Laud's Speech, will here follow in its order, but not to be dismissed so briefly as by Heylyn, who says, "I shall not trouble myself any more about it than by a transcript of the title!"^c

"Divine and Politic Observations: Newly translated out of the Dutch Language, wherein they were lately divulged,—upon some Lines in the Speech of the Arch. B. of Canterbury, pronounced in the Star-Chamber upon 14th June, 1637. Very expedient for preventing all Prejudice, which, as well through Ignorance, as through Malice and Flattery, may be incident to the judgment which men make thereby, either of his Grace's power over the Church, and with the King, or of the Equity, Justice, and Wisdom of his End in his said Speech, and of the reasons used by Him for attaining to his said End. Prov. xxvi. 28. Printed in the year of our Lord 1638." 4to. pp. 62.

Our end being not accordant to the Chaplain's, we shall,—besides what we have appended in the form of notes to Laud's Dedication, from this pamphlet,—give ourselves so much further "trouble" about it, as will serve to show in what consideration the Archbishop and his Speech were held by contemporaries, whether at home or abroad.

The Author writes in his Dedicatory Epistle, "I have adventured to lay at your feet, open to your gracious view, the Judgment which is made of your Grace's said Speech, by men of best understanding and moderation; as well in hope to give your Grace contentment hereby, as in confidence to give satisfaction to such as, by your Grace's greatness, are either scared to look upon, or affrighted to judge of, the mysteries both of religion and politic government, which your Grace's said gracious Speech implieth.—Your Grace's true Friend, though unknown, THEOPHILUS."

The Translator informs "the Reader," that "There are many who,—

^a "They that would introduce 'a parity' in the 'Commonweal' ought to be esteemed as well enemies to the ordinance of God for human Government, as Churchmen that pretend authority over their brethren, '*jure divino*,' are transgressors of our Saviour's rule in that point of Church-government." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 8.

^b "'Advantages' are prepared for 'the Roman party,' to 'scorn' some, and 'pervert' others, by those that abuse the name of the King's authority for satisfying their own spleen, vanity, or other ends; in silencing, banishing, imprisoning, fining, pilloring, or putting to death, such as refuse to offer any worship either to image, altar, or sacrament; to admit of the Mass in English; or to acknowledge a necessity of a white surplice, or any other Pagan, Popish, or Jewish Ceremony for Divine Worship: and such as write against the Pope's pretended power, and demonstrate him, as King James did, to be 'the Antichrist;' and such as write against that doctrine which Sancta Clara citeth and proveth out of the Authors before mentioned, to be coincident with the Romish; and withal countenance such as by politic writing, maintain Popish religion, or preach new doctrine in matter of faith." Div. and Pol. Obs. p. 8.

^c Life of Laud, p. 340.

considering that the defences of the Innovations, contained in the Archbishop's Speech, are not able to satisfy any impartial judgment; and that he obtained such Censure as he sought against those three worthy men, whom he caused to suffer for writing and pointing at his said Innovations,—do conceive that a publication of his Speech could not seem to his wisdom either needful or pertinent; and, that His Majesty's 'command' for printing thereof hath been craved and obtained by his Grace, either out of such a vain glory,—which I cannot believe incident to his Grace,—as ostentative persons affect in showing the ways how they compass their ends, or to make appear the absolute, implicit, and fearful power, which he hath with his Majesty.

"And albeit all minds affected with these impressions, apprehend that his Majesty's said 'command' for printing of it, implieth His approbation of all the purposes in [the said Speech, and thereupon fear to publish their judgment of the expressions in it, lest thereby they seem to fail in the duty which obligeth Subjects to forbear scanning the reasons of their Sovereign's commands, and to acknowledge his will to be sufficient for the same: nevertheless, seeing great Princes can hardly see anything but in such shape as it is represented to them by such of their Courtiers or Councillors as they are pleased to trust, —who often have private ends, or interests, for disguising truths unto them, I am verily persuaded that his Majesty did, in his wisdom, 'command' a publication of the said Speech; thereby to try and discover of what value and weight the reasons mentioned in it for the Innovations made by his Grace and other Prelates, would be found in the balance of such judgments as are not to be swayed by either fear or hope from Prelates' power. . . I have, therefore, adventured to translate in English the foresaid Observations, published in Dutch soon after the said Speech was published in that Language. . . —Eccles. v. 8. Eccles. xi. 31."

Advancing to the "Observations," the first treats of his Grace's affected disinclination to expatiate on the quality and treatment of "Libelling," except it be to insinuate that it was judged "in some cases," in the "Imperial laws," a "capital" crime,^a and that himself was able to practise like magnanimity with "some very great men indeed" of former times, and "patiently" to endure the "rending" of his "credit and reputation" with "a generous mind!" His Grace is, however, reminded that "seeing our Saviour ordained his disciples and apostles to 'bless' such as should 'revile' them, it is no more incompatible with the duty of a Churchman than it is with wisdom in men that have no church office, to neglect, contemn,—at least, not to be moved with,—such Libels; and to consider that 'Convitia si irascere agnita videntur, spreta vilescunt.'"^b The observator winds up a long paragraph with the conclusion, that "albeit it were true, that the Prelates did not only usher in, but were themselves content to profess, Popery, with as much passion as they have commanded the observation of Popish Ceremonies and manner of Church-government; they could not, for that, by any English law, be punished with either pillory or prison; it followeth, consequently, that the Defendants, for

^a Cod. Lib. ix. tit. 36.

^b P. 10.

charging the said Prelates with the ushering in of Popery—though falsely—could not—lawfully—for that, be punished either with pillory or prison !”^a

On Laud’s reference to Jerome, that “it is unworthy in itself, and preposterous in demeanour, for a man to be ashamed for doing good, because other men glory in speaking ill :”^b after reversing the proposition by saying, “It is as preposterous a demeanour, not to be ashamed in doing evil, because other men have occasion to glory both in doing and speaking well ;” the *Observer* adds, “It is not my purpose to examine your Grace’s intentions, nor to contradict any of your words, but where they are used for wresting the Defendants’ writings to what they meant not, or for palliating with fair pretexts the Innovations charged upon prelates.”^c

“They,” said Laud, “which are the only, or the chief Innovators of the Christian world, having nothing to say, accuse us of ‘Innovation’ ! They themselves and their ‘complices, in the mean time being the greatest Innovators that the Christian world hath almost ever known. I deny not but others have spread more dangerous errors in the Church of Christ ; but no men, in any age of it, have been more guilty of ‘Innovation’ than they ; while themselves cry out against it, ‘Quis tulerit Gracchos ?’”—“What,” replies the *Observer*, “the Parliament hath either sound or just reason to suspect or fear ; cannot be unlawful in a private Subject to speak, write, suspect, or fear. The Honourable Court of Parliament, that representative body of the kingdom ; his Majesty’s most faithful, and least corruptible Council of State, did find your Grace, and others of your coat, ‘Innovators’ of religion !”^d The repetition of this reproach of Innovation, is so far from being a good probation of the truth of it, as it argueth inability in his Grace to make it good ; and an apparent presumption of his Grace’s immoderate hatred of such as are nicknamed ‘Puritans ;’ and of his confidence that all he speaketh—how false and impertinent soever—shall get respect enough, by reason of his eminency, from the reader or hearer :... whereas the truth is, that those that dissuade his Majesty from convening of Parliaments, and those that, under colour of his Authority, command, in the point of God’s worship, a necessity of doing divers things that the refusers thereof esteem unlawful, and themselves affirm ‘indifferent,’ are underminers of his greatness, and such ‘incendiaries,’ both in the State and Church, as do, what in them is, to stir ‘mutiny’ and ‘sedition.’”^e

Where Laud affirms, that “These men, knowing the disposition of the People, have laboured nothing more than to misinform their knowledge, and misguide their zeal, and so to fire that into a sedition ; in hope that they whom they causelessly hate, might miscarry in it :” the *Observer* answers, “It is not within the reach of *understanding* men that move in a low sphere, to conceive, how it can be consistent, as well with his Grace’s wisdom, as it is with his greatness, to affirm, both here, That there, was danger of ‘sedition’ from the Defendants and

^a P. 11.

^b Ad Ocean. de Ferend. Opprob. “Indignum est et preposterum, &c.”

^c P. 12.

^d P. 13.

^e P. 14.

their abettors; and, in his Epistle Dedicatory of this speech, That there are 'few'^a or none of their humour: for, from 'few' there could be no danger of 'sedition' or 'mutiny!'" Withal, 'causeless' hatreds easily vanish, and are not likely to dispose any man to attempt the firing of 'a sedition' purposely, that they whom they 'causelessly hate' may perish in it! Men do not adventure an assured danger to their credits, fortunes, and lives, without some probability of some either honour or profit by the success of their attempt. But if the Defendants and their abettors were so foolish traitors as without any such hope, for a 'causeless' hatred to attempt firing of the People's 'zeal' into 'a sedition'; yet is there no appearance of possibility in their power to kindle any such 'fire.' His grace knoweth that they are not able to misguide the 'zeal' of Papists to such an end; and that there is no 'zeal' in the lukewarm Conformists, nor in the professed Atheists, that can be fired, but by such materials—good coin, hope of benefit or preferment—from the Pope, or Spain, as neither the Defendants nor their abettors could afford. And among those that have 'zeal' in the substance, and scare at a necessity of using Ceremonies invented by men, for Divine Worship, there are 'few,' as his Grace saith, of the Defendants' humour; and from those 'few,' there could be no danger of 'sedition' or 'mutiny!'"^b

"There is not," says his Grace, cunningly placing the odium to the King's account—"a more cunning trick in the world, to withdraw the People's hearts from their Sovereign, than, to persuade them that *he* is changing true religion, and about to bring in gross superstition upon them." Well might the Observator remark, that "It may be affirmed, also, That 'there is not a more cunning trick in the world,' to withdraw a Sovereign's heart from his People, than 'to persuade' him that all notice offered to be given him,—either by any private Subject or by the Parliament itself,—of the malversation of Prelates, or other officers, in Church or State, are acts which strike, and wound, his Majesty 'through' their 'sides,'—as his Grace's aforesaid Epistle to the King affirmeth,—and, that his Majesty's giving ear, or listening, thereto, or reference thereof to the trial of a Parliament, is a prostitution of *his* Authority!"^c

"Possibly, his Grace is well enough minded, in having his 'hand,'^d sooner than any man's, 'against' such as labour to bring in more Popery than himself hath yet done; yet the knowledge which men have of some passages in the last Parliament, and of some actions of his Grace both before and since the breaking of it up, will scare most men from discovering to him, what they knew, perhaps, touching Prelates' labouring in that kind!"^e

On that passage of his Grace, "I shall humbly desire your Lordships to give me leave to recite, briefly, all the 'Innovations' charged upon us, be they of less or greater moment, and as briefly to answer them:" this Observator remarks, "Now, seeing his Grace in this place, . .

^a "I do most humbly beseech your Majesty, . . not to measure your People's love, by the unworthiness of those few." Ep. Ded.

^b P. 22.

^c P. 23.

^d "In any just way!" Speech, p. 14.

^e P. 24.

is so far from answering, as he doth not 'recite' any of these particulars, but mentioneth only those that he can give such colour of 'answer,' unto, as his greatness is able to bear out against all reason—that any man dare allege against the same: and seeing he acknowledgeth that 'exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis,' his Grace's propounding of a part, and forbearance to mention the foresaid particulars charged by Mr. Burton upon the Prelates, argueth that Mr. Burton doth truly charge the Prelates with the said 'Innovations,' and that they can neither deny, nor give a reason for, the making thereof."^a

"It is not the custom of the Church, nor fit, in itself, to pray for seasonable weather, when we have it, but when we want it:" so says Laud. But says the Observator, "why not, as well as it is 'the custom of the Church,' and 'fit, in itself,' to pray for 'grace, wisdom, and understanding' for the Lords of the Council, that want none of these; and for *illuminating Bishops* 'with true knowledge and understanding of the Word,' which they have, and want not?"^b

"Philippians ii. 10, does not oblige Christians to worship the letters and sound of the word 'Jesus,' but his person:.. and by bowing of the knee, in that passage, nothing is understood or meant but the same that is meant Rom. xiv. 11, Isa. xlv. 23. It were idolatry to reverence the person for the name's sake; and if we reverence the name for the person's sake, every name competent to him ought to be alike revered. Withal, if the words, bowing of the knee, import a necessity of kneeling, the words 'and every tongue shall confess that Jesus is the Lord,' in that same place, must oblige all men to a necessity of a vocal and loud confession that Jesus is the Lord, which must make a confusion and disturbance in all assemblies for preaching, praying, or reading of Scripture: yea, if the sense of the words were to be taken literally, that would oblige all men to 'kneel,' but not cap, nor cross, nor bow the head at the name of 'Jesus.' His Grace doth not press kneeling, either in the literal or metaphorical sense of the word; and is not able to produce a text for capping or bowing the head, at the sight or sound of the name 'Jesus!'"^c

"Moses," says his Grace, "did reverence at the very 'door of the tabernacle.'"^d Hezekiah, and all that were present with him, 'when they had made an end of offering, bowed and worshipped.'^e David calls the people to it with a *Venite*—"O come, let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our maker." And in all these places I pray mark it, it is bodily worship!" To this, the Observator replies, "The example of Moses falling down, .. and of Hezekiah, .. cannot oblige to the like worship, any but those that offer the like sacrifice: and Moses' example obligeth to bow before, and Hezekiah's example, only after, a man hath made 'an end' of his sacrifice. From neither of them, nor from David's words, cited by his Grace, can be inferred either that at the entry into a Christian Church, a man must fall down, bow, and worship; or that there is a particular place in the church toward which a man must, of necessity, turn his face for worshipping

^a P. 26.^b P. 28, 29.^c P. 34.^d Num. xx. 6.^e 2 Chron. xxix. 29.^f Psal. xcvi. 6.

God : or, that he that doth not both these when he cometh into the church, doth no more 'reverence' to God 'than a tinker and his bitch' when they come 'into an ale-house' ! For as it cannot be truly affirmed, that whosoever at his going out of a church, upon a Sunday, after the evening service, goeth not to may-games, piping, dancing, or other such exercise, warranted by the Book for Sabbath Recreations—contrived, as is conceived, by some atheistically Popish Churchman—goeth out of the church with no more 'reverence' than 'a tinker and his bitch' going out of 'an alehouse ;' so can it not be truly affirmed, that whosoever at his entry into a church doth not bow and cringe to the Altar—conform[ably] to injunctions, hatched, as is supposed, by some Popishly hypocritical Churchman, and allowed by authority—hath no more 'reverence' to God than 'a tinker and his bitch' when they go 'into an alehouse' ! It is against charity, to condemn men, as having no 'reverence' to God, that either after Sermon retire to their chamber for private prayer, reading, or religious conference upon the points heard by them ; or enter into the church with ears and hearts bent to assist the minister's prayer, and to hearken to his preaching ; because the one goeth not to may-games at his going out of the church, and the other duck not at or to the Altar at his coming in : for it is possible, that the one, thinking, in their conscience, that the Sports authorized by the said Book are not so consistent as private prayer, reading, or religious conference, after Sermon, with such observation of the Sabbath as God hath commanded ; and, that the other, in their conscience, think that adoring, ducking, cringing, kneeling to or at the Altar, is or seemeth to be an idolatrous act, and derogatory to that 'reverence' wherewith a man's heart ought to be filled when he entereth 'into a church' for religious exercise, withal as 'a tinker with his bitch' drinking and domineering in 'an alehouse' upon a Sunday after he hath duckt to the Altar, may not, by any good conformist, be reproached for breach of the Moral Law for the Sabbath in respect of his privilege for so doing by warrant of the Book for Recreations. So, the not ducking to the Altar at a man's entry 'into a church,' cannot be a ground for inferring that the omitter of it hath no more 'reverence' toward God than 'a tinker and his bitch,' coming 'into an alehouse,' in respect of the warrant that is in Scripture for worshipping God alone : for, albeit the command forbiddeth only to fall down, or bow, before an Image ; it followeth not, that it is lawful and necessary for God's worship, to bow and fall down before an Altar ; or at the entry of a church where there is no Image ; or that he that doth it not, faileth, thereby, in his 'reverence' due to God !"^a

^a P. 41. "This is the misery," exclaimed Land, "It is 'superstition' now-a-days, for any man to come with more *reverence* into a church, *than a tinker and his bitch come into an alehouse*. The comparison is too homely ; but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times makes me speak it." Speech ; p. 46. His next immediate words present one of the many examples of Laud's insidious sophistry : "And you, my Honourable Lords of the Garter, in your great solemnities you do your *reverence*,—and to Almighty God, I doubt not,—but yet it is '*versus altare*,' towards His altar ; as the greatest *place* of God's residence upon earth : I say, 'the greatest ;' yea greater than the pulpit. For there it is '*hoc est corpus meum*,' this is my *Body* ; but in the pulpit it is, at

"I would fain know," Laud goes on by asking, "how any discrete moderate man dares say, That the placing of the Holy Table 'altar-wise'—since they will needs call it so—is done either to advance or usher in Popery?" The *Observer* replies, "Since your Grace hath acknowledged Bishop Jewell a 'learned, painful, and reverend Prelate' where you pretend his help, . . . but by wresting the sense of his words; . . . I hope you will not deny him the attribute of a 'discrete moderate man,' because he writeth, 'An Altar we have, such as Christ and his apostles and other holy fathers had, which of the Greeks was called *ἱερὰ τραπέζα*, the 'holy table;' and was made not of stone but of timber, and stood not at the end of the quire but in the midst of the people. Another or better altar than Christ and those holy fathers had, we desire to have none; and especially any such altar as hath been purposely set up against the altar of Christ.^b And he citeth Origen and Arnobius' testimonies, that, in their times, the Christians had no altars at all; and St. Augustine, to prove that such altars as were in his time were made of timber, and called 'mensa Domini;' and Eusebius, to prove that the 'altar' was placed in the midst of the church: whereby it appeareth that Bishop Jewell esteemed a position of the 'holy table' altarwise—that is, in the east end of the Quire—to be contrary to the doctrine of the Fathers; and, in all likelihood, would have judged the commanding of such a position an 'Innovation' tending^d to Popery."^e

"The 'Copies' which his Grace pretendeth to have of the Articles of our Church, printed, . . . and written, . . . are not sufficient to purge the Prelates from appearance of forging the words of the Twentieth Article of the Church; . . .^f because neither the printer's shop, nor a testimony under the hand of a Bishop's officer, but the Warrant of the one and the other, can be a probation of the power which they pretend by the said Twentieth Article. Neither is the power which his Grace insinuateth that some had in the Government, an. 1571,^g so probable a ground for inferring an imputation upon the persons aforesaid, inveighed against for rasing that Article [clause] out of the Copy then given to be printed by authority of Queen Elizabeth, as the Power which his Grace, and those of his coat, have now so long had in the

most, but 'hoc est Verbum meum,' this is my *Word*. And a *greater* reverence, no doubt, is due to the 'body' than to the 'word' of our Lord. And so in relation, answerably to the *throne* where his 'body' is usually *present*, than to the *seat* whence his 'word' useth to be proclaimed." To this, the *Observer* remarks, in part, "If Augustine saith true, That as great reverence is due to the Word as to the Body—Lib. L. Hom. xxvi.—then is there as much 'reverence' due to the pulpit for the Word as to the altar for the sacrament. And either there is no necessity, for God's Worship, to cringe and duck to the altar, or it must be also necessary to cringe and duck to the pulpit!" P. 43.

^a Speech, p. 51.

^b Pref. of Reply to Harding's Answer.

^c *Ibid.* Reply, Art 3. div. 26.

^d Laud had said, early in his Speech, p. 14, "I have ever been far from attempting any thing that may truly be said to *tend* that way in the least degree."

^e P. 47.

^f "The 'Church'—that is, the Bishops, as they expound it,—'hath power to decree Rites and Ceremonies, and Authority in *matters* of Faith.' The word is 'controversies,' by their leave." Speech, p. 63. ^g Speech, p. 71.

Government, is a probable ground whereupon to imagine it likely that he may cause to be printed, or set under his hand, 'copies' of what tenor and date he pleaseth to command!.. 'If you be pleased to look back and consider who they were that governed businesses in 1571, and *rid* the Church almost at their pleasure; and, how potent the ancestors [of] these libellers then did grow [began then to grow, *sic* Laud,] you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and *this* Clause left out.'^a This argueth, that his Grace either acknowledged that some may rule and do all things in the name of the Sovereign, without lawful warrant of his authority; or, that at least Queen Elizabeth was led and abused by factious persons in those days! And, therefore, his Grace ought neither to wonder nor be offended that the like thoughts are incident to some good and judicious, both Parliament men and others, now-a-days!"^b

"Not long after the publication of his Grace's gracious Speech! one Peter Heylyn published a book with an inscription of 'A brief and moderate Answer, &c.'; and a preface, where he writeth that he was 'commanded by Authority to return an Answer to all the challenges and charges in the two Sermons and Apology of Mr. Burton;' which that book beareth, in a style no less magistral, if not so magistral as this Speech that hath a majesty from his Grace's own mouth! Now, albeit a designation of all the impertinences, proud, papistical and passionate expressions, which are comprehended within the compass of that 'Moderate Answer!' would seem, in this place, a diminution of the respect due to the majesty of his Grace's Speech: nevertheless, I hope that his Grace will be graciously pleased, that, where the said Peter Heylyn saith^c—That his Grace hath reason to say, that the Church of England, and Rome, differed not *in fundamentalibus*, because the Church of England hath not, anywhere, 'determined' that, we and those of Rome differ *in fundamentalibus*;.. if the consequences were good, it would follow likewise, that we and the Mahometans, Jews, and Ethnics, differ not in fundamentals!.. And where he says^d—That the words 'Babylonical Beast of Rome' in the Seventh Homily, of Rebellion, do not signify the Bishop, or Pope of Rome, 'but rather the abused Power' of that prevalent See in [the] time of King John; and it not being spoken dogmatically, that the Pope is, and is to be believed, 'the Babylonical Beast of Rome,' it is not to be 'accounted for a doctrine of the Church of England;' I would fain know what difference there is between 'the abused power' of the then See and now See of Rome? Or, whether the Pope now doth assume, or pretend, less 'power' than the Popes did in King John's days? Or, if the then 'prevalent and predominant See' was the 'Babylonical Beast'; as Heylyn acknowledged, at what time began that See to cease from being the 'Babylonical Beast?'.. King James, in his Monitory [to all Christian

^a *Ibid.* p. 71.—The leading Bishops were, in 1571, Parker, of Canterbury; Grindal, of York; Sandy's, of London; Pilkington, of Durham; Horne, of Winchester; Coxe, of Ely; Gheast, of Salisbury, Jewell being lately deceased. The Articles of 1562-3 were first confirmed by Act of Parliament, 13th of Eliz. cap. xii. an. 1571.

^b P. 53, 54.

^c P. 124.

^d P. 128.

Princes], and in his Commentaries upon Rev. xx. 7—10, proveth the Pope to be Antichrist... If this book of Heylyn's be the large volume^a promised by his Grace^b for Answer to Mr. Burton's charges of 'Innovations' upon the Prelates, it doth in these and many other passages, so mince and smooth the Popish doctrine, and so wrest the good meaning and sense of the words of orthodox writers, and zealous preachers, that it cannot but breed a great suspicion of the Prelates' intention to introduce Popery, if their 'power' can reach it!"^c

"If Prelates, when they falsely reproach men that are under them, were as well in danger of punishment, as men of low estate when they speak truly of Bishops' actions, when they are inconsistent with the duty both of a loyal subject and of an orthodox churchman, his Grace would not have so liberally objected 'mutiny' and 'sedition' to those he hath through all his Speech inveighed against."^d

"In many places of his Speech, and in his Epistle dedicatory to his Majesty, his Grace expresseth some show of passion, of anger, and of dislike of these men: what the simple truth is, is only known to his Grace's conscience, and to God Almighty, who, in his own time, I hope will show more either 'justice' or 'mercy,'^e to his Grace, than he hath shown to these poor men; whose sufferings are much both talked of and commiserated by Strangers, as well as by their own countrymen and friends."^f

^a "Justum volumen."

^b Speech, p. 73.

^c P. 55—57.

^d P. 60.

^e "Because the business hath some reflection upon myself, I shall forbear to Censure them; and leave them to God's *mercy*, and the King's *justice*."

Speech, p. ult.

^f P. ult.

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